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A HOARD OF SILVER COINS OF THE ICENI FROM HONINGHAM, NORFOLK

By R. RAINBIRD CLARKE, M.A., F.S.A., F.M.A.

I. CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE DISCOVERY

In 1954-5 a hoard of 340 silver coins of the Iceni came to light in the parish of Honingham, Norfolk, eight miles west of Norwich. This is the first hoard of this type recorded to have been found for nearly 70 years and the first in which it has been possible to examine any associated objects and excavate the actual site. Though this hoard has yielded no dramatic revelations about the silver coinage of the Iceni, it provides an opportunity for a brief survey of similar hoards and their chronology.

and their chronology.

The hoard was found in an arable field on the south side of the Norwich-Mattishall main road about 330 yards south-east of Grange Farm (O.S. 6 inch Norfolk sheet 62 NW.; National Grid map reference TG/I02II2). On 27 July 1954 the farmer, Mr. P. R. Rolph, was hoeing sugar-beet in this field when his hoe dug in deeper than usual and pulled to the surface the base of a small pot from which fell a group of corroded silver coins, of which he collected 100. The next day he dug over the top soil, which had been ploughed to a depth of 12 to 14 inches for the first time in the previous March, and on finding 202 further coins reported the discovery to the Castle Museum, Norwich. I visited the site on the following day and excavated the area around the site, finding II more coins and fragments of the pot. The discovery was then reported to the local police for the attention of the district coroner, who held an inquest on 19 August on the 313 coins, at which a verdict of treasure trove was recorded. Subsequently, in March 1955 when the crop had been lifted, I was able to re-excavate the site on a larger scale and recover a further 27 coins and other fragments of the pot which had been dispersed by the plough. This brought the total of coins recovered to 340, but in view of the fact that much of the upper part of the pot which contained the hoard is still missing, other coins from it may have been scattered more widely, though the bulk of the hoard is likely to have been found in view of the size of the container. The full market value of the coins has been paid to Mr. P. R. Rolph as an ex gratia payment for reporting the discovery.

II. ASSOCIATED FIND

From the finder's evidence, most, if not all, of the coins in the hoard were originally contained in the small pot of which the base remains intact and of which some fragments of the upper portion survive. This association is confirmed by the impressions on the inside of the base

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¹ For detailed report of inquest see Eastern Daily Press, 20 August 1954.

resulting from contact with the debased silver coins. The pot (partly reconstructed in Fig. 1) is a well-known type of ovoid butt-beaker in brown ware decorated with horizontal cordons framing faint vertical combings. The form is derived from a Gallo-Belgic original and local copies in this and similar wares have been found in quantity at Camulodunum where Form 112 c2¹ is analogous. The chronological

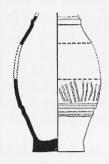


Fig. 1. Butt-beaker (1) containing Honingham Hoard

range of the type at this site is Periods I–IV corresponding to A.D. 10–61. The Honingham pot may have been made in Norfolk or imported from the Camulodunum area.

III. CATALOGUE OF THE COINS

References are to Evans, The Coins of the Ancient Britons, 1864 and 1890; Mack, The Coinage of Ancient Britain, 1953

Weights are in grains

Mack 407 (Evans, xvi. 11)	I coin
17.3	1 COM
Mack 408 (Evans, xvi. 10) 18·9, 18·7, 18·4, 17·0	4 coins
Mack 409 (Evans, xvi. 9) 19·5, 19·4, 19·3 (2), 18·7, 18·4, 18·2, 17·8, 17·7, 17·6, 17·5, 17·4, 16·1, 11·8	14 coins
Mack 413 (Evans, xvi. 7) 20·9, 20·3, 20·2, 20·0 (2), 19·9, 19·8 (2), 19·7 (2), 19·6 (2), 19·5 (2), 19·4 (5), 19·3, 19·2 (5), 19·1 (4), 19·0 (6), 18·9 (7), 18·8 (7), 18·7 (2), 18·6 (2), 18·5 (6), 18·4 (2), 18·3 (5), 18·2 (5), 18·1 (2), 18·0 (2), 17·6, 17·5, 17·4, 17·3 (2), 17·2, 16·2, 13·3, 12·4	84 coins
Var. (see p. 3) 17.6*	I coin
Mack 415 (Evans, xvi. 1) 19·5, 18·4, 18·0, 17·7	4 coins
Mack 419 (Evans, xv. 9) 20·0, 19·7, 18·6, 18·3, 17·8	5 coins
Mack 420 (Evans, xv. 10) 20·0, 19·1, 19·0 (2), 18·7 (2), 18·2, 18·1 (2), 18·0	10 coins

Hawkes and Hull, Camulodunum, 1947, Pl. LVII.

A Houra of Stitle Com's of the Teem from Homingmann, Ivon	1000 3
Var. a (see p. 4) 23.2, 20.2, 19.6 (3), 19.4 (3), 19.2 (3), 19.0 (3), 18.9, 18.8, 18.7, 18.6, 18.5, 18.3 (2), 18.2 (5), 18.1, 18.0, 17.9 (3), 17.6 (2), 17.5, 17.2, 16.3, 11.8, 11.0, 10.7	39 coins
Var. b (see p. 4) 19.9, 18.8, 18.2, 12.9	4 coins
Mack 423 (Evans, xv. 12) 19·9, 19·8, 19·4, 18·9, 18·4, 18·0 Var. (see p. 4) 20·0, 19·7, 19·6, 19·0, 18·9 (3), 18·8 (2), 18·6, 18·2 (2), 15·8, 12·9	20 coins
Mack 424 (Evans, xv. 1, 2) 20·7, 20·1, 20·0, 19·9, 19·7, 19·6, 19·5, 19·3 (4), 19·2, 19·1, 19·0 (3), 18·6, 18·5 (2), 18·4, 18·3 (2), 18·2 (3), 18·1, 17·9 (2), 17·6, 17·4, 13·2, 11·4, 10·9	33 coins
Mack 425 (Evans, xv. 3) (object on horse's shoulder is trefoil) 20.2, 20.0, 19.8 (2), 19.7 (2), 19.6, 19.5, 19.2 (2), 19.0, 18.9 (3), 18.8, 18.7, 18.5, 18.4 (2), 18.3, 17.4	2I coins
Mack 427 (Evans, xv. 5) 19·6, 19·4 (2), 19·3, 19·2, 19·0, 18·9, 18·7, 18·5, 18·4 (4), 18·3, 18·2 (3), 17·2, 16·7 (2), 15·5, 14·8	22 coins
Mack 428 (Evans, xv. 6) 19·7, 19·0, 18·9, 18·3, 12·8, 8·9 (chipped)	6 coins
Mack 429 19·1, 19·0 (3), 18·2	5 coins
<i>Var.</i> (see p. 4) 19·5*	I coin
Mack 432 (Evans, xv. 8) 19·5, 15·0 (2), 11·8 (broken), 10·5	5 coins
Mack 433 (Evans, xv. 7) 18·0*	I coin
Mack 434 (Evans, xv. 14) 18·5	I coin
Uncertain	
Mack 419 or 420 (Evans, xv. 9 or 10) 19·6, 19·3, 19·2, 18·6, 18·5, 18·4, 18·2, 17·8, 17·6, 17·5, 17·1, 16·8, 16·6, 15·8, 13·0, 11·5	16 coins

Mack 423 or 424 (Evans, xv. 1, 2, or 12) 28 coins

21·2, 20·6, 19·7, 19·5, 19·4, 19·2 (2), 19·1, 19·0, 18·9 (4), 18·7, 18·6, 18·5, 18·4, 18·3 (2), 18·2 (2), 18·1, 17·8, 17·6, 16·7, 14·7, 13·4, 11·9

Mack 419-29 (Evans, xv. 1-13) 15 coins 20.8, 19.8, 19.0, 18.8 (3), 18.4, 18.3, 18.2, 18.0, 17.9 (3), 17.8, 15.0

The coins marked with an asterisk have been acquired by the British Museum, the remainder by the Norwich Castle Museum.

IV. THE HOARD AND ITS DATE

All the types of silver coins in this hoard have been illustrated previously except for varieties of Mack's types 413, 420, 423, and 429.1 These are illustrated in Pl. XIV and are as follows:

Obverse—Crude human head to the right. (PI. XIV, 4) Reverse-Horse to right with pellet below tail and beaded rosette above with triangle over mane. (PI. XIV, 5)

¹ R. P. Mack, op. cit. 1953, 120-2.

A Hoard of Silver Coins of the Iceni from Honingham, Norfolk

(a) As Mack's description except on reverse three pellets in line sloping 420 var. downwards from trefoil under horse. (Pl. XIV, 1)

(b) As Mack's description except on reverse three pellets in horizontal line between T and D. (Pl. XIV, 2)

As Mack's description except on reverse three pellets instead of two beneath 423 var. horse. (Pl. XIV, 3)

Obverse as Mack's description. Reverse—Horse to the right with seven-429 var. beaded rosette and trefoil above. Three pellets in sloping line beneath horse with tripetalon below. Pellet beneath horse's tail. (Pl. XIV, 6, 7)

Minor corrections should be made to the descriptions published by Mack of his types 424 and 429. On the reverse of his type 424 there are three, not two, pellets beneath the horse, as is clearly shown on Evans (1864), Plate xv, I and 2. The reverse of type 429 is described as having a "peculiar I-shaped object" beneath the horse, but this is obviously a tripetalon.

Mack has stated¹ that the weight of the inscribed silver coins of the Iceni ranges between 15 and 20 grains, but the evidence of the more extensive series available from the Honingham hoard shows that the weights of both the inscribed and uninscribed silver coins are generally between 17 and 20 grains. In describing the hoard from Santon Downham, Suffolk, Evans² noted that the range of weight was from

 $18\frac{1}{4}$ to $19\frac{1}{2}$ grains.

Apart from the Honingham hoard, silver coins of the Iceni have been found in six other hoards, of which only that from Santon Downham, containing 107 coins with 2 dupondii of Claudius, has been adequately published. Of the remainder, 43 coins with three consular denarii, in museum collections or published illustrations can be identified from the hoard of between 150 and 300 coins from Weston, Norfolk,3 three and a half miles north of Honingham; six coins are identifiable from the hoard of 40 to 50 coins from March, Cambridgeshire; 4 and fifty from a hoard found at Stonea, Wimblington, 5 in the same county. Five coins from Brettenham, Norfolk,6 probably come from a hoard of which nothing else is known, and three coins from a hoard of unknown size from Battle, Sussex,⁷ can also be identified.

D. F. Allen⁸ has arranged the silver coinage of the Iceni in a chronological sequence on stylistic grounds and has suggested that its range in time is from about 15 B.C. to about A.D. 45 with uninscribed types preceding inscribed. The contents of the seven hoards listed above have been arranged in tabular form (p. 10) in chronological order of the issues according to Allen's analysis. The proportion of uninscribed

¹ R. P. Mack, op. cit. 1953, 120-2.

² Num. Chron. 2nd ser., ix, 1869, 319-26; Evans, The Coins of the Ancient Britons, 1890, 583; Clarke, Arch. Journ. xcvi, 1940, 79-80, 113.

3 Smith, Num. Chron. xv, 1853, 98-102; Norf. Arch. iv, 1855, 357-9; Evans, 1864, 361; Arch. Journ. xcvi, 1940, 78-80, 106.

4 Akerman, Num. Chron. i, 1839, 89; Fox, Arch. Cambridge Region, 1923, 88.

⁵ Evans, 1890, 586-7; Carlyon-Britton Collection (Sotheby's Sale, 17 November 1913, lots 84-87); V.C.H. Cambs. i, 1938, 300.

⁶ Clarke, Arch. Journ. xcvi, 1940, 103 (only three coins then known).

⁷ Akerman, Num. Chron. i, 1839, 89. 8 Archaeologia, xc, 1944, 44-45.

to inscribed coins in both the Honingham (4:9) and the Santon Downham (3:8) hoards is very similar, as is the general range of types represented. In the other hoards the proportion of uninscribed to inscribed coins is roughly equal, but the total number of coins represented is too small for great reliance to be placed on the relative frequencies. In general the composition of all these hoards is remarkably uniform and must reflect a cross-section of the tribal currency circulating at the time of deposit. On purely numismatic evidence only, the date of concealment of the Santon Downham hoard can be suggested within narrow limits. The dupondii of Claudius which it contained were minted in A.D. 41 and the date of deposit is probably a few years subsequent to this. Evans suggested A.D. 50-55 as a probable date, and I have pointed out that this hoard and that from Weston are likely to have been buried in the troubles associated with the rising of Boudicca in A.D. 61.2 The Weston hoard contained Roman republican coins of the Antonia, Cassia, and Claudia families not minted later than 30 B.C. and therefore older than the associated Icenian coins. If, however, Allen's chronology is correct, and it probably is, then the inclusion of the coin of the AESU issue, with which the Santon Downham series also terminates, must be held to argue for the deposition of the Weston hoard after A.D. 40. The latest coin in the Honingham hoard is the single specimen of the SAEMU issue dated by Allen c. A.D. 45 and presumably struck, in any case, before the abortive Iceni revolt of A.D. 47-48 probably put an end to an independent coinage, for the names of neither Prasutagas nor Boudicca appear in the numismatic record.³ How long after c. A.D. 45 the Honingham hoard was concealed is a matter for conjecture, but it may well fall into line with those from Santon Downham and Weston and have been concealed during the Roman repression of Boudicca's revolt of A.D. 61. To judge from the clay soil at the Honingham site, the immediate area probably carried heavy woodland at the date suggested and this isolated hoard far from any known settlement of the period may have been buried there by a refugee.

The continued circulation of Icenian coins even after Boudicca's revolt has been noted at the Roman town at Caistor-by-Norwich where four uninscribed silver coins were found on a site not occupied till about A.D. 70.4 The Brettenham hoard comes from a site likewise not occupied before A.D. 61-705 and must reflect the activities of the native population, whether as coinage or bullion, during the second phase of romanization which followed Boudicca's revolt. The hoards from the Fens, at March and Wimblington (Stonea) in Cambridgeshire, are likely to represent the activities of the native population after the Roman invasion as there is virtually no trace of pre-Roman Iron Age occupation in this area. The coins in these hoards are likely to have been taken into the Fenland after A.D. 61 by conquered rebels

¹ Num. Chron. 2nd ser., ix, 1869, 325-6.

³ Num. Chron. 2nd ser., ix, 1869, 325-6.

⁴ Norf. Arch. xxiv, 1931, 134.

² Arch. Journ. xcvi, 1940, 79.

⁵ Norf. Arch. xxvi, 1937, 144.

of the tribe of the Iceni from farther east in Norfolk or north-west Suffolk, taken, as Professor Richmond has suggested, to labour at the construction of canals for drainage and transport, thus creating a vast

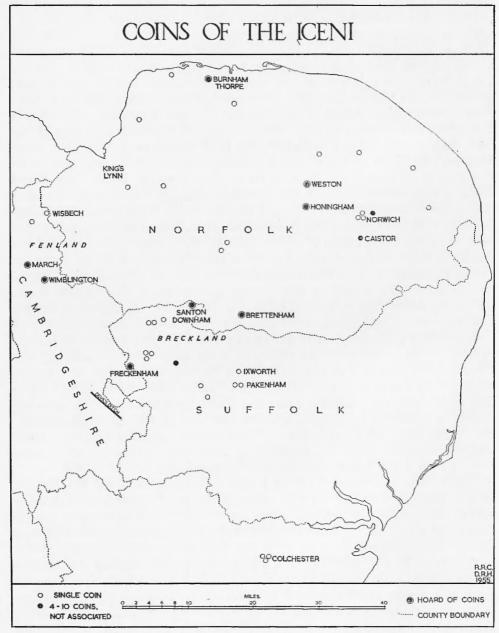


Fig. 2. East Anglian distribution of coins of the Iceni.

area of fertile agricultural land² out of the waste which the Fens had been in the Iron Age. The Wimblington hoard ends with examples of

¹ Roman Britain (Pelican History of England), 1955, 129-30.

² Norf. Arch. xxx, 1950, 149-50.

A Hoard of Silver Coins of the Iceni from Honingham, Norfolk the AESU and SAEMU issues and so is probably later than c. A.D. 45 on internal evidence alone.

V. THE TRIBAL AREA OF THE ICENI

The limits of the tribal area of the Iceni have been discussed by numismatists1 and archaeologists2 on the basis primarily of the distribution of their coinage, but all the distribution maps³ of this area require modification in some form or other, so that a fresh assessment of the evidence is given here in cartographical form (Fig. 2). In 1940 I pointed out that "only north-west Suffolk, west, north and northeast Norfolk can definitely be considered Icenian with a possible extension of control to the Fen islands of north Cambridgeshire".4 The latter suggestion should now be abandoned in view of the observations made in the preceding section. The distribution pattern attributable to the period c. B.C. 15-A.D. 47-48 shows that the area effectively controlled by the Iceni consisted of the modern county of Norfolk, apart from the Marshland district west of King's Lynn, and comprised also the Breckland portion of north-west Suffolk as far south and east as Ixworth and Pakenham. This main Icenian concentration in Breckland was separated from south-east Suffolk, which formed part of the Trinovantian tribal area, by a heavily forested area of boulder clay in central Suffolk, while the Devil's Ditch on Newmarket Heath, admittedly a Dark Ages construction, seems to preserve the line of the Icenian frontier with the Catuvellauni to the south-west, as Fox demonstrated.5

VI. FINDSPOTS OF ICENI COINS (apart from silver hoards) (Fig. 2)

Detailed references to most of these finds are given in Arch. Journ. xcvi, 1940, 103-6, 110-13. Subsequent discoveries or additions are noted here.

Norfolk

ACLE (near): Evans, Pl. xiv. 13 (gold).

BRANCASTER: Evans, Pl. xv. 7.

BURNHAM THORPE: Probable small hoard of uninscribed silver—now lost. Caistor-by-Norwich: Evans, Pl. xvi. 7; xvi. 8 (2 specimens); xvi. 9-14.

CAWSTON: Evans, Pl. xiv. 14 (gold).

INGOLDISTHORPE: Probably one uninscribed silver.

IRSTEAD: Mack 404 (gold 1 stater), now in Norwich Museum.

MIDDLETON: One silver coin.

NORWICH (near): Evans, Pl. XIV. 11; Pl. XIV. 12 (two specimens) (gold).

OXNEAD: Evans, Pl. XIV. 10 (gold). SAHAM TONEY: One gold coin.

¹ Evans, 1864, 357; Allen, 1944, 39; Mack, 1953, 115.

² Fox, Arch. Cambridge Region, 1923, 90; Antiquity, 1929, 152.

³ Brooke, Antiquity, vii, 1933, Map XII (Iceni and Addedomaros); Clarke, Arch. Journ., xcvi, 1940, Pl. xXII (Iceni and other types in Norfolk and Suffolk); Allen, Archaeologia, xc, 1944, Map VII (Iceni with Durotriges and Dobuni); Mack, The Coinage of Ancient Britain, Map 17 (Iceni only).

4 Arch. Journ. xcvi, 1940, 81. 5 Fox, Arch. Cambridge Region, 1923, 90. THORPE-NEXT-NORWICH: Numerous coins including probably Evans, Pl. xv. 1-6; xv. 9/10; xv. 14; xvi. 7 (all now lost).

THREXTON: Evans, Pl. xv. 2.

Walsingham: Evans, Pl. xvi. 9-14.

WALTON, EAST: Evans, Pl. XVI. II (private possession, 1955).

SUFFOLK

BURY St. EDMUNDS (near): Evans, Pl. XVIII. 2 (gold).

FORNHAM: Evans, Pl. xvi. 10.

FRECKENHAM: Hoard of 90 gold coins, including Evans, Pl. XIV. 12 (1); XIV. 13 (49); XIV. 14 (20); XXIII. 6 (8). One coin now in Norwich Museum.

ICKLINGHAM: Evans, Pl. xiv. 14 var.; Pl. xxiii. 4 (gold); Pl. xv. 3; Pl. xv. 11; Pl. xvi. 5; Pl. xvi. 10 (contemporary forgery); Also Pl. xvi. 7/8 and Pl. xvi. 10 in British Museum.

Ixworth: Evans, Pl. xvi. 7-9.

LAKENHEATH: Evans, Pl. xvi. 8; Pl. xv. 9 in Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. MILDENHALL (near): Evans, Pl. xxiii. 4 (gold); Pl. xvi. 7; Mack, 43r (not illustrated).

PAKENHAM: Evans, Pl. xv. 10; xvi. 8. Wangford, near Brandon: Evans, Pl. xvi. 9.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE

Wisbech: Near North Station—one silver coin (Wisbech Museum, 1950). (This cannot now be found.)

Wisbech St. Mary (near): Evans, Pl. xiv. 10 (gold); Evans, 1890, 579.

ESSEX

COLCHESTER: Camulodunum Excavations—Evans, Pl. xvi. 8; Pl. xvi. 9; one related to Evans, Pl. xv. 1 or xvi. 1/2 (Hawkes and Hull, Camulodunum, 1947, 135, 141: Pl. xvii. 3).

OUTSIDE EASTERN ENGLAND (not mapped)

Berkshire, Wallingford (near): Evans, Pl. xv. 3/10; Evans, 1890, 587; Seaby, Berks. Arch. Journ. xlii, 1938, 84 (10c); xliii. 1939, Pl. 111. 3.

Dorset, Sherborne: Evans, Pl. xv. 4.

Hampshire, near Portsmouth: Evans, Pl. xv. 1/2; Pl. xv. 12.

London, Leadenhall Street: Type of Evans, 1890, 585 (London Museum A. 22940—Vulliamy, County Archaeologies, *Middlesex and London*, 1930, 139).

Surrey, Blackheath, Westcombe Park: Evans, Pl. xv. 10/11 (2 specimens) (London Museum A. 26925-6).

YORKSHIRE, Elmswell: Evans, Pl. xvi. 9 (British Museum), Hull Museum Publication, No. 198, 1938, 40.

Other coins previously mapped as Icenian are now in all probability to be attributed to the Coritani, as Mr. D. F. Allen kindly informs me. These include coins from:

Near Wallingford, Berks., Evans, Pl. F. 14.

Bygrave, Hertfordshire, Evans, Pl. xvi. 12.

Scunthorpe, Lincolnshire, Mack 410. Castor, Northants, Evans, Pl. xvi. 12.

Bridgnorth, Shropshire, Mack 414—unique at present—no real evidence for Icenian origin.

The gold uninscribed coin from Barrington, Cambridgeshire, previously attributed to the Iceni (Fox, *Arch. Cambridge Region*, 1923, 88) proves to be a Morinic stater (Evans, Pl. B. 8).

The Icenian coin hoard marked on Allen's distribution map in north Shropshire (*Archaeologia*, xc, 1944) results from a draughtsman's error.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to Mr. R. H. M. Dolley for contributing the catalogue of the Honingham coins to this report: to Mr. D. F. Allen for freely placing at my disposal his wide knowledge of the British Iron Age coinage, and to the authorities at the British Museum and Norwich Castle Museum for permission to publish the Honingham hoard and to those at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, and at Wisbech Museum for facilities for examining the Wimblington hoard, not previously published in detail. I am also grateful to Mr. D. R. Howlett for re-drawing Fig. 2.

Hoards of Iceni Silver Coins

Evans 1864	Mack 1953	Allen's typology and dating 1944	Honingham present paper	Santon Downham N.C.	Weston. B.M. unless noted otherwise	March	Battle	Wimblington. W.M. unless noted otherwise	Brettenham B.M.
xvi. 11	407	p .	I		I	ı (B.M.)			
xvi. 10	408	scribed	4	I	I				
xvi. 9	409	1 18.5	14	2 .	1+			1+1 (B.M.) 5 (C.B.)	
xvi. 7	413) S. U	85	26	12+2 N.C.M.	ı (N.C.)	ı (N.C.)	4+2 (F.M.)	I
vi. I	415	Unit from 15	4		2	ı (B.M.)			
cvi. 6	412	D44	••			1 (B.M.)			
	Total	Uninscribed	108	29	19+	3	I	13	1+1
KV. 14	434	CAMUL DURO	I		I				
v. 11		(B.C. 15-0) ANTED		10	3	I (N.C.)			
v. 9	419		5		3	1 (11.0.)	::	4+4 (C.B.)	I
v. 10	420	,, }o	53		I			2	ī
V. 13	421	1 1		I	2+2 N.C.M.			3	
V. 12	423	ED (A.D. 10)	20	2		2 (N.C.)		4	
V. I, 2	424	ECEN (A.D. 15)	33	12	6		.22	4	I
v. 3	425	ECE)	21	II			ı (N.C.)	I	
W. 4	426	,,		3	3				
. v. 5	427	,, A.D. 30	22	5	2			I	
cv. 6	428	"	6		ı (N.C.M.)			I	
v. 8	429	A'ESU (A.D. 40)			1 (N.C.M.)	• • •	••	1 (C.B.)	
v. 7	432 433	SAEMU (A.D. 45)	5	4	2			ı (C.B.)	
	i 455 in but In					• • •		, ,	
JACERIA		SCRIBED		30			••		
	419/20		16		••	••			
	423/4	1	28		• • •				
	419/29	••	15					5 2	
	425/7				•••	••			•••
	TOTAL	Inscribed	232	78	24	3	I	37	3
Totals			340	107	c. 150/300	c. 40/50	"Many others"	50	5
Roman				2 Claudius (B.M.)	3 Consular (B.M.) Antonia: Cassia: Claudia	•••			
Present locations		337 N.C.M. 3 B.M.	21 B.M. 33 Thetford M.	39 B.M. 5 N.C.M.	2 B.M.	Unknown	36 W.M. 2 F.M. 1 B.M. 11 C.B.	5 B.M.	

B.M. = British Museum; N.C.M. = Norwich Castle Museum; N.C. = Numismatic Chronicle; F.M. = Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; C.B. = Carlyon-Britton Sale Catalogue, 1913; W.M. = Wisbech Museum.

A NEGLECTED BUT VITAL YORKSHIRE HOARD

By R. H. M. DOLLEY

In his brilliant study of the tenth-century coinage of York, Mr. Derek Allen placed the class of coins reading Raienalt "after the end of the regular Northumbrian series". As he justly remarks "they could hardly have circulated alongside the excellent pennies current between A.D. 940 and 950", and no less shrewd is his further comment that "the use of the Carolus monogram and Eboraci legend connects them closely with the later versions of the St. Peter pence". Less happy, in the opinion of the writer of this note, is the suggestion that "the hand on some of them may well be copied from the hand type on coins of Æthelræd II", and that "coins of this smaller module are more probable towards the end of the century than in the middle, since they might then have passed with coins of Æthelræd II". Thanks to the generosity of Dr. N. L. Rasmusson, the present writer has had the opportunity, denied to his predecessors, of examining the great Swedish hoards preserved in the Statens Historiska Museum at Stockholm, and in his opinion it is inconceivable that the Raienalt coins could be so late. This opinion may seem to be reinforced by consideration of an early nineteenth-century find from Yorkshire which seems to have escaped the notice of modern writers although cited both by Benson and by Caine.2

The most complete contemporary account of the hoard is in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1807, pp. 1105-7. It was communicated under the pseudonym Amicus, but Caine was able to identify the correspondent as one Robert Belt of Bossall. Most of the report is devoted to an extravagant surmise concerning the occasion of the deposit—a flight of fancy rivalling if not outstripping some of those advanced concerning other hoards at the beginning of this century but the following passages throw light on the content of the find: "My own collection of the curiosities undermentioned is but small. The Coins are, however, in good preservation. I have sent, for the use of your Engraver, a few of those I consider as most valuable; viz. a coin of King Athelstan, a head of King Edward the Elder, and two other pieces of the York Mint, but engraved by an ignorant workman." Unfortunately the editors did not see fit to publish the two English coins on the ground that they were "not uncommon", but the description would suggest that they were a portrait coin of Edward the Elder (Br. 12), and the common type of Athelstan (Br. 1) which we know to have been struck throughout the reign. The two pieces of the York Mint "engraved by an ignorant workman" are illustrated by

excellent line-drawings (Fig. 1).

(1936-7), pp. 175-86.

² G. Benson, "Coins: especially those relating to York", 1913 Report of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, pp. 1-104; C. Caine, The Archiepiscopal Coins of York, 1908.

D. F. Allen, "Northumbrian Pennies of the Tenth Century", Brit. Num. Journ. xxii

They are seen to be the elusive *Raienalt* pence which Mr. Allen found so inconsistent with the rest of the "Norwegian" coinage of York, and examples in the British Museum (Fig. 2) give testimony to the



Fig. 1.

accuracy of "Mr. Urban's Engraver". The coin, incidentally, came into the National Collection after 1813 and before 1839, and it is the



FIG. 2.

suggestion of the writer of this note that the great majority if not all of the extant *Raienalts* emanate from the Bossall hoard.

Robert Belt continues:

I have sent also a small piece of what I consider as part of a silver stirrup, of a smaller size, but similar shape, with some in the original collection; and also the piece of silver chain undermentioned.

On the 14th of Sept. 1807, a leaden box, containing about 270 Silver Coins, and some pieces of Silver, the latter weighing about two pounds, was turned up by the plough, in the parish of Bossall, in the county of York, at a farm occupied by Benjamin Wright, and belonging to Henry Cholmley, esq. near the Lobster House, and eight milestones on the road from York to Malton. Most of the Coins appear to have been struck at the Mint of St. Peter at York. From several Coins of Alfred, Edward the Elder, and Athelstan, having been found with the St. Peter's penny, it is conjectured that they were struck in the reigns of those Monarchs; deposited in the Treasury of the Cathedral of York, in King Athelstan's time, and taken from thence previous to the battle between Harold and the King of Norway in 1066. They have the name of the Master of the Mint, or of the City of York, on the reverse; and are in perfect preservation, seeming almost fresh from the Mint, and at all events cannot have been in much circulation, if any. . . . It appears evident from the pieces of Silver found with the Coins, that the whole was the plunder of a field of battle. Some of these appear separated or chopped off from others of them, and to be pieces of stirrups. Others seem to have been ornaments for horses. There is also a small piece of a Silver Chain of coarse workmanship, which, no doubt, was either part of a bit, or of the headstall of a bridle. In addition to these was a plain Silver Ring, curiously twisted at the joinings, and some broken ones, and a small Silver Crucifix.

The presence of ornaments and "hacksilver" is unusual, but not without precedent. Indeed, it is a feature of a small group of early tenth-century hoards from northern England and the shores of the Irish Sea, and the finds from Cuerdale, Goldsborough, and Bangor come at once to mind. Unfortunately the presence of "hacksilver" in the 1950 Chester hoard means that we cannot regard the inclusion of broken and cut silver ornaments as an infallible indication of early tenth-century date, although in that instance the "hacksilver" almost certainly represented an earlier agglomeration arbitrarily added to the hoard on the occasion of its deposit.² In the Scots finds "hacksilver" does occur in later contexts, but it is easy to overlook an essential distinction between hoards from English territory and those from areas never incorporated in the English kingdom as such. Prima facie, then, the presence of "hacksilver" is entirely consistent with the inclusion of coins of Edward the Elder and Æthelstan, and indeed may seem to confirm any dating of the hoard to the first half of the tenth century.

Considerably more precision can be given to such a line of reasoning if we refer to Marsden's *Numismata Orientalia Illustrata* where on p. 80 we find described a dirham of the Samanid prince Ahmed ben Ismail struck at Al-Shash in 299 (911–12). Marsden continues:

It was kindly placed in the Collection by Sir William Strickland, Bart. of Boynton in Yorkshire, who communicated to me at the same time, the particular circumstances attending its discovery, in the following note: "Sir William Strickland begs Mr. Marsden's acceptance of the Cufic coin which he shewed him in London, and which he should have had great pleasure in adding to his curious and interesting Collection at the time, had it not belonged to his brother-in-law, Mr. Cholmley, on whose estate, called the Haverholms, in the parish of Flaxton, near York, it was found. It was ploughed up in the autumn of 1807, in a field some years taken off from the antient forest of Galtres, and was enclosed in a leaden box, which time had almost entirely decomposed, along with one other imperfect coin of the same country, which Sir W. believes Mr. M. saw in the possession of Mr. Weston, two pennies of Edward the elder, son of Alfred the Great, a hundred and fifty or more Saxon Peter-pennies, several rings and armlets of curious construction, and lumps of sculptured silver, the use of which cannot be ascertained, as they appear to be fragments only of some massive ornament or vessel. Sir W. has requested his son to present the coin to Mr. M." York, Jan. 22d, 1809.

This inclusion in the hoard of Samanid coins, one of them now in the British Museum (Fig. 3), is another pointer to its being early in date. As will emerge so very clearly from Mrs. U. S. Linder Welin's forthcoming study of the Kufic coins in English, Scots and Irish hoards, the Samanid contribution is confined to a small group deposited between c. 915 and c. 930 and obviously associated with the Hiberno-Norse attack on York. To date, not one Samanid coin has occurred in a find with English coins of a king later than Æthelstan, and indeed there is only one isolated instance of a Kufic coin of any description occurring in a hoard datable to the second rather than the

For a map bringing out the importance of the hoards of the Dublin-York "axis" see the forthcoming paper by D. M. Wilson in *Acta Archaeologica*.

² G. Webster, *A Saxon Treasure Hoard Found at Chester*, 1950, pp. 22-32.

first half of the tenth century. Even in this instance, the solitary Kufic coin has the appearance of being a survival and is accompanied by coins of Æthelstan. Taken in conjunction, the presence both of Samanid coins and of "hacksilver" in the same find argues pretty



Fig. 3.

strongly for the hoard being dated before rather than after 930, and, as we have seen, a date c. 927 is strongly suggested by the English coins which run from Alfred to Æthelstan. A date much later in Æthelstan's reign is surely precluded by the apparent absence of spectacular but now by no means uncommon pieces of Anlaf which beyond doubt would have exercised the early nineteenth-century

antiquary.

It has been assumed that the find described by Belt and that discussed by Strickland in a letter to Marsden are one and the same hoard, and any lingering doubts are resolved by a consideration of the find-spot. The Lobster House stands on the boundary of the parishes of Bossall and Flaxton, and is the obvious point of reference for any find in the vicinity if only because it appears on contemporary maps whereas the farm occupied by Wright is omitted. Both finds are described as having been contained in a leaden box, in both St. Peter's pence predominate, and both contain "hacksilver" and pence of Edward the Elder. The landowner is in each case a Mr. Cholmley, and the discovery was made in both instances in the autumn of 1807. So many coincidences cannot be brushed aside, and the few discrepancies between the two accounts are readily explicable in the case of a hoard which was never the subject of a coroner's inquest. The damage done by nineteenth-century contempt for the law of treasure-trove cannot be stressed too much, and in this particular case there can be little doubt but that it has delayed by more than a century recognition of the true place in the Northumbrian series of two major issues. Even more important, possibly, than the reattribution of the Raienalts is the incisive indication given of the date of the great emission of the so-called St. Peter pence. In fact the hoard evidence was already ample to put the earliest before 915—Harkirke alone would suffice—but the present writer would suggest that even the late Dr. Philip Nelson failed sufficiently to take into account the

¹ I am most grateful to my colleague Miss H. M. Wallis of the British Museum Map Room for placing at my disposal contemporary large-scale maps of the area.

incidence of other finds.¹ Is there really any good reason for supposing that the issue continued after Æthelstan's occupation of York? Elsewhere in this *Journal Mrs.* Strudwick publishes an important hoard from near Keswick which seems to provide irrefutable evidence



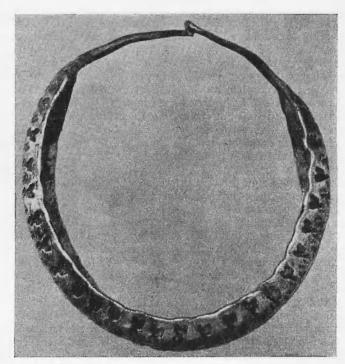


FIG. 4.

that the type had begun to degenerate soon after 920.² Eric's coins are not true imitations but rather evocations, and the suggestion of this paper is that Mr. Allen's courageous redating of the St. Peter pence was not in fact drastic enough. Far from beginning c. 925, this curious ecclesiastical coinage was by then already on the point of expiry. Incidentally, one important consequence of this early dating of the St. Peter pence is that there is no longer any obstacle to our giving the St. Martin pence to the second decade of the tenth century, historically their most plausible setting.

If the numismatist deplores the absence of a complete list of the Bossall/Flaxton hoard, and in particular details of the weights which would have confirmed the presence of degenerate St. Peter pence, how much more must the archaeologist regret the disappearance of the ornaments, and especially of the small silver crucifix. The Yorkshire Museum, however, does possess one of the armlets mentioned

¹ The present writer knows only one hoard where a St. Peter penny appears to occur in conjunction with English coins later than Æthelstan—the rather dubious "second" Trewhiddle hoard (Num. Chron. 1955, pp. 5–9). On the other hand, they do occur in hoards containing no coins apparently later in date than 925, for instance Harkirke, Dean and the St. John's Hoard from Chester, and in these three cases at least with St. Eadmund pennies.

² Infra, p. 177.

by Strickland, I and the present writer is grateful to Mr. G. F. Willmot, F.S.A., for permission to publish it here (Fig. 4) and to his colleague Mr. David Wilson who supplies the following authoritative note:

The armlet, illustrated in Shetelig² but erroneously described as from York, has a maximum external diameter of 8.0 cms., and the maximum breadth of the band is 2.4 cms. The weight is 61 gms. It is of silver and of C-shaped section, the terminals tapering to unite in a hooked clip. The edges are slightly scalloped, and the whole is decorated with bands of punched ornament, a central band of coarse beading dividing a series of punches, the larger one a very rough and angular trefoil, and the smaller leaf-shaped and occasionally grouped in twos and threes. The large stamps are opposed in a complementary tooth pattern with two rows on either side of the midrib.

The armlet is of a comparatively rare type, the form of its terminals and its C-shaped section being found but rarely in association. In England the only definite and distinct parallel known to the writer is to be found in the great hoard from Cuerdale which is now dated by Mr. C. E. Blunt and by Mr. Dolley independently rather nearer 905 than 911.3 The Lancashire hoard contains half of a similar armring of C-shaped section with one of the single-twist loops surviving, and it is possible that two or three

other fragments in the find belong to the same class.

The type is of Scandinavian inspiration but it is rarely found in that area. It is not listed in Petersen's Norwegian type series, 4 although a C-shaped armring with blunted arms (op. cit., fig. 188) is presumably a variant. Nor does it appear in Rygh⁵ or Müller,⁶ and only rather doubtfully in Stenberger's great corpus of the silver from the Gotland hoards, though in the latter work the variant noted in Petersen is of frequent occurrence. It would seem in consequence that the Bossall/Flaxton armlet is in all probability a Viking type, a cross perhaps between the early armring of D-shaped section and the neckring with hooked terminals which in turn foreshadows the later type with blunted terminals so common in Viking silver finds.9

The punched design is a rather coarse variant of one found on many Scandinavian armrings, and close parallels are to be seen, to take only two examples, in the Gotland finds from Suderbys (SHM Inv. 8890) and Buters (SHM Inv. 4164), 10 the latter hoard to be dated from the coins to the seventh decade of the tenth century." For the archaeologist perhaps the greatest importance of the new example from the Bossall/ Flaxton hoard is its provenance and its occurrence in a closely dated context.

In conclusion it seems worth remarking that the National Collection has a run of nineteen St. Peter pence which there is reason to think

- 1 I am grateful to Mr. Willmot for the following information concerning the provenance of the armlet. In V.C.H., vol. ii, p. 102 it is given as from Flaxton. In the 1852 handbook to the Museum it is recorded as "a silver armlet found in a field at Flaxton near the Lobster house on the road to Malton". The immediate provenance is "the collection of J. Croft, Esq.", and in 1891 Canon Raine adds the information that it was presented to the Yorkshire Museum in 1824.
 - ² Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland, vol. iv, p. 31 and fig. 8.

Jbid., vol. iv, pp. 119 f. and fig. 12.
Vikingtidens Smykker, Stavanger, 1928, pp. 150 f.

⁵ Norske Oldsager, Christiania, 1885.

6 Ordning af Danmarks Oldsager, Copenhagen, 1888-95.

7 Der Schatzfunde Gotlands der Wikingerzeit, Lund, 1947, Pl. 257.

8 Ibid., figs. 38, 107, &c.

9 Stjerna K. Bornholms Befolkningshistoria under Jarnalderen, Stockholm, 1905, figs. 179 and 181. In this context it is interesting to note that Petersen (op. cit., p. 159) claims that the Viking armlets developed directly out of the armlets of the period immediately preceding the Viking Age. Professor Stenberger has suggested in correspondence a similar idea with the addition that this arm-ring may be an English copy of a Scan-10 Stenberger, op. cit., figs. 124:1 and 125:1. dinavian type.

¹¹ The 500-odd Arabic coins and fragments thereof span the period A.D. 739-959. The hoard is thus among the latest to consist purely of Kufic coins, and a date substantially

later seems precluded by the absence of German and English coins.

were acquired during the decade immediately following the Bossall discovery. Eighteen of them belong to the so-called "light" series. Certainty is impossible but it is difficult not to see some connexion between so notable an accession and the dispersal of an unprecedented hoard containing as many as 200 of the pieces in question. It only remains to express the hope that the appearance of this note may bring to light the present whereabouts of other coins and ornaments from a find which is clearly of cardinal importance for the student of tenth-century coinage.

¹ Cf. infra, p. 45.

FORGERY IN THE ANGLO-SAXON SERIES

By c. e. blunt and j. d. a. thompson

WITH the increasing interest of the historian in Anglo-Saxon coins, a number of numismatists have been re-examining their material to test its validity. The results have been disconcerting. It had been generally assumed that forgery, of a kind likely to prove deceptive today, was not rife in the Anglo-Saxon series and that the greater part of the dangerous forgeries had been identified and condemned in Mr. Lawrence's papers in the British Numismatic Journal. This is proving not to be the case. The evidence all points to the existence of an active and well-equipped forger who operated during the nineteenth century and whose products have been only partially recognized. The earliest sale record of his coins that we have found was in the middle of the nineteenth century, but most make their first appearance later. A number of them have since passed successfully through various important collections and acquired in the process distinguished pedigrees. Quite lately it has proved possible to have two condemned and it is hoped that in due course all will find their way into the forgery trays of the British Museum, where alone they can be not only entirely harmless, but readily available for comparison in future cases.

In dealing with the question of forgeries great care has always to be taken to avoid condemning a coin without very good grounds for doing so. There will consequently always remain a more or less suspect class of border-line cases where there may be a conviction that a coin is a forgery but insufficient evidence to prove it. This class of

coin is not dealt with in the present paper.

Another problem in writing about forgeries is to give the evidence of detection without at the same time telling a future forger how to avoid similar pit-falls. In this paper certain evidence is deliberately withheld with this end in view, but it is hoped that sufficient will be

given to prove the case it is sought to make.

Before turning to the individual who is the primary subject of this paper, it would be profitable to say a word on John White, an earlier forger in the English series. The name of White crops up often enough in early numismatic literature in England. Haigh refers to him as "the notorious forger"; Sainthill as "the person who imposed spurious coins of Richard I on the unsuspecting honesty of Snelling";3 Nichols as "the celebrated Collector (and supposed Fabricator) of Ancient Coins"; 4 and Hawkins, when impugning the plates prepared by Withy and Ryall, says, "they are supposed to have been engraved under the inspection of Mr. John White and coins represented which either never existed, or were altered by his ingenuity to suit his fancy and impose upon collectors".5

¹ Brit. Num. Journ. ii, pp. 397-409; iii, pp. 281-90; iv, pp. 311-16.

¹ Brit. Num. Journ. 11, pp. 397 4-27.
² Numismatic History of East Anglia, p. 4.
³ Olia Poariuu, 1, p. -7.
⁴ Numismatic History of East Anglia, p. 4.
⁵ Silver Coins of England (3rd edn.), p. 4.

Several unfavourable references to White occur in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. Referring to an unusual coin, a writer says, "but this is engraved from the highly suspicious cabinet of Mr. White" (1796, p. 639). In the following year (p. 120) occurs: "Any collector of coins will give Mr. Laskey such an account of Mr. White's fabrications, as will convince him that it was not one false step that entirely ruined his fame." Again in the same year (p. 394): "If I do not mistake, the two pennies of Richard I fabricated by Mr. White, were not discovered to be forgeries till long after the plates were engraved and published by the Antiquarian Society. I beg to ask R. for information, what other frauds Mr. White practised in this way."¹

White was a tradesman in Newgate Street in the City of London and is described in a contemporary manuscript note in a copy of the catalogue of his collection, dispersed in 1788 after his death, as "Chip, etc. Hat Dealer". Dealing in coins appears to have been a side-line and he seems to have exercised as much ingenuity in providing provenances for some of his coins (quite possibly genuine pieces) as he did in creating coins to fill gaps in collectors' cabinets. Among his more daring efforts was a coin which, he claimed, was "actually found on

the coffin of Hardicanute in Denmark''.2

Among the few customers of John White who can be identified today was William Hunter whose accounts show that from 1776 onwards he made a number of purchases from White. But Hunter seems to have been shrewd enough to avoid having direct dealings with him: the receipts are always made out to Taylor Combe who rightly enjoyed the reputation of being a good judge of a coin.3 One of White's forgeries did, however, deceive Taylor Combe's father, Dr. Charles Combe. Ruding records⁴ that a coin of Æthelbald, engraved by Hall in a set of plates of Anglo-Saxon coins prepared, "as it is believed" under the direction of Mr. John White of Newgate Street, was seen by Dr. Combe in the cabinet of a Mr. Austin and pronounced by him to be genuine. Taylor Combe, however, could not find it there. This coin would hardly deceive anyone today. It is illustrated in Hawkins's Silver Coins as no. 168. Kenyon in Hawkins's 3rd edition is guarded as to its authenticity. What is possibly the same coin is illustrated by Lawrence.⁵ If the alleged Richard I short-cross penny also illustrated by Lawrence⁶ is the one imposed on Snelling, the same comment would apply.

It is necessary to stress the elementary nature of White's forgeries because his association with the first recorded specimen of Æthelberht's celebrated "wolf and twins" penny has led to serious doubts being cast on its authenticity. This coin belonged to a Mr. Lindegreen, who

We are indebted to Mrs. Strudwick for these references to the Gentleman's Magazine.

Nichols, Literary Anecdotes, vi, p. 179.
 G. Macdonald, Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection, i, p. xxiv n.

^{**} Annals, i, p. 124.

5 B.N.J. ii, Pl. 111, 54. A specimen was in lot 44 of White's sale in 1788. It made with five other Saxon coins, £1.11s. 6d. and so was presumably even then not adjudged genuine.

6 Ibid. iii, Pl. 1v, 85.

was a friend of White's, and the attention of Dr .Pegge who first published it was drawn to it by White himself. So great was the suspicion this created that, at the sale of Barker's collection in 1803, the British Museum was able to acquire what was then believed to be a unique coin for £1.8s. Two more specimens are now known. One is in the Hunter collection in Glasgow, the other was in the Lockett sale (lot 323). Major Carlyon-Britton, in a paper read before the British Numismatic Society, gave convincing reasons for regarding these coins as genuine. Even without these, it seems hardly possible that they could have been the product of an eighteenth-century forger.

Reference has been made to Mr. Lawrence's papers on forgery³ and the importance of these cannot be overestimated. In the course of these papers he produced evidence of a highly competent forger who created several series of coins from false dies which he showed considerable skill at times in altering. The groups which it is here suggested may be associated with this individual are the following:

I. Æthelbald-Æthelwulf group. B.N.J. ii, Pl. II, 51–52 and pp. 407–8 and N.C. 1893, pp. 40–45.

2. Harold II-William I and II group. *B.N.J.* ii, Pl. III, 76 and *B.N.J.* iii, Pl. II, 26–37 and pp. 282–5.

3. Henry I-Matilda-Stephen group. B.N.J. iii, Pl. III, 53-58 and 67 and pp. 286-8.

4. Temp. Stephen-David of Scotland group. B.N.J. iii, Pl. IV,

72-74, 78, and 80-81 and pp. 289-90.

5. Philip and Mary-Francis and Mary-Mary (Queen of Scots) group. B.N.J. iv, Pl. v, 67-71.

These five groups have certain features in common. The workmanship in all cases is of high quality, giving often a meretricious finish; the items in each group are (however improbably) die-linked and the dies have often been skilfully altered; in the case of the first four groups the majority of the coins are overstruck. In some cases Lawrence claimed to identify the understriking as a coin of later date than the overstrike.

In his later years Lawrence was not entirely satisfied that he had treated fairly the coins with the name of Æthelbald. In fact at his death the two specimens he had managed to acquire were found among his Anglo-Saxon coins and not in his forgery cabinet. Conclusive proof can now be brought to show that the view expressed in his paper in the *British Numismatic Journal* (and supported by Brooke)⁵ was the correct one. The coins which Lawrence described were:

¹ Haigh, op. cit., p. 4.

Brit. Num. Journ. v, pp. 73-84.
 In addition to his papers in Brit. Num. Journ. see also Num. Chron. 1897, pp. 226-34, 1899, pp. 241-50.

5 English Coins, p. 43.

⁴ Lawrence had earlier followed Montagu in accepting these coins as genuine. See Num. Chron., 1887, pp. 132-8 and 1893, pp. 40-45.

- (a) A penny by the moneyer Torhtulf bearing the name of Æthelbald (Pl. I, 1).
- (b) Another from the same pair of dies with the name altered to Æthelwulf (P1. I, 2).

Since then the same obverse die (with the legend of (b)) has been found coupled with a reverse die of a type used some twenty years earlier with the legend, in five lines across the field: ++/DORO/BERN/INCIVI/+. (P1. I, 3.) This coin weighs 24.7 gr. This would be evidence enough. But the same reverse die is found used on an alleged "offering penny" bearing the name of Æthered who became Archbishop of Canterbury in 870, that is twelve years after Æthelwulf's death. This curious piece, of which more than one specimen is believed to exist, reads in two lines EDERED/ARCHIEPI. The specimen illustrated (P1. I, 4) weighs 60 gr. and is now in the British Museum.

A further group, no member of which has been published as a forgery, although specimens exist in the forgery cabinets of the British Museum and of Messrs. A. H. Baldwin & Sons Ltd., is of the first type of Egbert of Wessex. The coins can be readily identified by the unusual bust and by the curious outline of the king's head (giving the impression that he is wearing a cap back to front), and we have seen specimens by four moneyers. Those by Ænred, Biosil, and Swene (Pl. I, 5) are from the same pair of dies with the moneyer's name altered. The fourth by the moneyer Tidem(an) (Pl. I, 6) is from the same reverse die (suitably altered) and has the same bust on the obverse. But the legend in this case starts from the top of the coin, whereas on the others it starts from the bottom.

This facility to alter his dies, often in what seem quite unnecessary places, is a feature of the work of this forger and it raises interesting questions of technique on which we hope opinions may be expressed

at this meeting.

The most complex group that we have found is of the first type of Alfred. Here again specimens have been placed in forgery cabinets but others continue to circulate and command high prices. The first two to be mentioned are by the moneyers Lude and Osric (Pl. I, 7), and failure to recognize these at that time as forgeries led to their inclusion in the Whitton edition of Brooke's English Coins, an error for which Mr. Blunt must accept the blame. They are from the same pair of dies with the moneyer's name altered and certain minor changes made, e.g. the addition of a cross at the end of the obverse legend on the Lude and the addition on Lude of various pellets on the reverse—or more probably the deletion on the Lude die of the pellets appearing on the Osric, as the original of the latter shows traces of pellets. A specimen of the Lude was in the collection of the late Dr. Arnold who readily consented to its inclusion in this paper. A specimen of the Osric was found recently in a deceased estate and withdrawn prior to the sale. It had previously been in Lord Grantley's collection (lot 997) and before that was in Mr. Lawrence's.

The next coin in this series bears the unusual name Oeamer (Pl. I, 8). Its general similarity to the two preceding coins will be apparent, but it differs in certain important details. The obverse legend, for instance, is broken by the bust and reads +XELRRED:/RE+. Nonetheless the position of certain letters on all these coins is so exactly similar and certain small irregularities correspond so closely that it is hard to resist the conclusion that, in some way, all come from the same basic die. Taking the Lude/Osric coins first, the two Es of Ælfred are in the same position as the E of Rex and the first E of Ælfred on the Oeamer; the R and E of Rex correspond with the R and E of Ælrred and a slight fault at the top of the latter letter occurs on both coins. The head and bust, notably the quite unusual nose, are very similar, but the dots at the end of the hair on the Lude/Osric coins are replaced by a solid line on the Oeamer. The reverse of all three coins appears to have been struck from the same die with the moneyer's name altered.

Allied to these three coins, but with further amendments, is a coin by the moneyer Tata (P1. 1, 9). Two specimens have in recent years successfully passed through the sale-room and it was the fact that both purported to have the same pedigree that first directed our attention to them. It appears that they are different specimens and our suspicions were further aroused when it was found that yet a third existed in the Fitzwilliam Museum, also with the same alleged pedigree. As it had been in that collection prior to either of the others appearing in the sale-room, the possibility of its being the same one was entirely eliminated. We have not seen the other two specimens together, but from the photographs (and other evidence) we have little doubt that they are in fact two separate coins. The pedigree of the Fitzwilliam Museum coin as kindly supplied to us by Mr. Shrubbs, is as follows:

Shepherd collection (1885) 69. Bought by Rollin for £14. 108. Montagu ,, (1895) 548. ,, ,, Spink ,, £5. Murdoch ,, (1903) 83. ,, ,, Rollin ,, £8. Bequeathed to the Fitzwilliam Museum in 1933 by Stewart Hen-

The Tata coins have points in common with the others we have considered but show even greater variations. The differences are perhaps more readily seen than the points of similarity. The obverse legend reads ELFERED M-X+. The final ED of the king's name coincides with the ED on the Lude/Osric coins and the terminal cross is not only similarly placed to the cross on the Lude coin but of the same peculiar form. The hair at the back of the head is identical but the face has been entirely remodelled. The central feature of the bust is a bent but nearly horizontal line, but the two side pieces are

On the reverse the most striking difference, besides the change of the moneyer's name, is the new form of o in Moneta. But in other respects the coins have so close a resemblance as to make it clear that they must be associated. In particular we would point out the spacing and placing of the pellets, the sloping E in *Moneta*, the N in the same word with its uneven uprights and, a small feature, but one common to all this series of forgeries, the *rounded* corner on the left of the lower lunette.

Yet another, but smaller, group is found of the portrait type of Edwig of which the only known genuine specimen is in the Hunter cabinet. The same dies produced each of the forgeries but the moneyer's

name is different on the only two specimens we have seen.

Moneyer Athulf (Pl. I, 10). This coin, now in the British Museum forgery trays, was formerly in the Brice, Montagu (697) and Murdoch

(124) collections.

Moneyer Alred (P1. I, 11). This coin is in Mr. F. Baldwin's cabinet of forgeries. We have found no record of its appearance in the sale-room.

The groups of coins so far discussed all have features in common

which suggest that they come from the same hand.

These features are not found on the following, but they are equally dangerous forgeries. Lawrence has recorded them but they continue to crop up from time to time and are very liable to deceive. One indeed, illustrated in two of the major works of reference, is as a result particularly liable to be taken as genuine. They are therefore

added here for the protection of collectors.

Archbishops of Canterbury. Iaenberht. Lawrence illustrates in Brit. Num. Journ. ii, Pl. II. 26, a coin (Pl. I, 12) which he rightly (in our view) condemns. This specimen is in the collection of forgeries that he left to the British Museum. But another specimen from the same dies is illustrated in the British Museum Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins, Pl. XII. 2, and is again reproduced in Brooke's English Coins, Pl. III. 15. This coin was acquired by the British Museum in 1868 from a Mr. Joseph Mayer. A third specimen was in the Montagu sale and on its reappearance in the Astronomer's sale (lot 122) its authenticity was questioned. Several others are known to exist. This coin is clearly copied from the original in the Hunter cabinet, reproduced in Ruding, Pl. XII. From the slight differences that there are between the original and Ruding's plate it is apparent that the forger worked from the latter.

Æthered. Lawrence illustrates (B.N.J. ii, Pl. II. 31) a portrait-type penny of this archbishop which again he rightly condemns. A second specimen (Pl. I, 13) which had successfully passed through the Murchison, Shepherd, Montagu, and Jenks collections was condemned at the Ryan sale (lot 604). Messrs. A. H. Baldwin & Sons Ltd. have in their possession the actual dies from which this forgery was struck and also one die of a forgery of Stephen and Matilda penny, a coin illustrated by Lawrence (B.N.J. iii, Pl. IV. 78). These dies appear to have come to them together and, as the Stephen and Matilda coin is one of the die-linked series of the group 3 referred to earlier, its association with the two dies of Æthered tends to confirm

the suggestion that all are from the same hand. These dies are highly competent pieces of work and were made to be used in a professional press. The Royal Mint tells us that they might well date from the nineteenth century and it is possible that they are old dies, filed down and re-engraved that had previously been used for the issue of private tokens.

Kings of Mercia—Offa.

Bust type. Moneyer Babba. (Pl. I, 14.) Condemned by Lawrence. Several specimens are known.

Bust type. Moneyer Ciolhard (Pl. I, 15). More than one specimen

known; one at least of which has acquired an alleged find-spot.

A word must be said as to the probable date of these forgeries. The earliest auction record we have traced is a single specimen of the dielinked group in the Cuff sale in 1854 (lot 688, later, Montagu 225). The greater part, however, first appear some years later and are found in such collections as Shepherd (sold 1885), York Moore (1879, 1889), Brice (sold privately to Montagu in 1887), Marsham (1888), Young (1881), Wrighton, Wilcox (1908), Murchison (1866), Shorthouse (1890), Addington (sold privately to Montagu in the 1880's), Miss Williams (1889), and Gibbs (1913). The bulk of them found their way eventually into the Montagu collection and were in his sale. It is perhaps significant in this context that Haigh, writing in 1870 on the coinage of Alfred, included none of the forgeries of this reign. This may be due to his perspicacity—and there is no doubt that he was a remarkable numismatist—or to the fact that by then they had not appeared.

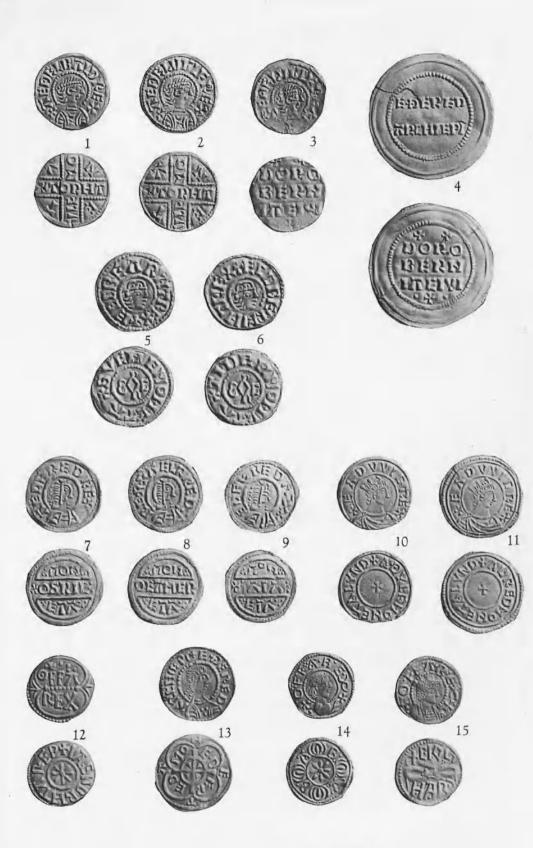
It would seem in any case that the forger was working from about the middle of the nineteenth century onwards. The fact that after the appearance of the Tata coin of Alfred in the Montagu sale in 1895 two further specimens with the same alleged pedigree emerged suggests that the forger or the successor to his dies may possibly have still been active at the end of the century. But this is not conclusive as a number of instances can be quoted where a Montagu pedigree has

been fabricated to lend no doubt a cachet to a coin.

Although we have our own suspicions as to the author of these forgeries we are not, in the absence of more conclusive evidence, prepared to publish them. It is a serious matter to defame the character of a dead man, though if conclusive evidence should be

forthcoming it may be a duty to do so.

We should, however, clear from the charge a rather despicable character called Singleton, alias James, alias "Dr." Edwards, of whom Forrer gives us some particulars in his Biographical Dictionary of Medallists (vol. v, p. 533). His dates are there given as c. 1825–40, dates that though a little early might conceivably cover this group of forgeries. But it is doubtful if Singleton was so able a forger. Forrer says his productions were mostly casts, some from originals, some from ideal coins. Among the known forgeries of Singleton listed by Forrer are coins of Eadwald, Regnald, Wigmund, and Eanbald.





Lawrence illustrates¹ coins of Eadwald, Wigmund, and Eanbald which may well be Singleton's products and which conform in style to what Forrer's remarks lead us to expect. If these are Singleton's, it is hardly likely that he was competent to produce the forgeries discussed

in this paper.

It is clear that the forger with whom we have to deal was a numismatist of some standing and either himself an engraver, or with access to the services of a venal engraver, of no mean technical ability. That profit was a substantial motive is clear but that it was not the only motive is suggested by the painstaking care with which he altered the dies of some groups, in particular those of Alfred, which he must have realized would not produce coins of outstanding value. This in fact looks like no more than a display of technical virtuosity the fruits of which may have given him the quiet satisfaction of having hood-

winked most of the leading authorities of the day.

Grueber, the then Keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum, was certainly among the distinguished authorities who were deceived. A large proportion of the forgeries, the subject both of this paper and of Lawrence's, were catalogued for sale in the Montagu collection and Grueber prepared this catalogue. Lawrence was already suspicious of the group of Norman forgeries which he later published² and it may well be thanks to a cautionary word from him that the British Museum failed to buy any of this group. More fortunate was their failure to buy any of the other forgeries recorded here, including as they did a coin of such national importance, had it been genuine, as the Edwig portrait penny. We have found no evidence that this was suspected at that time though the price realized, £14, was low even for the late nineteenth century.

What is adduced here is the result of a detailed study of no more than a few very restricted groups. This study must go farther and it is to be feared that it may disclose still more products from this fertile if misguided hand. It is hoped that any member finding further evidence on the subject will take the first opportunity to lay it before

the Society.

In conclusion we should like to express our great appreciation of the assistance and co-operation that we have received from many sides. In particular we would mention the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum and individually in that Department Mr. Dolley, the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, and individually Mr. Shrubbs, Messrs. A. H. Baldwin & Sons Ltd., and the late Dr. Arnold.

¹ Brit. Num. Journ. ii, Pl. 11. 33-34 and 41-46. ² See Num. Chron. 1897, pp. 226 and 234.

THE PROVENANCES OF THE ANGLO-SAXON COINS RECORDED IN THE TWO VOLUMES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM CATALOGUE

By R. H. M. DOLLEY and MRS. J. S. STRUDWICK
INTRODUCTION

As remarked in the last number of the British Numismatic Journal, one of the more notable deficiencies of the long out-dated but still standard 1889 and 1893 volumes of the Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum was their omission of virtually all provenances. The present writer, even with all the advantages conferred by daily access both to the actual coins and to the registers, had long felt the need for a systematic and convenient record of the origins of the Anglo-Saxon Collection entrusted to his charge, and at his suggestion Mrs. Strudwick began to mark up the two Departmental copies of the Keary and Grueber printed Catalogue. A start was made with the second volume mainly in order that the work might be geared to the projected Scandinavian Corpus. Not only was it felt desirable to determine which coins were beyond doubt from Swedish hoards— Bror Emil Hildebrand's only less distinguished son Hans was able to transfer to the British Museum large numbers of duplicates upon extremely favourable terms—but it seemed no less essential to establish which coins of the late Saxon period were certainly from English finds. As is well known, there are many Scandinavian imitations which are virtually indistinguishable from their English prototypes, and the present writer would consider long years of research well rewarded could he only discover an infallible criterion distinguishing all coins of London and of Lund. Presumably, though, a coin of Anglo-Saxon type found in England, and especially one found near to its alleged mint of origin, is to be considered English and not Scandinavian unless there is specific evidence to the contrary. Finds from these islands, too, provide a useful canon when one is attempting to establish which imitations are Hiberno-Norse and which purely Scandinavian, and a systematic plotting of find-spots may yet throw light on the centres within Great Britain and Ireland from which these imitations emanated.

Superficially the project of marking up the two copies of the *Catalogue* may seem simple enough—merely a matter of collating the tickets with the registers—but it should be emphasized that the second volume of the *Catalogue* records close on 4,500 coins. Moreover, we should bear in mind that the Anglo-Saxon collections in general have more than doubled since 1893, trebled and even quadrupled in some series, and Mrs. Strudwick has had to work right through the whole of them in order to pick out the coins relevant to her purpose, checking each coin both with its ticket and the appropriate volume of the register. In some cases, her work was not made any easier by

reattributions, nor should we forget that detailed registers were not kept before 1838. As the work progressed, the results soon began to make it clear that comparatively little additional effort would produce even more satisfying fruits—the emergence of the 1843 Rome hoard providing a good example—while it became no less obvious that Mrs. Strudwick herself would be the first to be dissatisfied with parrot-like repetition of the abbreviated information contained on the tickets in the trays. Accordingly it was decided that the scope of the work should be enlarged with a view to eventual publication in these pages.

In this way a purely Departmental inquiry, which incidentally has provided a complete and systematic check that the Museum's collection of Anglo-Saxon coins is both intact and in good order, should prove of service, it is hoped, to a far wider circle of students, and it is felt that this complete digest of the British Museum's coin-archives for the period down to 1893 will usefully supplement Mr. J. D. A. Thompson's Inventory of British Coin Hoards which has had perforce to be confined to printed sources. The present writer, too, would venture to suggest that posterity will benefit substantially from Mrs. Strudwick's meticulous study not only of the registers but of old salecatalogues, as well as from her familiarity with the hands of such great figures of the past as Samuel Pegge (1704–96) and Taylor Combe (1774–1826). Nor would it seem too much to claim that over the last two years she has become one of our leading authorities on the origins of the Anglo-Saxon portion of the National Collection. In particular one would like to draw attention to her work in identifying, in many cases conclusively, certain of the tickets which are to be associated with sundry eighteenth- and nineteenth-century collections which either were never listed or of which the manuscript catalogues have disappeared. It seems likely, too, that the criteria now established as regards colour, texture, size and thickness may prove not without value for students of other series confronted with undated tickets which in some cases are blank or at best inscribed with a cryptic monogram or number.

The brief commentaries reign by reign that follow are not intended to exhaust the potentialities of the new material now made readily accessible for the first time, but they may serve to illustrate points arising out of these introductory remarks. Mainly through the generous kindness of Mr. F. Elmore Jones, it has also proved possible to include a number of corrigenda concerning misattributions in the printed *Catalogue*, the great majority of them his own discoveries over the last twenty years. Their systematic collation with Mrs. Strudwick's lists cannot but enhance the value of the latter, and it is interesting to notice how often a correction is in harmony with the provenance. For example, both the coins of Cnut transferred from Exeter to Axbridge (B.M.C. 56 and 78) are from the Wedmore Hoard. The source also of the coins of the same mint of Harthacnut

¹ Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, vol. lxix (1923), 30-37.

(B.M.C. I and 2). A commentary of this kind cannot but be a disjointed affair, and accordingly it has been thought best to set it out reign by reign in the same way as Mrs. Strudwick has arranged her provenances. A precedent is afforded by the introductory notes to the publication of the 1950 Chester hoard, I and it is hoped that the

headings will facilitate speedy reference.

It remains for the writers jointly to express their indebtedness to Mr. C. E. Blunt who has provided constant encouragement in a task that often has seemed ambitious beyond the resources available, and who has made innumerable suggestions for the improvement of the paper in its final form. If the paper has merit, it is because his experience has compensated for the inexperience of the writers, and he has also undertaken much of the routine drudgery involved in the checking of long lists of ciphers against the originals. No less should acknowledgement be made to the kindness of the present Keeper of Coins and Medals at the British Museum. Taylor Combe himself could not have given more ready permission for the publication of an essential part of the Departmental archives, and Dr. John Walker has also allowed a substantial proportion of the work to be done in official hours.

Coins of Uncertain Date

The single coin came from the collection of George III, but unfortunately there is no record of the ultimate provenance.

SCEAT SERIES

It is regrettable that so few find-spots have been preserved. That of no. 8 is confirmed, and necessitates a slight correction to Dr. C. H. V. Sutherland's standard study of the Anglo-Saxon gold. There appears to be confusion with a very similar coin found not so very many miles away. "Shrampton Churchyard" is mysterious, but the type of no. 194 leaves little room for doubt that the name to be deciphered is Southampton.

MERCIA

Peada and Aethelræd

In view of the controversy concerning the attribution of these coins, it is unfortunate that not one of them has a certain find-spot.

Offa and Cynethrith

It is astonishing that only two of the coins recorded in the *Catalogue* should have a find-spot. Nearly thirty, however, can be traced back to the silver age of Taylor Combe, and are of considerable importance as criteria of authenticity.

Coenwulf-Berhtwulf

The proportion of coins from hoards is generally satisfactory, but the series is one bedevilled with forgery. In particular, the authen
1 Brit. Num. Journ. xxvii. 127-38.

ticity of the Ludica has been impugned, and a manuscript note on the ticket suggests that it was condemned by Brooke. In passing we may remark that the spelling Ludican preferred by Keary is objectionable, and that it is to be hoped that future papers—and sale-catalogues—will revert to the nominative form employed by the great numismatists of the past.

Burgred

The Gravesend find dominates the scene, but it is also clear that even in the eighteenth century there had been at least one find of the pattern of Beeston Tor and Croydon. Before Gravesend, too, coins may have come from the Reading find of 1839, but until Mrs. Strudwick has done more work on the pre-1838 tickets possibilities will not become probabilities.

Ceolwulf II

The Cuerdale Find is the source of the only coin of this king recorded in the *Catalogue*—and doubtless of subsequent additions to the collection.

KENT

Kings

The then poverty of the collection underlines the importance of subsequent acquisitions from Franks and Evans. Only one of the nineteen coins recorded in the *Catalogue* has a find-spot.

Archbishops

Again the collection has been immeasurably strengthened by the generosity of Franks and Evans, and especially as regards Jænberht, Æthelheard, and Wulfred. For Ceolnoth and Plegmund the position was not so serious—thanks to the discernment of Taylor Combe and Hawkins—but there is a danger of our overlooking the fact that the Cuerdale Hoard gives a very lop-sided picture of Plegmund's coinage. Fortunately subsequent acquisitions, notably from the Vatican Find, have gone far to restore a more satisfactory balance.

EAST ANGLIA

The words of Daniel Haigh, victim of Victorian prejudice, remain as true as when they were written: "The series . . . far surpasses in historical importance that of any other of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. The coins of Mercia, Kent, Wessex, and, (with few exceptions), of North-Humbria, belong to kings whose names are found in chronicles or charters; but the coins of East-Anglia during the greater part of the ninth century are its only evidences. . . ."

Haigh's attribution to East Anglia of coins of Eadwald seems likely to be vindicated, but his identification of Beorhtric now appears less happy. When Haigh was writing no provenances were known, but the two coins that have since been published provide find-spots that accord ill with an East Anglian attribution. Recently the present

writer has been fortunate enough to come across a reference to the Hunter coin that may seem to clinch the attribution of all the coins in question to Offa's son-in-law who usurped the West Saxon throne. In the Bryer transcript of the Taylor Combe manuscript corpus, there is a note, doubtless reproduced from the original, to the effect that the Hunter coin had been found near Guildford.

It is disappointing in view of the find's significance that Sevington is not represented among the provenances. Generally speaking, too, the National Collection stood in need as regards this series of the substantial additions it received from the Middle Temple and Croydon finds through the generosity of Franks and Evans respectively.

NORTHUMBRIA STYCA SERIES

The Hexham hoard dominates the whole horizon much as Cuerdale dominates—and distorts—the picture of the English coinage at the end of the ninth century. Consequently coins from other finds are as welcome as they are disappointingly rare. There are traces of an eighteenth-century find including Eanred and Æthelræd II, and probably Osberht as well, but little can be made of it in the present state of our knowledge.

PENNY SERIES Halfdan-Alvaldus

It is noteworthy that out of 211 coins described in the catalogue every single one is from the Cuerdale Find, and it is regrettable that the 1887 *Catalogue* gives no hint of the numerous die-links preserved among the pieces from that hoard which were selected for the National Collection.

Sihtric-'St. Peter'

In contrast the comparatively small number of coins are from a wide variety of sources, including a number of crucial finds. As shown elsewhere in this number of the *Journal*, the "Raienalts" are now firmly dated by the Bossall/Flaxton hoard, and it is interesting that the unpublished Geashill Find from Eire again links them with the St. Peter pence. There can be little doubt that both series are to be interpolated between the Siefred-Cnut coinage and the restored penny coinage of Sihtric Gale.

Wessex, Vol. II

Ecgbeorht

The Cotton collection provided only one coin of this monarch, and it was not until the accession of the Tyssen coins in 1802 that further examples were acquired. Patently the whole picture was transformed by the Dorking hoard of 1817, and it is probable that at least ten

¹ Archaeologia, xix. 109.

coins recorded in the *Catalogue* are ultimately from that single find. Only seven are certainly not from the hoard, and of these only one has a recorded provenance, Sevington in Wiltshire.¹ One may also remark the disproportion between the nineteen coins recorded in the *Catalogue* and the present wealth of the collection, the consequence of Franks's princely gift of eighty-four coins from the Middle Temple Hoard.²

Æthelwulf

Once more the provenances are dominated by the 1817 Dorking hoard, the certain source of more than two-thirds of the coins recorded in the Catalogue. Only two other find-spots are recorded, Sevington and Gravesend.³ The group of four coins recorded as being in the Museum before 1838 have a certain homogeneity of ticket, and one suspects that they may be ultimately at least from a single find, presumably other than Dorking. This presumption would become certainty if they could be associated with B.M.C. 85 which was engraved by Taylor Combe c. 1812, but the evidence points all the other way, and a more justifiable assumption is that they are strays from Dorking acquired after Taylor Combe's publication. Alternatively they may be from the same source as the coins of this period purchased from Mr. Fox in 1838.

Æthelbearht

Yet again the Dorking find is the ultimate source of the bulk of the Museum's collection, and the position has not been substantially altered since the *Catalogue*. Only six out of sixty-four coins cannot be from the Surrey hoard, and of these not one has a recorded provenance. One is only thankful that in 1817 the National Collection was in the charge of an enthusiastic Anglo-Saxon numismatist at once alive to the unique importance of the hoard and in a position to take the fullest advantage of it.

Æthelræd I

Half of the coins in the *Catalogue* prove to be from the Gravesend hoard of 1838. Just a little surprising is the fact that already there were no fewer than nineteen coins in the Collection, leaving aside the two pieces subsequently reattributed to East Anglia (B.M.C. 46 and 47). Inasmuch as the Museum also possessed no fewer than ten examples without known origin of Alfred's first type (B.M.C. i = Brooke I), we may perhaps postulate an unrecorded eighteenth-century find of the pattern of Gravesend and Beeston Tor.⁴

Alfred

The dependence of the National Collection upon Cuerdale is astonishing—the Lancashire hoard⁵ providing no fewer than 413 coins out of a total of 454, or 413 out of 435 if Alfred's first type,

¹ Ibid. xxvii. 301.

² Num. Chron.³ xiv. 29.

³ Ibid. iii. 14.

⁴ Num. Chron. 5 iv. 322.

⁵ Ibid. v. 1.

which was not represented at Cuerdale, is excluded. Even Beeston Tor has failed significantly to alter this situation, and there can be little doubt but that a major hoard of Alfred deposited c. 890 and in the southern part of England would transform the accepted picture of the coinage of the greatest of the West Saxon kings. It cannot be over emphasized that Cuerdale is not a fair sample of the coinage of these islands at the end of the ninth century.

Edward the Elder

The Cuerdale provenances are particularly valuable for the indication they give of Edward's earliest issues. These coins, struck on notably smaller flans, have stylistic affinities with coins of Alfred the Great, and fall naturally into two main groups. It is suggested that one of these is West Saxon, and the other Mercian. The other hoard provenances are not without interest. In 1843 the distinguished Irish archaeologist George Petrie sold to the Museum a long run of tenthcentury pence that clearly represent one or at most two hoards. The absence of Eadgar, Type VI, and of the coins of the same type of Edward the Martyr and of Æthelræd II might suggest a hoard of Smarmore type¹ and a smaller find composed of Æthelræd II's second and third substantive issues together with Sihtric's first coinage, but the Iona Hoard² may seem to confirm the impression given by the register that Petrie's coins were from a single find. Of even greater significance are the coins from the 1846 Rome find. Whereas the 1928 Vatican hoard³ contained only coins down to Æthelstan, and the 1883 House of the Vestal Virgins hoard4 did not extend beyond Eadmund, this 1846 hoard included Eadred. Obviously it merits separate publication in extenso, the more so because of one coin which was omitted from both the 1889 and 1893 volumes of the Catalogue, a penny of the normal "two-line" type with the name of a moneyer VVLFELM and of a king EATRIC. It is hoped to publish all the Saxon hoards from Rome—and there are clear indications, scattered through the archaeological literature, of both earlier and later hoards than those cited—in the course of a detailed study devoted to the so-called Romescot, but it is perhaps worth putting on record here the fact that the British Museum possesses a copy of the 1929 and 1930 Glendining sale-catalogues with minute annotations by the late G. C. Brooke. These annotations include inter alia full details of weights.

During the war-time evacuation a certain number of tickets became misplaced, and not the least valuable of Mrs. Strudwick's labours has been the systematic collation of each individual coin with the description in the registers. This check necessitates one minor correction to the recent paper on the Alfred piedforts—the unique penny of Edward the Elder in the Goldsborough hoard⁵ is in fact B.M.C. 41, but

¹ Brit. Num. Journ. xxvii. 161.

Num. Chron.⁶ xi. 68.
 Dispersed in two sales at Glendinings, 16 May 1929 and 13 Nov. 1930. 4 Num. Chron.3 iv. 225. ⁵ Ibid., N.S., i. 65.

fortunately the argument is not affected, while Vaux's description in the printed account remains no less curious. The coins without hoard provenance are dominated as those of no other reign by a notable run from the Cotton collection of which the significance has been assessed elsewhere. There can be little doubt that they are from a major hoard, and the strongly Mercian flavour suggests one from the northwest. While on the subject of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century collections, it is worth remarking that only less venerable than the Cotton collection are those of the Earl of Pembroke (d. 1733) and of Sir Robert Abdy (d. 1748). Coins from these cabinets are included, however, among nineteenth-century provenances because we cannot entirely rule out the possibility of substitution before their dispersal in 1848 and 1841 respectively.

Æthelstan

It is perhaps surprising that so few coins should be recorded with a certain hoard provenance, especially since neither the Petrie nor the Rome hoards are beyond doubt preserved intact, though there is no reason to believe that more than a few duplicates were rejected in the case of either. Fortunately the Museum has since acquired a number of coins of which the exact find-spots are known, and it is probable that further research would establish more satisfactory provenances for a number of those listed here, and in particular those acquired from Sir John Evans in 1862. It is to be hoped too that more light will one day be shed on the Clare, Suffolk, find of 1687. Mrs. Strudwick publishes a short note on this hoard elsewhere in the present number of the *Journal* and it does seem worth remarking that the seventeenth-century account in the *Transactions* of the Royal Society presumably represents our first printed "hoard report" in the history of Anglo-Saxon numismatics.

Eadmund

Again the poverty of formal hoard-provenances is noticeable, but there can be little doubt that at least one and perhaps two major finds were dispersed early in the nineteenth century. The 1758 St. Boyn's Cross hoard merits further study, and suggests the important contribution to Anglo-Saxon numismatics that could be made by a student with access to the Irish literature and archives.

Eadred

Elsewhere in this number Mrs. Strudwick establishes the earlier dating of the Kintbury hoard, and draws attention to discrepancies between the *Annual Register* and *Archaeologia* accounts. The coin from the Bootle collection was traced with the help of a manuscript account of that cabinet drawn up for its original owner and subsequently endorsed by its purchaser, R. Miles. The manuscript catalogue is a comparatively recent acquisition by the Department of

¹ Brit. Num. Journ. xxvii. 302.

Coins and Medals, and the writer is indebted to Mr. Graham Webster who drew his attention to its inclusion in a provincial bookseller's list. Among the rarities in that collection was Lockett I. 526, a coin illustrated by Fountaine¹ but with a formal pedigree extending back no farther than Cuff. It is impossible to stress too much the importance of early manuscript material, and both Mrs. Strudwick and the present writer would like once again to express their appreciation of Dr. E. C. Linton's kindness in allowing the Department to make a photostatic copy of Bryer's transcript of the lost original of Taylor Combe's unpublished corpus of Anglo-Saxon coins. It has proved of inestimable value in establishing early provenances, and of course underlies each entry "Before 1812" in the lists that follow.

Eadwig

The then poverty of the collection has been commented on elsewhere, and it will be noticed that Petrie's Irish find supplies the only certain hoard provenance.

Eadgar

It is a little surprising that so few of the coins are from recorded hoards, but it is likely that serious study of the large number of coins acquired from an uncertain source or sources before 1838 would shed much light on the problem. The Birkhead reference is of interest as the earliest sale-provenance attaching to a British Museum coin in the series under review.

Edward the Martyr

Were it not for the acquisition of the manuscript catalogue of the Bootle collection, not one of the coins of this reign recorded in the British Museum catalogue could be associated with a known hoard. That the coin from the mysterious mint of LVVEIC is an untampered piece from the Leicester find² may yet prove of assistance in establishing its mint of issue—a Lewes attribution falls down hopelessly in point of style. It is probable, too, that the Leicester find underlies the large number of coins here described simply as "Before 1838". Incidentally, it should not be thought that the lists that follow exhaust the potentialities of the material. When time admits, Mrs. Strudwick intends to make a separate study of the tickets of the "Before 1838" coins, and to establish which were written by which of the early members of the staff of the Department. In this way it should be possible to distinguish coins acquired before, during, and after Taylor Combe's most fertile Keepership, and so to eliminate the possibility of certain coins at least being from certain finds. It is only in this way that it may be possible to reconstruct the Sloane collection, and the criteria determined should be of enormous assistance to students in other series where the uniformity of the coinage prevents the identification from contemporary descriptions of individual coins.

1802.

Anglo-Saxonica & Anglo-Danica Breviter Illustrata Numismata, Oxford 1705.
 Manuscript catalogue of British, Saxon and English coins in the Bootle Collection,

Æthelræd II

Among important hoard provenances we may note especially the Russian hoard acquired in 1850 through a French firm of dealers. Unfortunately it has proved impossible to establish a more exact find-spot—and we must remember that Finland, the Baltic States, and much of Poland, all areas rich in Anglo-Saxon coins, were then technically part of Russia. The large number of coins acquired before 1838, including many via the Hodsoll and Tyssen collections, suggests a major hoard, and it seems likely that it was one in which *Hand* and *Crux* predominated. It is interesting to note that those coins which seem to be from English finds do not manifest the "pecking" characteristic of more recent acquisitions from Scandinavia. The disposal of the Stockholm duplicates at the end of the nineteenth century underlies Sir John Evans's most generous gift in 1886 and the 1890 purchases from Dr. Hans Hildebrand and from Messrs. Rollin and Feuardent.

Cnut

For the first time since Alfred known hoards supply a majority of the coins in the National Collection. Thanks to the Orkney Find,¹ Type XVI of Cnut is adequately represented, while the Halton Moor Find ensured that the British Museum's run of Type XIV coins of the York mint rivals for once the Stockholm collection's. The Wedmore Find is of enormous importance for the student of type-sequence, and awaits republication. Earlier commentators were under the impression that it ended with Harthacnut, but the registers establish that there were also included six coins of the Confessor. The importance of the hoard can likewise be gauged from the fact that it is the source of all the Axbridge coins in the National Collection. An earlier West Country find may also be postulated, the source doubtless of the unique Cadbury penny of Ælfelm and his Bruton penny from the same obverse die. A fortunate chance allows the Sloane coins to be distinguished, and it may be remarked that before the Orkney hoard in 1774 Cnut coins in English collections were conspicuously rare.

Harold I

The Thwaite find from Suffolk² usefully supplements Wedmore, and one may legitimately draw attention to the absence of Type I from the former and the presence of only four specimens in the latter.

Harthacnut

It is worth remarking that the Wedmore total is in fact swollen by the inclusion of a further eleven coins of *arm-and-sceptre* type which read "Cnut", and are given to Cnut in the *Catalogue*.

Edward the Confessor

The oldest hoard-provenance also provides one of the greatest

Gough, A catalogue of the coins of Canute, 1777.

² Bury Herald, February 12th, 1832.

rarities in the Collection, the unique penny of Horndon. The Thwaite Find is invaluable for establishing the early sequence of types of Edward the Confessor, and one suspects that the same hoard is the source of the parcels from Mr. Cuff and from the Hon. Mrs. Wilson, though the possibility of a second hoard bracketing the same types should not be excluded. The Soberton provenances¹ are not remarkable, but the five Pacx coins from the Wedmore Find are of cardinal significance for the student of type-sequence, the more so because Cnut 21 proves to be a transitional arm-and-sceptre coin in Edward's name. There is a melancholy contrast between the superb run of coins from Chancton² and the fragmentary parcels from the City Find,³ and the absence of a formal Seddlescombe provenance is the final commentary on the vandalism of the nineteenth century. One wonders, too, why there was no inquest in respect of the Bishopshill find from York,4 and there can be little doubt that the antiquarian climate of those days tolerated abuses which today would be utterly condemned by a more enlightened public opinion. A major eighteenthcentury find seems to underlie the notable accessions at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and Cotton's own collection would seem to incorporate a portion at least of a find from the Leicester area. The very prevalence of hoards of this type raises one's hopes that they have not been all unearthed, and that modern methods of study will be able to be applied to at least one major find within the lifetime of the writers.

Harold II

Something of a curiosity is the odd coin from Beaworth⁵ deposited at the end of William the Conqueror's reign. No coin of Harold is recorded in the published account of the hoard, but the ticket reads "found at Beaworth, 1833" and this evidence seems incontrovertible.

R. H. M. DOLLEY

THE PROVENANCES

Coins of Uncertain Date

George III Collection (1814) 1

SCEAT SERIES

? Isle of Thanet Find(s) (1756): 10, 57, 69, 74, 77, 101, 140, 141, 148, 157, 171, 175, 183, 187, 199 (no. 74 ex Tyssen, 1802; no. 141 Willett Sale, 1827 lot 7; no. 199 Dymock Sale, 1858 lot 36; nos. 140 and 183 purchased from Mr. Eastwood 1862). "Shrampton Churchyard" Find (before 1838): 194 (presented by Mr. Young).

Lymne, Kent, Find (1854): 4 (purchased from Mr. Hills). Chedworth, Northleach, Glos., Find (1856): 103 (presented by Rev. A. Gibson).

Thames Find, 1860: 88, 91–94, 96–98, 100, 102, 104, 105, 117, 152, 159, 160. Eastleach Turville, Glos., Find (1869): 8 (presented by T. S. Bazley).

¹ Num. Chron. 1852. Proceedings, p. 17.

² Num. Chron., N.S., vii. 63.

Jibid., N.S., xvi. 323.
B.N.J. ii (1905), 115.
Ruding, Annals, 3rd ed., p. 151.

Tyssen Collection (1802): 71, 90, 112, 146, 163, 168, 197.

Before 1812: 170, 173, 200.

Willett Sale (1827), lot 7: 70.

Undated: 3, 5, 12, 13, 16–20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 32–34, 36–39, 42–48, 51, 52, 54–56, 58–68, 72, 73, 75, 76, 78–85, 89, 95, 99, 106–8, 110, 111, 114, 115, 118–21, 123–8, 130–9, 143, 144, 147, 149–51, 153–6, 158, 164, 165, 169, 172, 174, 176, 179, 180, 184, 186, 188–93, 195, 196.

Purchased Mr. J. Edwards (1838): 87.

Purchased Mr. Cuff (1839): 41.

Boyne Sale (1843), lot 226: 15.

Purchased Mr. Webster (1845): 86.

White Sale (1848), lot 32: 113.

Sir H. Russell Sale (1850), lot 181: 35, 40, 161.

G. Marshall Sale (1852), lots 11 and 14: 11, 166.

Tunis Sale (1852), lot 106: 116.

Purchased Mr. H. O. Cureton (1852): 162.

Dymock Sale (1858), lot 36: 198.

Purchased Mr. Brooks (1860): 14, 21, 50, 129.

Purchased Mr. Eastwood (1862): 2, 6, 49, 109, 145, 167, 177, 181, 182.

Presented Dr. Dalton (1862): 178.

Purchased Mr. J. H. Briggs (1863): 9.

Purchased Mr. R. S. Wylde (1865): 185.

Lindsay Sale (1867): 23, 29, 31, 53, 142 (the first four via Lincoln, 1869, the fifth via Webster, 1870).

Purchased Mr. Lincoln (1869): 25, 27, 30, 122.

Purchased Messrs. Rollin and Feuardent (1876): 7.

MERCIA

Peada

Before 1812: 1.

Undated: 2.

Purchased Mr. Honey (1847): 3.

Æthelræd.

Tyssen Collection (1802): 4.

Undated: 5.

Presented Mr. R. Hinde (1867): 6.

Offa

Mentmore, Bucks., Find (1855): 34 (presented Rev. I. Ouvry North).

Cotton Collection: 11, 20, 22.

Browne Sale (1791), lot 22: 41 (via Rev. R. Southgate, 1795).

Tyssen Collection (1802): 14, 24, 26, 28, 30, 35, 48, 51, 54, 56.

Barker Sale (1803), lot 343: 44.

Before 1812: 32, 58 (one of these found at Winchester and via Southgate who bough it at Gostling Sale, 1777).

Hollis Collection (1817): 18 (via Dimsdale Sale of 1824, lot 80).

Dimsdale Sale (1824), lot 83: 55 (via Rich Sale of 1828, lot 9).

Higgs Sale (1830), lot 49: 49 (via Thomas Sale of 1844, lot 136).

Undated: 9, 16, 23, 31, 38, 42, 57.

Purchased Mr. Cuff (1839): 39.

Purchased Mr. W. Edwards (1840): 33.

Presented Rev. D. H. Haigh (1842): 45.

Strawberry Hill Sale (1842), lot 105: 8.

Devonshire Sale (1844), lots 16, 10, 13: 27, 43, 53.

Pembroke Sale (1848), lot 15: 17.

Cuff Sale (1854), lots 271, 264, 269, 265, and 275: 7, 12, 13, 25, 47.

Numismatic Sale (1854), lot 121: 46.

Loscombe Sale (1855), lot 1030: 52.

Purchased Mrs. Rutherglen (1857): 40.

Purchased Mr. H. T. Sissmore (1866): 50.

Purchased Rev. Blomfield (1868): 23.

Purchased Mr. Ready (1869): 36.

Purchased Mr. Webster (1869): 19, 21, 29, 37.

Bank of England Collection (1877): 10, 15.

Cynethryth

Eastbourne, Sussex, Find: 60 (via Tyssen, 1802).

Dolben Sale (1796), lot 50: 59 (via Tyssen, 1802).

Undated: 61.

Coenwulf

Sevington Find (1834): 71 (via Loscombe Sale (1855), lot 1031).

Porchester Castle Find (1844): 79 (via Gentleman Sale of 1850, lot 355).

Cotton Collection: 66, 95.

Tyssen Collection (1802): 63, 67, 70, 72, 73, 75, 77, 85, 86, 92, 94, 98.

Barker Sale (1803), lot 343: 78.

Before 1812: 99.

Dymock Sale (1830), lot 1: 69.

Undated: 62, 68, 74, 81, 82, 84, 90, 93, 96.

Dean of St. Patrick Sale (1842), lot 109: 89.

Devonshire Sale (1844), lots 20, 24, and 25: 91, 100, 101.

J. W. Hoare Sale (1850), lot 147: 65.

Purchased Mr. Goddard Johnson (1853): 88.

Purchased Mr. W. H. Osborne (1853): 83.

Cuff Sale (1854), lots 288 and 287: 76, 80.

Presented Sir J. Clarke Jervoise (1861): 64.

Bank of England Collection, 1877: 87, 97.

Ceolwulf I

Dorking Find (1817): 106 (via Rich Sale, 1828, lot 11).

Gravesend Find (1838): 107.

Burgh Castle, Gt. Yarmouth, Find (1845): 109 (presented Mr. I. Worship).

Cotton Collection: 104.

Vidal Sale (1842), lot 33: 111.

Devonshire Sale (1844), lots 32 and 27: 103, 113.

Pembroke Sale (1848), lot 21: 102.

Cuff Sale (1854), lots 322 and 291: 110, 112.

Dymock Sale (1858), lot 62: 108.

Bank of England Collection (1877): 105.

Beornwulf

Hadstock, Essex, Find: 115 (purchased from a Mr. Till before 1838).

Undated: 114.

Ludica

Suffolk Find (?): 116 (ex Cuff Sale, 1854, lot 296).

Wiglaf

Thorpe and Bush Sale (1826), lot 83: 117 (via Rich Sale, 1828, lot 16).

Berhtwulf

Dorking Find (1817): 118, 120, 122, 125–9, 131, 133–5, 137, 138, also doubtless 123 and 130 presented by Mrs. Combe.

Hodsoll Collection (1794): 121 (via Tyssen, 1802).

Dimsdale Sale (1824), lot 212: 139 (via Cuff Sale of 1854, lot 303).

Willett Sale (1827), lot 5: 119.

Undated: 124, 132.

Bank of England Collection (1877): 136.

Burgred

Southampton Find (?): 184, 219 (purchased Mr. H. O. Cureton, 1837).

Gravesend Find (1838): 142-7, 149, 151, 152, 154, 157-62, 164, 165, 167, 170-4, 176-80, 182, 186, 188, 190, 192-4, 196, 198-204, 206-15, 218, 220, 223, 225, 226, 229, 230, 232, 233, 235, 236, 239, 240, 242, 243, 245, 246, 248, 252, 256, 257, 259, 262-7, 269-74, 276-9, 281, 282, 284, 285, 289, 291-7, 299, 301, 302, 304-7, 309, 310, 312-17, 319-21, 323-5, 328, 330-3, 337-40, 342, 343, 345-8, 351, 353-7, 359, 360, 363-6, 367, 369, 371, 374, 379, 380, 382, 383, 388-90, 392-7, 399, 400, 402.

Gravesend Find (1838) ?: 153, 163, 183, 187, 197, 205, 217, 227, 231, 234, 244, 251, 255, 261, 280, 318, 322, 334, 335, 341, 352, 358, 368, 370, 372, 376-8 (all purchased from a Mr. G. Fox in 1838).

Hook Norton Find (1848): 361.

Cotton Collection: 169, 228, 250, 260.

Tyssen Collection (1802): 175, 191, 216, 224, 247, 253, 254, 283, 286, 329, 336, 362, 375, 385, 387, 391.

Undated: 140 141, 148, 150, 155, 156, 166, 168, 181, 185, 195, 221, 222, 237, 238, 241, 249, 258, 268, 287, 288, 290, 298, 300, 303, 308, 311, 326, 344, 349, 350, 373, 381, 384, 386, 398, 401.

Purchased Mr. Cuff (1839): 275.

Sir R. Abdy Sale (1841), lot 85: 327.

Bank of England Collection (1877): 189.

Ceolwulf II

Cuerdale Find (1840): 403.

KENT

Ecgberht

Millingen Sale (1842), lot 2607: 1.

Eadberht Praen

Hellesdon, Norwich Find (1846): 2 (purchased from a Mr. Gerrard).

Tyssen Collection (1802): 3.

Cuthred

Cotton Collection: 9, 12. Tyssen Collection (1802): 8.

Undated: 6, 7, 10.

Devonshire Sale (1844), lots 4 and 6: 5, 14.

Thomas Sale (1844), lot 133: 13 (ex Cuff Sale, 1854, lot 259).

Webber Sale (1846), lot 67: 4. Cuff Sale (1854), lot 258: II.

Baldred

Dorking Find (1817): 19 (presented by Mrs. Combe, 1826).

Langford Sale, 1794: 15 (via Tyssen, 1802).

Tyssen Collection (1802): 18.

Undated: 16, 17.

Coin no. 18 since replaced by die-duplicate from Franks Collection.

Jaenberht

Canterbury Cathedral Find (1866): 20 (purchased Rev. I. I. Thorpe).

Purchased Mr. J. Mayer (1868): 21. This coin is now considered false.

Æthelheard

Hollis Sale (1817), lot 67: 24.

Purchased Mr. A. Clarke (1840): 23.

Purchased Rev. Brymer Belcher (1855): 22.

Wulfred

Hollis Sale (1817), lot 68: 27.

Purchased 1836: 28.

Undated: 26.

Devonshire Sale (1844), lot 156: 25.

Ceolnoth

Dorking Find (1817): 30-33, 35-38, 40, 41, 43-46, 48, 49, 51-55, 59 (no. 35 via Barclay Sale, 1831, lot 269, and Dymock Sale, 1858, lot 39; no. 59 via Barclay Sale, 1831, lot 267, and Cuff Sale, 1854, lot 401).

Gravesend Find (1838): 50, 56. Cuerdale Find (1840): 57.

Tyssen Collection (1802): 29, 47. Barker Sale (1803), lot 465: 60.

Hollis Sale (1817), lot 68: 42.

Undated: 34, 58.

Devonshire Sale (1844), lot uncertain: 39 (via Cuff Sale, 1854, lot 396).

Æthered

Hollis Sale (1817), lot 70: 61.

Plegmund

Cuerdale Find (1840): 62-66, 68-91.

Dean of St. Patrick Sale (1842), lot 222: 67.

EAST ANGLIA

Beonna

Purchased Messrs. Rollin and Feuardent (1886): 1.

Æthelberht

Barker Sale (1803), lot 460: 2.

Eadwald

Tyssen Collection (1802): 3.

Æthelstan I

Dorking Find (1817): 10. Gravesend Find (1838): 12.

Cotton Collection: 6, 7, 9, 15, 18, 20. Tyssen Collection (1802): 8, 11, 14, 16.

Undated: 4.

Devonshire Sale (1844), lots 41 and 39: 13, 19.

Purchased Rev. W. Cotterell (1858): 5. Bank of England Collection (1877): 17.

Æthelweard.

Dorking Find (1817): 24, 33.

Gravesend Find (1838): 22, 23, 30-32.

Cotton Collection: 28, 29.

Tyssen Collection (1802): 21, 26.

Before 1812: 25, 34.

Purchased Mr. Webster (1869): 35. Bank of England Collection (1877): 27.

Beorhtric

Sunbury, Middlesex Find (1865): 36 (purchased Mr. E. P. Leonard).

(St.) Eadmund

Gravesend Find (1838): 37-39, 41, 44, 45, 47-51, 53, 55, 56, 61, 64-66, 68-71, 73, 76-79, 81, 83, 85, 86.

Gravesend Find (1838)?: 54, 58, 60, 80, 82 (all purchased from a Mr. G. Fox in 1838).

Cotton Collection: 59, 62.

Tyssen Collection (1802): 40, 46, 72.

Before 1812: 84.

Undated: 43, 52, 57, 74.

Purchased Mr. Cuff (1839): 63.

Devonshire Sale (1844) lot 35: 42, 67. Bank of England Collection (1877): 75.

Oswald?

Cuerdale Find (1840): 87, 88.

Æthelstan II

Cuerdale Find (1840): 89-105.

St. Eadmund Memorial Coinage

Cuerdale Find (1840): 106, 109-310, 312-16, 318-83, 386-402, 405-14, 416-20, 422-47, 449-571, 573-697.

Cotton Collection: 385.

Tyssen Collection (1802): 384, 421.

Before 1838: 107, 108, 311, 404, 415, 448, 572.

Purchased Mr. A. Kemp (1838): 403. Purchased Mr. Webster (1869): 317.

No. 645 since disposed of as a die-duplicate.

"St. Martin"

Cotton Collection: 698.

Northumbria

Ecgfrith

Heworth Find (1813): 1, 2 (no. 1 presented by Mr. W. B. Rich, 1822).

Aldfrith

Cuff Sale (1854), lot 350: 3.

Eadberht

Malton, Yorks., Find (1850): 10 (presented Dr. Hemingway).

Cotton Collection: 4.

Tyssen Collection (1802): 5-7, 9.

Before 1812: 12. Undated: 11.

Purchased Mrs. Faircloth (1859): 8.

Alchred

Jarrow Churchyard Find (?): 13 (presented Rev. J. M. Mason).

Tyssen Collection (1802): 14.

Purchased Mr. H. O. Cureton (1854): 15.

Ælfwald I

Spurrier Sale (1838), lot 5: 16.

Eardwulf

Hexham Find (1832): 20, 21.

Purchased Mr. Webster (1853): 22.

Presented Lord Digby (1863): 19.

Purchased Mr. Lincoln (1869): 17, 18, 23 (the last ex Lindsay Sale, 1867).

Eanred

Hexham Find (1832): 25, 26, 28-31, 33-39, 41, 42, 44-46, 48-72, 74-84, 86-89, 93-107, 109, 111-24, 126-42, 144-70, 172-4, 176-81, 183-9, 191-8, 200, 201, 203-7, 209-13, 215, 216, 219, 220, 222, 223, 225-45, 247-58.

Tyssen Collection (1802): 40, 199, 217.

Before 1812: 108.

Undated: 27, 32, 73, 90, 92, 125, 143, 182, 190, 202, 208, 214, 218, 221, 246.

Spurrier Sale (1838), lot 5: 91, 175.

Purchased M. Antonio Priuli (1843): 24, 43, 47, 171.

Presented Lord Digby (1863): 224.

Purchased Mr. Lincoln (1869): 85, 110.

Æthelræd II

Hexham Find (1832): 259-61, 263-73, 276-80, 282, 285-7, 289, 291, 292, 295-302, 305-7, 309, 310, 312-15, 317-22, 324-8, 330-41, 343-5, 347-51, 355, 361, 362, 369, 370, 372, 373, 380, 383-96, 398-400, 402-10, 414-16, 418, 420-6, 429, 431-3, 435-42, 444-56, 458-61, 463-73, 475-92, 494-7, 499, 502, 506, 508, 513, 514, 516-24, 527, 528, 531-4, 536-41, 543-5, 549-60, 562, 563, 565, 566, 568-71, 573, 575-7, 582, 583, 585-9, 591-608, 610-16, 618-28.

J. Dolben Sale (1796), lot 22: 303, 535 (via Tyssen, 1802).

Tyssen Collection (1802): 281, 283, 329, 353, 354, 358, 359, 368, 419, 430, 457, 510, 564, 567.

Before 1812: 356, 427, 498, 572.

Undated: 262, 274-5, 284, 288, 290, 294, 304, 308, 311, 316, 342, 346, 352, 363, 365-7, 371, 374-9, 397, 401, 411-13, 417, 434, 443, 462, 474, 493, 504, 505, 507, 509, 511, 515, 525, 526, 529, 530, 542, 546-8, 561, 574, 578-81, 584, 590, 609, 617.

Spurrier Sale (1838), lot 5: 323, 364, 501, 503.

Purchased M. Antonio Priuli (1843): 357, 360.

Brummell Sale (1850), lot 13: 293.

Presented Lord Digby (1863): 381, 382, 428, 500.

Redwulf

Hexham Find (1832): 630, 631, 633-5, 637, 639, 641-8, 650-3, 655-9, 659, 661.

Before 1812: 649.

Undated: 629, 632, 636, 638, 640, 654, 660.

Spurrier Sale (1838), lot 5: 662.

Osberht

Tyssen Collection (1802): 665, 667, 669-71, 673.

Before 1812: 663.

Undated: 664, 668, 672, 674, 675. Spurrier Sale (1838), lot 5: 666. Anonymous Gift (1852): 676.

Archbishop Ecgberht

Presented Sir A. W. Franks (1876): 677.

Archbishop Eanbald

Hexham Find (1832): 678-81, 683, 685-717.

Undated: 682, 684.

Archbishop Wigmund

Hexham Find (1832): 719-21, 723, 724, 726-8, 730-3, 735, 736, 739-48, 750-3, 755-9, 761-3, 765, 767-71, 774-7, 779, 782-7, 789-98.

Before 1812: 722.

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Undated: 725, 729, 734, 737, 749, 760, 764, 772, 773, 778, 781, 788.

Spurrier Sale (1838), lots 5 and 6: 754, 766, 780.

Pembroke Sale (1848), lot 34: 718.

Lindsay Sale (1867), lot 25: 738 (via Lincoln, 1869).

Archbishop Wulfhere

Before 1812: 799, 800.

Uncertain

Hexham Find (1832): 803-5, 807, 809, 813-15, 817-68.

Undated: 801, 802, 806, 808, 810-12, 816.

Halfdan

Cuerdale Find (1840): 869.

Cnut (Guthred?)

Cuerdale Find (1840): 870-1017.

Cnut and Siefred

Cuerdale Find (1840): 1018-22.

Siefred

Cuerdale Find (1840): 1023-51.

Cnut or Siefred

Cuerdale Find (1840): 1052-76.

Earl Sihtric

Cuerdale Find (1840): 1077.

Alvaldus

Cuerdale Find (1840): 1078.

Sihtric

Pembroke Sale (1848), lot 24: 1079.

Regnald Godfredsson

Purchased M. Antonio Priuli (1843): 1081.

Purchased Messrs. Rollin and Feuardent (1886): 1080.

Regnald

Bossall, Yorks., Find (1807): 1087 (via Barclay Sale, 1831, lot 260). Geashill Find (?): 1085 (presented Lord Digby, 1862).

Dimsdale Sale (1824), lot 346: 1082 (via Rich Sale, 1828, lot 28).

Willett Sale (1827), lots 12 and 11: 1083, 1086.

Undated: 1084.

Anlaf

Inchkenneth Find (1830): 1101 (presented Major Macdonald, 1851). Kirtling, Cambs., Find (1847), 1102 (presented Marquess of Bute).

Tyssen Collection (1802): 1090, 1103-5.

Before 1812: 1097.

Rich Sale (1828), lot 23: 1096.

Undated: 1091.

Dean of St. Patrick Sale (1842), lot 125: 1093.

Dean of Exeter Sale (1843), lot 66: 1094.

Devonshire Sale (1844), lots 45 and 46: 1089, 1099.

Pembroke Sale (1848), lot 25: 1088.

Purchased Rev. E. J. Shepherd (1852): 1100.

Cuff Sale (1854), lot 372: 1098.

Purchased Sir John Evans (1862): 1092, 1095.

Eric Bloodaxe

Rome Find (1846): 1107.

Cotton Collection: IIII.

Tyssen Collection (1802): 1112.

Lord Mark Kerr Sale (1841), lot uncertain: 1110.

Dean of St. Patrick Sale (1842), lot 209: 1113 (found in Ireland with two pence of Regnald sold to Mr. Wigan).

Devonshire Sale (1844), lots 145 and 147: 1108, 1109.

Bank of England Collection (1877): 1106.

"St. Peter"

Claremont Find (1838): 1131 (via Dean of St. Patrick Sale, lot 212). Geashill Find (1862): 1123, 1127, 1141 (all presented by Lord Digby).

Cotton Collection: 1125.

Tyssen Collection (1802): 1117, 1130, 1135-8. Hollis Sale (1817), lot 65: 1114, 1116, 1122, 1133.

Banks Collection (1818): 1129.

Rich Sale (1828), lots 25 and 26: 1115, 1126.

Undated: 1128, 1132, 1134, 1139, 1140, 1142-65 (1142-65 possibly Bossal Find 1807).

Devonshire Sale (1844), lots 149 and 148: 1118-20.

Cuff Sale (1854), lot 379: 1121.

Purchased Rev. I. G. Chester (1857): 1166.

Bank of England Collection (1877): 1124.

Wessex, Vol. II

Ecgbeorht

Dorking Find (1817): 1, 3, 5-7, 15, 19 (no. 1 presented by Taylor Combe's widow in 1826).

Sevington Find (1834): 16 (Loscombe Sale, 1855, lot 1061).

Cotton Collection: 11.

Hodsoll Collection (1794): 8 (via Tyssen, 1802).

Tyssen Collection (1802): 9, 14, 20, 21.

Presented Mrs. Combe (1826): 2, 13, 17 (all from Dorking Find?).

Purchased Mr. Knight (1841): 4.

Brumell Sale (1850), lot 31: 18.

Bank of England Collection (1877):

Bank of England Collection (1877): 10.

Presented Sir A. W. Franks (1893): 12.

Æthelwulf

Dorking Find (1817): 2-5, 7-11, 13-17, 20-23, 26-55, 57-61, 63-70, 72-77, 79, 80, 82-84, 86-89 (no. 30 purchased Mr. Cuff, 1839).

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Sevington Find (1834): 25 (via Dymock Sale, 1858, lot 110).

Gravesend Find (1838): 19.

Tyssen Collection (1802): 1.

Before 1812: 85.

Presented Sir Henry Ellis (1816): 71.

Presented Mrs. Combe (1826): 56, 78, 81 (all from Dorking Find?).

Purchased Mr. G. Fox (1838): 12, 24.

Before 1838: 6, 18, 90 (the last from "Young"? = Matthew Young).

Bank of England Collection (1877): 62.

Æthelbearht

Dorking Find (1817): 1-5, 7, 9-14, 16-37, 40-60 (an unspecified four of these presented by Mrs. Combe?).

Hodsoll Collection (1794): 6, 8, 62 (all via Tyssen, 1802).

Tyssen Collection (1802): 15, 61.

Barker Sale (1803), lot 467: 64.

T. Thomas Sale (1844), lot 239: 39.

Bank of England Collection (1877): 38, 63.

Æthelræd I

Gravesend Find (1838): 4, 7, 9, 11, 13–15, 17, 18, 20, 21, 23, 26, 31, 33–35, 37, 39, 41–45.

Hodsoll Collection (1794): 28 (via Tyssen, 1802).

Tyssen Collection (1802): 1, 10, 19.

Barker Sale (1803), lot 468: 22 (via Miles, 1820).

Thane Collection (1819): 25, 36.

Miles Collection (1820): 16.

Undated: 8, 27, 38, 46, 47 (no. 38 from "Young"; no. 47 found at "Seafield" (Sleaford?) Lincs.

Purchased Mr. G. Fox (1838): 2, 3, 5, 6, 30, 32, 40.

Purchased Cuff (1839): 29.

Misc. Sale (1842), lot 49: 24.

Bank of England Collection (1877): 12.

Alfred

Grave at Wilmington (1747): 163.

River Thames (c. 1838): 111 (Brumell Sale, 1850, lot 39; T. Thomas Sale, 1844, lot 245).

Gravesend Find (1838): 162.

Cuerdale Find (1840): 1-9, 11-80, 83, 85, 89-110, 112, 113, 115, 117-47, 149-55, 157, 181-6, 188-324, 326-44, 346, 348-61, 363-443, 445-54.

Hook Norton Find (1848): 160, 168, 174, 176.

Goldsborough Find (1858): 159.

Cotton Collection: 325.

Hodsoll Collection (1794): 164, 165, 169 (all via Tyssen, 1802).

Tyssen Collection (1802): 10, 82, 161, 171, 175, 177, 444 (no. 177 via Miles, 1820).

Bootle Collection (1802): 84 (via Miles, 1820, apparently the coin illustrated in Gibson's edition of Camden's *Britannia*).

Willett Sale (1827), lot 19: 166.

Higgs Sale (1830), lot 124: 172.

Undated: 86-88, 178, 179 (cf. N.C. x, p. 22), 345 (presented Mr. G. Jervis).

Purchased Mr. Edwards (1839): 180.

Misc. Sale (1842), lot 50: 170.

Boyne Sale (1843), lot 106: 167.

Purchased Mr. E. Morris (1846): 173.

Purchased Mr. Campanari (1846): 347.

Pembroke Sale (1848), lot 37: 362.

Cuff Sale (1854), lot 455: 156.

Purchased Mr. Webster (1867): 187.

,, (1869): 148.

,, ,, (1870): 81.

Purchased Mrs. Langley (1873): 116.1

Presented Rev. G. V. Garland (1875): 158.

Bank of England Collection (1877): 114.

No. 85 has since been exchanged for a finer specimen from the Barnett Collection.

Edward the Elder

Cuerdale Find (1840): 1, 4, 7, 11, 13–15, 21, 24, 26, 30, 32, 33, 36–38, 61–63, 65–67, 69, 72, 73, 75, 77, 90.

Mr. Petrie's Irish Hoard(s) (1843): 8, 35, 43.

Rome Hoard (1846): 10, 12, 27, 28, 39, 44, 49, 51, 70, 76, 113.

Goldsborough Find (1858): 41.

Cotton Collection: 2, 3, 5, 6, 17, 18, 20, 23, 25, 34, 47, 52, 57, 58, 68, 78, 79, 82–84, 86, 87, 92, 94, 99, 100, 102, 104–12.

Tyssen Collection (1802): 48, 71, 80, 89, 96, 98.

Undated: 9, 31, 42, 45, 46, 59, 60, 64, 81, 88.

Abdy Sale (1841), lot 85: 19.

Misc. Sale (1842), lot 51: 22, 50, 56.

Boyne Sale (1843), lot 233: 29.

Devonshire Sale (1844), lot 172: 85, 97, 103.

Purchased Mr. W. J. Borrell (1850): 40.

Blayd Sale (1850), lot 102: 95.

Purchased Mr. W. J. Borrell (1852): 53.

Cuff Sale (1854), lots 475, 478: 93, 101.

Purchased Mr. W. Edwards (1856): 16.

Purchased Capt. Mauso d'Villa (1856): 54.

Francis Moore Sale (1856), lot 245: 74.

Purchased Sir John Evans (1862): 55.

Bank of England Collection (1877): 91.

Æthelstan

Mr. Petrie's Irish Hoard(s) (1843): 4, 34, 106, 122.

Rome Hoard (1846): 12, 39, 62, 64, 67, 70, 86, 88, 89, 91, 95, 98–100, 103, 107, 109, 110, 112–14, 118, 119, 125, 127, 134, 135, 150, 151.

Cotton Collection: 6, 13, 48, 58, 65, 76.

Haynes Sale (1780), lot 18: 24 (via Young Sale, 1839).

Dummer Sale (1785): 126 (via J. Thane, 1819).

M. C. Tutet Sale (1786): 137 (via Southgate, 1795 and Tyssen, 1802).

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Hodsoll Collection (1794): 21, 59, 81, 102 (all via Tyssen, 1802).

Tyssen Collection (1802): 1, 7, 11, 15, 20, 22, 61, 69, 83, 97, 133, 148 (no. 61 via Thane, 1819).

Barker Sale (1803), lots 573 and 574: 73 (via Miles, 1820), 139.

Before 1812: 153.

Hollis Sale (1817), lot 75: 18 (via Willett Sale, 1827, lot 21).

Banks Collection, (1817): 104.

Miles Collection (1820): 53, 71, 87, 92.

Rodwell Sale (1821): 140 (via Bentham Sale, 1838).

Undated: 2, 3, 10, 14, 16, 17, 23, 25, 26, 35, 36, 38, 41, 42, 63, 74, 84, 85, 90, 93, 117, 121, 128, 130, 142, 146, 154, 156.

Purchased Mr. Cuff (1839): 9.

Matthew Young Sale (1839), lots 534-7: 28-30, 32, 33, 37, 40, 43, 44, 47, 49, 51, 54-57, 82, 120, 129, 141.

Abdy Sale (1841), lot 86: 8.

Lord Mark Kerr Sale (1841): 46.

Purchased Mr. H. O. Cureton (1842): 52, 105, 115 (no. 115 ex Clare Find, 1687?).

Dean of St. Patrick Sale (1842), lot 251: 27, 136.

Devonshire Sale (1844), lots 180, 181, 183, 184, 186, 189: 19, 66, 72, 78, 144, 145, 147, 155.

Presented Mr. E. Haycock (1846): 79.

Purchased Mr. E. Morris (1846): 77.

Durrant Sale (1847), lot 28: 60.

Davies Sale (1850), lot 20: 68.

Purchased Mr. W. J. Borrell (1852): 124.

Purchased Mr. W. Edwards (1854): 31.

Cuff Sale (1854), lots 502 and 505: 138, 143.

,, ,, (1856), lot 31:5.

Purchased Sir John Evans (1862): 50, 75, 80, 94, 101, 108, 111, 116, 123, 131, 132.

Purchased Count J. de Salis (1865): 96.

Bank of England Collection (1877): 45, 149, 152.

Eadmund

Mr. Petrie's Irish Hoard(s) (1843): 3, 7, 40, 101, 122, 131.

Rome Hoard (1846): 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 14, 22, 31, 36, 41, 42, 45, 46, 51, 53, 54, 63, 68, 69, 73, 78, 82, 84, 87, 88, 91, 102, 104, 105, 111, 114–17, 121, 126, 127, 134, 141, 142, 152, 154, 155.

E. Steele Sale (1758): 2 (via Dummer, 1785 and Miles, 1820).

Hodsoll Collection (1794): 28, 44, 71, 81, 106, 133, 146 (all via Tyssen, 1802 and no 81 ex Clare Find, 1687? 146 from the 1758 St. Boynes Cross find?).

Tyssen Collection (1802): 1, 9, 21, 80, 85, 92, 120, 139, 147, 148.

Barker Sale (1803), lot 575: 52, 130 (both via Young Sale, 1839).

Thane Collection (1819): 43, 129.

Miles Collection (1820): 4.

W. B. Rich Sale (1828), lot 53: 157.

Undated: 16, 17, 24–26, 32, 34, 38, 39, 47, 50, 55, 57, 60, 61, 66, 67, 72, 74, 75, 76 86, 89, 90, 97, 103, 107, 136, 140, 144, 151 (one of these presented by Mrs. Combin 1826; nos. 16, 24, 74, and 107 perhaps from 1687 Clare Find).

Purchased Mr. Cuff (1839): 59, 138.

Matthew Young Sale (1839): 12, 62, 70, 94, 96, 125, 145.

Abdy Sale (1841), lot 86: 35.

Misc. Sale (1842), lot 54: 37, 119.

Purchased Mr. Moses (1843): 108.

Devonshire Sale (1844): 15, 18, 19, 20, 23, 29, 30, 48, 49, 56, 64, 77, 79, 83, 93, 95, 99, 100, 109, 112, 113, 118, 123, 124, 132, 135, 137, 143, 149, 153, 156.

Durrant Sale (1847), lots 33-35: 98, 110, 128.

Purchased Mr. M. J. Borrell (1852): 65.

Purchased Capt. Mauso d'Villa (1856): 13, 27.

Purchased Mr. Webster (1869): 58.

(1870): 33.

Bank of England Collection (1877): 150.

Eadred

Kintbury Find (1761): 92.

Mackrie Find (1850): 4 (via H.M. Exchequer for Scotland, 1852). Mr. Petrie's Irish Hoard(s) (1843): 10, 11, 59, 68, 70, 84, 94, 108.

Rome Hoard (1846): 25, 47, 63, 74, 82, 91, 98, 113. Hodsoll Collection (1794): 26, 64, 90, 105, 111 (all via Tyssen, 1802).

Cotton Collection: 21, 34, 37, 46, 79, 96, 119.

Birkhead Sale (1742), lot 56: I (via Bootle, 1802 and Miles, 1820).

Tyssen Collection (1802): 15, 24, 39, 44, 57, 65, 67, 69, 86, 95, 99, 104, 109, 114 (no. 44 via Boulter, 1808 and Thane, 1809; no. 114 perhaps from the 1687 Clare Find).

Before 1812: 88.

Thane Collection (1819): 85, 100.

Dimsdale Collection (1824): 107 (via Cuff Sale, 1856, lot 33).

Purchased 1836: 106.

Undated: 3, 7, 8, 16, 20, 41, 43, 48-50, 53, 61, 62, 73, 75-78, 80, 87, 89, 92, 93, 97, 101, 102, 116, 120.

Purchased Mr. Cuff (1839): 72 (perhaps from the 1758 St. Boyn's Cross Find).

Lord Mark Kerr Sale (1841): 27, 81.

Misc. Sale (1842), lot 55: 13.

Boyne Sale (1843): 36.

Devonshire Sale (1844): 2, 5, 6, 9, 12, 17, 18, 23, 28-33, 35, 38, 42, 45, 56, 83, 110, 112, 118.

Purchased Mr. H. O. Cureton (1845): 71.

Purchased Rev. I. Shepherd (1847): 14, 40, 51, 52, 54, 55, 58, 60.

Country Gentleman Sale (1847), lot 51: 103.

Pembroke Sale (1848), lot 44: 115.

Cuff Sale (1856), lot 33: 107

Purchased Capt. Mauso d'Villa (1856): 22.

Huxtable Sale (1859), lot 603: 117.

Purchased Sir John Evans (1862): 19.

Bank of England Collection (1877): 66.

Eadwig

Mr. Petrie's Irish Hoard(s) (1843): 23, 25, 27, 32.

Cotton Collection: 29.

Hodsoll Collection (1794): 16 (via Tyssen, 1802).

Tyssen Collection (1802): 4, 6, 12, 15.

Before 1812: 2.

Hollis Sale (1817), lot 78: 36.

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Undated: 8-10, 13, 20, 21, 28, 33.

Purchased Mr. H. O. Cureton (1842): 30, 31. Dean of St. Patrick Sale (1842), lot 353: 34.

Devonshire Sale (1844): 3, 5, 11, 14, 17-19, 24, 26, 35.

Purchased Mr. D. Campkin (1853): 22. Purchased Sir John Evans (1862): 7.

Bank of England Collection (1877): 1.

Eadgar

Mackrie Find (1850): 2, 21, 24, 31, 46, 62, 90, 95, 108, 110, 121, 125, 128, 130, 138, 167, 176 (all via H.M. Exchequer for Scotland, 1852).

Mr. Petrie's Irish Hoard(s) (1843): 6, 14, 23, 25, 27, 30, 32, 34, 45, 47, 57, 60, 68, 72, 73, 81, 85, 89, 93, 96, 105, 107, 109, 113, 114, 116, 122, 123, 141, 148, 150, 152, 154, 155, 162, 172, 173, 180, 189, 192, 195, 196, 199, 202, 204.

Inchkenneth Find (1830): 88, 103, 117, 187 (all presented by Major Macdonald, 1851).

Cotton Collection: 15, 16, 203.

Birkhead Sale (1742), lot 56: 35 (via Bootle, 1802 and Miles, 1820).

Hodsoll Collection (1794): 5, 11, 44, 56, 142, 206 (all via Tyssen, 1802).

Tyssen Collection (1802): 29, 53, 164, 184, 185, 190, 205, 208 (no. 185 via Miles, 1820; no. 205 via Thane, 1819).

Hollis Sale (1817), lot 78: 19.

Banks Collection (1818): 126, 170, 188.

Thane Collection (1819): 37, 51, 181.

Barclay Sale (1831), lot 282: 43, 198.

Undated: 1, 3, 4, 7-10, 18, 20, 22, 26, 33, 38, 40, 48-50, 52, 54, 55, 58, 59, 64, 65, 67, 69-71, 74, 75, 77-80, 82-84, 86, 87, 91, 92, 94, 97, 98, 100-2, 111, 112, 115, 118, 119, 127, 131–5, 137, 140, 143, 145–7, 149, 151, 153, 156, 158–60, 163, 169, 171, 174, 175, 177, 182, 183, 186, 191, 193, 194, 197, 207, 211 (no. 52 presented by Lord Radnor; no. 175 presented by Mrs. Richie).

Lord Mark Kerr Sale (1841), lot 34: 12.

Misc. Sale (1842), lots 58 and 59: 41, 42.

Boyne Sale (1843), lot 244: 106, 120.

Devonshire Sale (1844): 161, 165, 166, 200, 201, 210.

Durrant Sale (1847), lot 45: 168.

Purchased Rev. I. Shepherd (1847): 28, 61, 63, 66, 76, 99, 104, 124, 129, 136, 157, 178.

Presented Rev. I. Shepherd (1848): 179.

Pembroke Sale (1848), lot 46: 36.

Brumell Sale (1850), lot 46: 13, 139.

Purchased Mr. D. Campkin (1853): 209.

Cuff Sale (1854), lot 545: 17.

Purchased Sir John Evans (1862): 144.

Bank of England Collection (1877): 39.

Edward the Martyr

Leicester Find (1789): 4, 10, 20 (all via Bootle, 1802 and Miles, 1820).

Anonymous Sale (1785) (23 Feb.): 11 (via Hodsoll, 1794 and Tyssen, 1802).

Hodsoll Collection (1794): 26, 33 (both via Tyssen, 1802).

Tyssen Collection (1802): 7, 14, 23, 32.

Bentham Sale (1838), lot 270: 22.

Undated: 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 12, 13, 15-19, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 31, 34-36.

Cuff Sale (1854), lots 550 and 551: 1, 30. Bank of England Collection (1877): 21.

Aethelræd II

Found at Hellingly, Sussex (1808): 1.

Inchkenneth Find (1830): 76, 158, 160, 401 (all presented by Major Macdonald, 1851).

Mr. Petrie's Irish Hoard(s) (1843): 49, 204, 209, 290, 370, 400.

Russian Find (1850): 8, 21, 29, 34, 41, 56, 57, 59, 60, 65, 81, 83, 86, 88, 95, 103, 107, 121, 124, 140, 141, 146–8, 152, 154, 161, 165–7, 169, 173–6, 178, 179, 181, 182, 184, 185, 187, 188, 212, 216, 220, 222, 223, 231, 232, 234, 236, 238, 243, 244, 247, 251, 253, 254, 256, 259, 264, 266, 267, 270, 273, 274, 276, 279, 282, 286, 293, 302, 314, 315, 317–19, 323, 325, 328, 334, 341, 348, 351, 352, 367, 373, 377, 382, 385, 397–9, 402–8.

Wedmore Find (1853): 43.

City of London Find (1872): 15 (presented Evans, 1886), 145 (presented Franks, 1887).

Isleworth Find (1886): 35, 303, 390.

Cotton Collection: 77, 91, 226, 289, 292, 330.

Anonymous Collection (1785) (23 Feb.): 133 (via Hodsoll, 1794 and Tyssen, 1802).

Samuel Collection (1793): 156, 366.

Hodsoll Collection (1794): 17, 27, 33, 48, 69, 73, 99, 100, 157, 163, 189, 192, 197–9, 201, 203, 206–8, 218, 229, 230, 237, 242, 248, 250, 252, 255, 260, 291, 324, 342, 356, 357, 359, 364, 380, 388, 391 (all via Tyssen, 1802).

Tyssen Collection (1802): 16.

Bootle Collection (1802): 139 (via Miles, 1820).

Barre Roberts Collection (1810): 62.

Hollis Sale (1817), lot 78: 31, 301.

Banks Collection (1818): 52, 235, 261.

Thane Collection (1819): 168, 246, 300.

Miles Collection (1820): 38.

Willett Sale (1827), lot 10: 277.

Presented Mr. M. Barham (1831): 37.

Phare Collection (1834): 75, 195, 214.

Undated: 3, 6, 10, 11, 14, 19, 25, 26, 30, 32, 40, 51, 58, 64, 72, 78-80, 84, 96, 98, 102, 112, 115, 117, 120, 125, 127, 129, 130, 136, 137, 142, 144, 151, 153, 164, 170, 177, 190, 194, 210, 211, 213, 217, 219, 224, 233, 245, 249, 262, 265, 298, 299, 305, 310, 320-2, 326, 327, 333, 335, 336, 340, 343-5, 349, 354, 358, 360-2, 371, 374, 378, 387, 394-6 (no. 112 presented by Mr. Goddard Johnson; one, unspecified, presented 1827 by the Society of Antiquaries of London; no. 335 found in Nottinghamshire before 1794).

Bentham Sale (1838), lot 271: 221, 241, 272, 307.

Purchased M. Odoui (1840): 71.

Lord Mark Kerr Sale (1841): 191.

Purchased Mr. English (1846): 108.

Dymock Sale (1846): 389.

Durrant Sale (1847), lots 54 and 56: 63, 215.

Pembroke Sale (1848), lot 47: 119, 196.

Purchased Mr. M. Borrell (1850): 312.

Purchased Mr. J. Burgoyne (1850): 155.

Purchased M. Rousseau (1850): 20.

Sale of coins from Tunis (1852), lots 101 and 107: 202, 331.

Purchased Capt. Mauso d'Villa (1856): 18, 74.

Presented Lord Boston (1859): 47, 263.

Martin Sale (1859), lot 44: 109, 128.

Purchased Mr. Webster (1867): 126. (1870): 93.

Bank of England Collection (1877): 28, 228, 271, 281.

Purchased Mr. H. W. Sewening (1878): 68, 85, 122, 180, 332, 347, 369, 375, 381, 386, Purchased Mr. F. Hansen (1880): 239.

Purchased Mr. T. Wilson Browne (1883): 284.

Presented Sir John Evans (1886): 9, 15, 23, 24, 42, 53-55, 61, 87, 90, 114, 116, 123, 134 159, 162, 186, 193, 205, 240, 258, 268, 278, 294, 304, 306, 311, 329, 337, 338 353, 368, 372, 379, 383, 393.

Purchased Dr. Hans Hildebrand (1890): 4, 7, 12, 13, 39, 45, 46, 67, 82, 89, 92, 104 106, 110, 111, 143, 149, 150, 171, 200, 225, 257, 269, 316, 339, 346, 350, 355 363, 365, 376, 392.

Purchased Rollin and Feuardent (1890): 2, 5, 22, 36, 44, 50, 66, 70, 94, 97, 101, 105 113, 118, 131, 132, 135, 138, 172, 183, 227, 275, 280, 283, 285, 287, 288, 295–7 308, 309, 313, 384.

No. 383 has since been replaced by a finer specimen from the Evans Collection (also ex Sweden).

Canute

Orkney Find, 1774

(A) via Lord Dundas: 160, 163, 165, 168, 169, 177, 180, 186-8, 190, 193, 195, 19 198, 203, 332, 337, 339, 344, 348, 349, 431, 434, 436, 449, 452, 455, 456, 533

(B) via Hodsoll (1794) and Tyssen (1802): 185, 194, 447, 602.

(C) via Lord Dundas and Banks Collection (1818): 20, 28, 38, 39, 53, 72, 75, 16 162, 164, 166, 170, 171, 173, 176, 178, 179, 181, 182, 189, 191, 192, 197, 19 201, 202, 214, 236, 241, 247, 331, 333, 335, 336, 341, 343, 345-7, 350-2, 35 355, 409, 430, 432, 433, 435, 437, 443, 446, 448, 450, 451, 459, 461, 462, 47 475, 486, 487, 501, 518, 531, 532, 534, 535, 537, 538, 542, 587, 588, 591, 603 604 (no. 345'via Hodsoll, 1794 and Tyssen, 1802).

(D) via uncertain channel: 167, 457, 573.

Halton Moor Find (1815): 71, 85–91, 93–123, 125–57, 231, 299, 316, 323, 327, 386 390, 395, 415, 470, 580.

Russian Find (1850): 80, 82, 184, 296, 310, 367, 368, 376, 379, 385, 387, 396, 408, 415

562, 569, 572, 609, 613.

Wedmore Find (1853): 2, 9, 10-13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 23, 25, 29, 31, 33, 34, 44, 45, 4 50, 54, 56, 57, 59, 61–63, 65, 67, 73, 77–79, 159, 172, 175, 183, 206, 207, 210–1 225-7, 229, 230, 232, 237, 240, 242, 243, 251, 258, 259, 261, 262, 266, 268, 29 300, 301, 306, 315, 321, 322, 325, 329, 334, 340, 362, 370, 384, 391, 402, 40 406, 407, 412, 419, 423–6, 429, 440–2, 444, 445, 454, 458, 460, 463–5, 472, 48 489, 490, 496, 499, 500, 504, 506, 510, 513, 519, 521, 524, 529, 543, 544, 548, 50, 552, 553, 559, 568, 571, 574–8, 582–6, 590, 593–6, 605, 607, 614, 616.

Cotton Collection: 234, 467, 507.

Sloane Collection: 70, 74, 209, 269, 308, 324, 342, 438, 541, 608.

Lord Maynard Bequest (1765): 589.

Hodsoll Collection (1794): 3, 24, 204, 215, 216, 238, 249, 267, 278, 283, 314, 353, 36 389, 422, 480, 481, 495, 554, 565 (all via Tyssen, 1802).

Southgate Collection (1795): 42 (via Tyssen, 1802).

Tyssen Collection (1802): 60, 158, 200, 218, 221, 271, 279, 313, 466, 592, 597, 612 (no 218 and 466 via Thane, 1819; 592 and 612 via Miles, 1820).

Hollis Sale (1817), lot 78: 516, 517.

Banks Collection (1818): 302 (purchased from Mr. Thomson at Lincoln 1803).

Thane Collection (1819): 222, 397, 403.

Miles Collection (1820): 49, 224, 235, 246, 252, 503, 508, 512, 527, 545, 599.

Undated: I, 4–8, I4, I7, 22, 30, 40, 4I, 43, 47, 55, 64, 8I, 83, 84, 92, I24, I67, I74, 217, 219, 220, 228, 245, 253–5, 257, 263–5, 270, 272–7, 280, 282, 284–7, 289–94, 304, 305, 307, 320, 338, 356–60, 364, 369, 37I, 373–5, 377, 378, 380, 38I, 4I3, 427, 47I, 478, 479, 482, 483, 488, 49I, 493, 494, 497, 498, 502, 505, 5I4, 5I5, 522, 523, 528, 547, 551, 555, 556, 558, 560, 563, 566, 570, 573, 58I, 598, 60I, 6II, 6I5, 6I7.

Bentham Sale (1838), lot 271: 309, 420.

Purchased Mr. Cuff (1839): 244, 326, 484, 561.

Abdy Sale (1841): 416.

Purchased Thomsen, Copenhagen (1843): 69, 303, 318, 319, 328, 382, 383, 388, 392, 398, 399, 401, 410, 411, 414, 417, 473, 525, 526, 579.

Purchased Mr. E. Acton (1847): 46.

Pembroke Sale (1848), lot 47: 546.

Purchased Mr. D. Campkin (1853): 233.

Purchased Mr. H. O. Cureton (1854): 205.

Bank of England Collection (1877): 330, 361.

Purchased Mr. H. W. Sewening (1878): 26, 27, 312, 421, 469.

Presented Sir John Evans (1886): 35, 36, 51, 66, 76, 223, 239, 248, 256, 260, 297, 311, 317, 492, 511, 539, 540, 557, 606.

Presented Rev. G. I. Chester (1889): 477.

Purchased Dr. Hans Hildebrand (1890): 37, 52, 58, 68, 213, 250, 281, 365, 366, 393, 394, 400, 405, 428, 439, 453, 468, 476, 509, 530, 567, 600.

Purchased Rollin and Feuardent (1890): 32, 208, 288, 295, 372, 520, 564, 610.

Harold I

Thwaite Find (1832): 12, 15, 17, 20, 24, 29, 36, 48, 75, 87, 101, 106, 110.

Wedmore Find (1853): 2, 5, 6, 8–11, 13, 21, 23, 42, 52, 54, 55, 68, 72, 80, 93–95, 97, 99, 102, 103.

Cotton Collection: 33, 39, 50, 53, 60, 82, 85, 107.

Hodsoll Collection (1794): 49, 57, 77 (all via Tyssen, 1802).

Tyssen Collection (1802): 19.

Hollis Sale (1817), lot 79: 45, 111 (via Durrant Sale, 1847, lots 62 and 63).

Thane Collection (1819): 63, 71.

Miles Collection (1820): 27, 89.

Willett Sale (1827), lot 26: 56.

Dymock Sale (1830), lots 13 and 14: 46, 92.

Barclay Sale (1831), lot 285: 91.

Purchased (1835): 3, 78, 108.

Undated: 4, 7, 28, 30, 44, 47, 61, 70, 81, 86, 96, 109, 112-15 (no. 7 presented by a Mrs. Norman, and no. 81 by a Mr. T. Owen).

Purchased Mr. Edwards (1838): 65, 67.

Bentham Sale (1838), lot 272: 76.

Purchased Mr. Cuff (1839): 14, 34, 83.

Purchased Rev. E. J. Shepherd (1839): 64.

Purchased Chevalier Brønsted (1840): 31, 32, 62, 90.

Purchased Thomsen, Copenhagen (1843): 58.

Boyne Sale (1843): 84.

Devonshire Sale (1844), lots 336, 338, and 339: 35, 40, 105 (the last via Brumell Sale, 1850, lot 134).

Durrant Sale (1847), lots 62, 64, 67, and 68: 45, 73, 100, 104.

Pembroke Sale (1848), lot 48: 22.

Purchased Mr. E. Moses (1850): 18.

Cuff Sale (1854), lots 576, 578, and 579: 1, 41, 98.

Purchased Mr. H. O. Cureton (1856): 37.

Martin Sale (1859), lot 47: 79.

Bank of England Collection (1877): 25.

Purchased Mr. H. W. Sewening (1878): 26, 38, 51.

Presented Sir John Evans (1888): 69, 74, 88 (nos. 69 and 88 found in Sweden).

Purchased Rollin and Feuardent (1888): 16, 59.

(1890): 43.

Purchased Messrs. Sotheby (1891): 66.

Harthacnut

Thwaite Find (1832): 14.

Wedmore Find (1853): 1, 2, 11, 13, 16-20.

Cotton Collection, 6, 15, 23.

Rich Sale (1828), lots 62 and 63: 5, 21.

Undated: 7, 8.

Devonshire Sale (1844), lot 341: 12.

Thomas Sale (1844), lot 249: 9. Durrant Sale (1847), lot 73: 10.

Pembroke Sale (1848), lot 49: 24.

Purchased Mr. Webster (1852): 3 (claimed to have been found in Plymouth Church-yard).

Cuff Sale (1854), lots 590 and 591: 22, 25.

Purchased Mr. Webster (1869): 4.

Edward the Confessor

St. Mary Hill Find (1774): 554.

Thwaite Find (1832): 19, 45–47, 50, 52, 53, 57, 58, 179, 202, 247, 259, 261, 282, 291, 292, 439, 451, 532, 537, 556, 558, 573, 574, 633, 635, 671, 672, 675–7, 680, 683, 692, 694, 695, 749, 751, 754, 761–9, 771, 773, 776, 778–80, 785–7, 789, 790, 793, 794, 796, 800, 801, 804–7, 815, 816, 818–21, 823, 826, 830–2, 835, 836, 839, 842–7, 849–55, 857–60, 862, 863, 865, 870–2, 877, 880, 881, 883, 886, 887, 890, 893, 895, 897–904, 906, 911, 1075, 1135, 1143, 1144, 1151, 1153–5, 1219, 1221, 1222, 1227, 1229, 1231, 1244, 1314, 1324, 1372, 1373, 1375, 1380, 1381, 1524, 1531–3, 1537, 1538, 1572–9, 1581–1600 (no. 179 purchased Eastwood, 1865 ex-Sheppard Sale, 1864, lot 86).

Soberton Find (1851): 43, 234, 1069, 1073, 1195, 1296, 1312, 1362-6, 1390, 1496-8,

1500-12, 1514-17.

Wedmore Find (1853): 195, 699, 908, 1263, 1384.

Chancton Find (1866): 4–9, 11–13, 15–18, 22, 23, 25, 27, 28, 30, 34, 35, 37–41, 61, 63, 64, 66–93, 96–98, 100, 102, 103, 105–28, 131, 133, 134, 136, 141–4, 146, 150, 151, 153, 155–8, 164, 173–8, 180–9, 191, 192, 197, 199, 214, 215, 217–23, 225–8, 230–1, 233, 331, 344–6, 355, 356, 365, 379, 409, 412, 417, 424, 432–5, 441, 448, 453, 455–9, 461, 462, 464, 467–9, 475–7, 483–92, 496–506, 508, 509, 511, 512, 514–18, 520, 522, 525, 526, 528, 538, 540, 544–6, 550, 553, 565, 566, 569–71, 579–608, 610, 613, 617, 619, 621, 623, 627, 638, 642, 644, 648, 653, 659, 701, 704–11, 713, 714, 719, 724, 725, 727, 729, 730, 737, 738, 740, 741, 743, 744,

755, 912–14, 917, 918, 920–2, 924, 926, 929–32, 934, 935, 937–9, 942, 944–8, 950–4, 956–68, 970–2, 974–6, 978–80, 982–4, 986–90, 992–1017, 1019, 1021–33, 1035–51, 1053–5, 1057–62, 1064, 1066–8, 1070–2, 1077, 1078, 1084, 1086–8, 1100, 1103, 1104, 1111, 1116–27, 1129, 1131, 1138–40, 1146–9, 1158–61, 1166, 1167, 1169, 1170, 1172–4, 1180, 1189–94, 1196, 1205–13, 1215–17, 1232, 1234, 1236–8, 1241, 1246, 1249–57, 1265, 1271, 1275–81, 1285, 1286, 1288, 1290, 1292, 1293, 1299, 1300, 1303–7, 1309–11, 1318–21, 1323, 1326–47, 1349–52, 1354–6, 1358–60, 1368, 1371, 1385–8, 1392–4, 1396, 1397, 1399–1425, 1427–46, 1448, 1450–69, 1471–83, 1485, 1487–91, 1493–5, 1499, 1513, 1520, 1540, 1542, 1543, 1548, 1551, 1555, 1564–7, 1569–71 (no. 509 purchased Rev. G. T. Chester, 1882; no. 1068 presented Col. Meyrick, 1868).

City of London Find (1872)

(Å) Purchased Mr. Webster (1872): 14, 42, 163, 165, 193, 224, 236, 303, 530, 531, 547, 552, 560, 561, 645, 655, 656, 681, 685, 856, 873, 882, 936, 973, 1082, 1085, 1096, 1145, 1181, 1214, 1274, 1289, 1297, 1398, 1449, 1534, 1544, 1563.

(B) Presented Mr. Willett (1876): 3, 20, 21, 24, 26, 32, 62, 65, 94, 95, 101, 145, 148, 149, 154, 160, 162, 167, 190, 196, 203-5, 210, 212, 319, 383, 395, 415, 430, 431, 436, 440, 443, 444, 446, 447, 454, 460, 463, 465, 466, 473, 474, 478-82, 493, 513, 529, 539, 541, 548, 562, 609, 612, 624, 637, 650, 702, 712, 726, 731, 733, 735, 742, 774, 876, 919, 923, 925, 940, 941, 949, 1056, 1065, 1081, 1083, 1094, 1095, 1097-9, 1102, 1105-10, 1114, 1128, 1130, 1132, 1136, 1168, 1176, 1178, 1179, 1198, 1201-4, 1233, 1242, 1247, 1258, 1260, 1267-70, 1273, 1294, 1295, 1308, 1315, 1322, 1325, 1353, 1361, 1389, 1391, 1486, 1528, 1539, 1541, 1545, 1547, 1550, 1552-4, 1556, 1557, 1559.

Bishopshill Find (1882): 348, 350, 357, 361–3, 368, 376, 382, 385, 386, 389, 396–8, 400, 401, 408, 425, 620, 651, 717, 718, 720, 722, 1235.

Cotton Collection: 229, 256, 299, 321, 323, 349, 354, 615, 622, 625, 626, 630, 641, 654, 666, 1186, 1291, 1426, 1568.

Anonymous Collection (1785): 1182 (via Hodsoll, 1794 and Tyssen, 1802).

Hodsoll Collection (1794): 239, 243, 244, 250, 252, 257, 262, 268-71, 279, 280, 283, 284, 294, 295, 310, 312, 317, 320, 327, 329, 337, 340-2, 351, 358, 374, 375, 388, 394, 413, 418, 422, 426, 427, 470, 640, 647, 664, 679, 864, 916, 1076, 1348, 1447, 1527 (all via Tyssen, 1802).

Southgate Collection (1795): 254, 263, 290, 305, 314, 338, 377, 380, 384, 423, 614, 632, 636, 739, 928, 1020 (all via Tyssen, 1802).

Bootle Collection (1802): 1137 (via Miles, 1820).

Tyssen Collection (1802): 130; 132, 241, 352, 366, 410, 429, 543, 646, 693, 775, 1018, 1175, 1529 (no. 1175 via Miles, 1820, no 775 ex Hodsoll 1794).

Hollis Sale (1817), lot 78: 1519.

Banks Collection (1818): 442, 915.

Thane Collection (1810): 370, 406, 430, 652, 682, 760, 804, 027, 0

Thane Collection (1819): 370, 406, 429, 652, 682, 760, 894, 927, 991, 1034.

Miles Collection (1820): 1, 137, 166, 211, 347, 372, 449, 507, 523, 527, 563, 616, 643, 658, 660, 663, 728, 1164, 1187, 1188, 1218, 1240, 1248, 1264.

Undated: 29, 129, 135, 138, 147, 152, 216, 235, 238, 240, 242, 246, 248, 249, 251, 255, 260, 264-6, 272, 273, 275, 277, 278, 281, 285-7, 289, 293, 296-8, 300-2, 304, 306-9, 311, 313, 315, 316, 318, 322, 324-6, 328, 330, 332-6, 339, 343, 353, 359, 360, 364, 367, 369, 373, 378, 381, 387, 391-3, 399, 402-5, 411, 414, 416, 419, 420, 428, 510, 524, 533, 549, 551, 559, 567, 649, 657, 662, 669, 670, 673, 687-90, 696, 698, 703, 715, 716, 721, 723, 745, 756, 822, 829, 837, 838, 848, 866, 869, 879, 896, 910, 933, 955, 969, 977, 981, 1052, 1063, 1079, 1115, 1165, 1183, 1200, 1225, 1226, 1230, 1262, 1282, 1283, 1287, 1316, 1317, 1395, 1492, 1518, 1530, 1546, 1580.

Presented Viscount Cole (1839): 639.

Purchased Mr. Cuff (1839): 44, 54-56, 59, 60, 139, 140, 159, 169-72, 194, 200, 207,

267, 276, 450, 452, 471, 494, 495, 534–6, 542, 557, 568, 572, 575–7, 611, 628, 629, 631, 674, 678, 684, 686, 748, 777, 782, 783, 788, 797, 799, 802, 803, 808–10, 813, 814, 817, 824, 833, 834, 840, 841, 867, 875, 884, 885, 889, 891, 892, 943, 1074, 1089, 1091–3, 1112, 1134, 1142, 1152, 1156, 1157, 1197, 1199, 1220, 1223, 1228, 1243, 1261, 1272, 1298, 1302, 1369, 1374, 1376, 1383, 1522, 1523, 1526, 1536, 1560–2.

Lord Mark Kerr Sale (1841): 245, 274, 288, 1239.

Purchased Mr. C. B. Smith (1844): 10.

Purchased Mr. E. Morris (1846): 1357.

Purchased Mr. Edwards (1847): 389, 407.

Purchased Mr. A. Lawrence (1849): 1549.

Purchased Mr. D. Campkin (1853): 1521. Purchased Mr. H. O. Cureton (1854): 421.

Presented Lord Boston (1859): 985, 1184.

Purchased Count J. W. De Salis (1859): 36, 661, 1185.

Purchased Mr. Webster (1870): 31.

Purchased Rev. G. T. Chester (1875): 99, 390, 732, 1558.

Purchased Mr. J. R. Hodson (1876): 519, 521, 618, 1171, 1470, 1484.

Presented Hon. Mrs. Wilson (1877): 48, 49, 51, 104, 201, 258, 437, 472, 668, 691, 770, 781, 791, 792, 795, 798, 811, 825, 827, 828, 861, 878, 888, 1090, 1224, 1245, 1378, 1525, 1535.

Purchased Mr. H. W. Sewening (1878): 905, 1133.

Presented Mr. J. M. C. Johnston (1879): 253.

Purchased Mr. J. H. Price (1881): 198, 208, 564, 578, 700, 1080, 1177, 1382.

Presented Col. M. G. Clerk (1888): 213, 232, 1259, 1284.

Purchased Rev. G. T. Chester (1889): 772, 784. Presented Rev. G. T. Chester (1889): 161, 907.

Purchased Rollin and Feuardent (1890): 2, 33, 168, 237, 438, 555, 634, 667, 697, 746, 752, 753, 759, 812, 868, 909, 1150, 1162, 1163, 1266, 1301, 1313, 1367, 1379, 1379.

Purchased Rollin and Feuardent (1891): 371, 445, 734, 736, 1101.

Purchased Mr. L. A. Lawrence (1891): 206, 209, 665, 747, 750, 757, 758, 874, 1141, 1377. Purchased Spink & Son, Ltd. (1892): 1113.

No. 1081 has since been replaced by a finer specimen from the Evans Collection.

Harold II

Beaworth Find (1833): 55.

Soberton Find (1851): 1, 2, 4, 9, 10, 25, 27–33, 36, 38, 41, 43, 45, 47, 48, 51, 56, 57, 59, 60, 62, 64, 66, 67–71, 76–79, 87, 88, 90, 91, 94–100, 102–10, 112, 113, 115–7, 121, 123, 124.

Chancton Find (1866): 39, 44, 46, 53, 84.

Hodsoll Collection (1794): 13, 14, 17, 50, 54, 75, 82, 85 (all via Tyssen, 1802).

Thane Collection (1819): 12, 114.

Miles Collection (1820): 3, 7, 11, 101.

Undated: 5, 8, 15, 16, 18, 20, 22-24, 26, 35, 37, 40, 42, 49, 52, 58, 61, 63, 65, 72-74, 80, 81, 83, 92, 93, 111, 119, 120, 122, 125 (nos. 72 and 92 presented by a Mr. Barclay).

Durrant Sale (1847), 10ts 92 and 94: 19, 34.

Pembroke Sale (1848), lot 52: 89. Sale 31st Jan. (1853), lot 206: 21.

Bank of England Collection (1877): 6, 86, 118.

J. S. STRUDWICK

APPENDIX A

Some Corrigenda to the Two Volumes of the British Museum Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins

MERCIA

The moneyer is probably Wihtred.
More probably a coin of Beornwulf.

The mint is Rochester.

The monogram is ORV, continuing MERCI in the outer legend.

Archbishop of Canterbury
21 This coin is false.

Northumbria

870 ff. The attribution of this series to Guthred is open to considerable doubt.

The final letter of the obverse legend is Γ , not M.

ÆTHELBALD

I-3 The coins are all *false* (modern fabrications).

ÆTHELRÆD I

46, 47 The coins are probably East Anglian (or Northumbrian?).

ALFRED

The reverse reads EILΓΛĐ—a blundered coin from Danelaw.
The reverse legend is to be expanded ELIMOsina (=Romescot).

EDWARD THE ELDER

The moneyer is more probably Megenfreth.

ÆTHELSTAN

The Exeter attribution is most improbable.

85 Brooke's reattribution to Wareham is not justified.

EADRED

Brooke's reattribution to Edward the Elder is not justified.

Eadwig

6-10 These coins should be given to the Chester area.

The mint is more probably Northampton.

The possibility of Newport Pagnell cannot be excluded.

EADGAR

6 The mint is 'Weardbyrig'.
The mint signature is doubtful.

These coins are more probably Northampton.

The London attribution is doubtful.

45–48 These coins should be given to the Chester area.

The mint is Winchcombe.

The mint is Chichester—the moneyer Flodwin.

EDWARD THE MARTYR

BMC Type II The coin is a tooled penny of Æthelræd II (now in BM).

The mint is more probably Northampton.

The mint is quite uncertain.

ÆTHELRÆD II

9

The mint is Thetford.

Style suggests York where the moneyer is also known for the type.
The Jedburgh, Idbury, and Bradwell-on-Sea attributions are equally

unacceptable, and the mint is to be sought in the vicinity of Exeter.

The mint is Northampton.
The mint is Malmesbury.
The mint is Stamford.

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58
       The Provenances of the Anglo-Saxon Coins Recorded in the
                The mint is Lincoln.
38I
                The mint is Warminster.
383
                The mint is Caistor where Leoman is known.
394
CNUT
                The mint is Langport.
Ι
                The mint is Warminster.
20
                The coin is in fact one of Edward the Confessor.
21
                The coins are from the same obverse die.
22, 24
                The mint is Derby.
55
                The mint is Axbridge.
56
78
                The mint is Axbridge.
                The mint is Hertford.
171
                The mint is Northampton.
238
                The Hereford attribution seems improbable.
245
                The Huntingdon attribution seems improbable.
251
                The mint is Lydford.
253
                The mint is Langport.
263, 264
                The London attribution seems impossible.
420
                The coin is a tooled penny of Edward the Confessor.
466
                The coin appears to be Scandinavian.
49I
                The mint is probably Buckingham.
493
                The mint is Lincoln.
495
                The Steyning attribution seems improbable.
517
                The mint is Wallingford.
556
                The mint is York.
558
                The mint is Worcester.
563
                The mint is Lincoln.
579, 580
615
N.B.
                The mint is perhaps Canterbury where the moneyer is known.
                Coins 40, 205, 234, 301, 356, 463–5, 476, 477, 490, 543, 593–6, 608, 615, and 616 are now attributed to Harthacnut's effective reign (1040–2).
                Coins 467 and 468 are perhaps posthumous.
HAROLD I
                The mint is more probably Northampton.
41
                The coin is Scandinavian.
64
HARTHACNUT
                The mint is Axbridge.
I, 2
EDWARD THE CONFESSOR
                The mint is Bridport.
32
                The mint is Lewes.
45
                The bust on these coins faces left.
76, 77
                The mint is Cambridge.
94, 95
                The mint is Ipswich—the coin is from the same dies as 438.
104
157, 158
                The coins are from the same reverse die.
                The mint is Warminster.
194
                The mint is almost certainly Derby.
200-2
                The mint is more probably Canterbury (or Cambridge?).
232
                The mint is Dover.
319
                The mint is York—the coin is from the same dies as 278.
472
482
                The mint is Southwark.
                The mint is more probably Northampton.
523-30
                The coin in fact belongs to Type VII. var b—the bust faces left.
526
                The mint is Hereford.
536
538
                The moneyer is blundered Wilgrip.
568
                The mint is Huntingdon.
                The mint is Canterbury.
613
                The mint is Chester.
621
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C. E. B. R. H. M. D. F. E. J.

659	The mint is Colchester.
1113	The mint is Thetford.
1131	The mint is Worcester.
1132	The coin appears to be a blundered penny of Wilton.
1141	The mint is London.
1142	The mint is Winchester
1143, 1144	The moneyer is Wul(f)m(a)er—the only Romney moneyer for the reign.
1146	The mint is London.
1151	The mint is Stamford.
1163	The mint is quite uncertain, and the coin may well be Scandinavian.
1164	The mint is Shrewsbury.
1168	The reverse exhibits unique features.
1173	The mint is Shrewsbury.
1175	The mint is Shrewsbury—an obverse die-link is known.
1179	There is no cross in the fourth quarter.
1218	The mint is Stafford.
1220, 1221	The mint is more probably Salisbury.
1240	The mint is more probably Stafford.
1298	The mint is quite uncertain.
1302	The mint is quite uncertain.
1314	The mint is more probably Winchester.
1327	The coin is in fact a III/V mule.
1369	The mint is more probably Worcester.
1373	The mint is Canterbury and the moneyer Brunman.
1395	The coin is a III/V mule.
1439, 1486	The mint is Worcester.
1520	The mint is Winchcombe.
1561	The mint is Bury St. Edmunds, and the moneyer Morcere.
1562	The mint is probably Hertford.
1563	The mint is Ipswich.
1565, 1566	The mint is Northampton.
1567	The mint is Winchester, the moneyer Godwine Ceoca.
1568-70	The mint is Canterbury.
HAROLD II	
IIIIIODD II	

The mint is more probably Northampton. The mint is Worcester.

37-39 113

THE COINS OF THE SUSSEX MINTS

PART I: BRAMBER (?), CHICHESTER, PEVENSEY, AND RYE

By Horace H. King

It has been represented to me that it would be valuable if a full list or corpus of the coins of the Sussex mints, which I have been gathering for many years both at home and in the Scandinavian countries, could be published, giving the present whereabouts whenever possible of every coin which is at all rare and also the pedigree, where known, so that the inquirer may see at once that a coin in, say, the Lockett sale is the same coin as one in the Carlyon-Britton sale of forty years earlier. It is not intended to give every coin, which would be impossible, but every die: where there are only three or four specimens known, however, endeavour has been made to give them all. This list, therefore, has been brought up to date and made as comprehensive and complete as possible, and the first instalment, consisting of Chichester, Pevensey, and Rye, and the still doubtful mint of Bramber, is here published—with some trepidation on the author's part, be it said, for it has not been possible to inquire of, much less to examine, all the provincial and foreign museums, which range from Reykjavik to Leningrad and Rome, or all the private collections which are even more scattered, from New York to Indonesia. There is bound to be a number of coins that have been missed.

Coins that are quoted as being in various sales of some years ago but of which no later whereabouts are given, and coins which appear in various publications of fifty to one hundred years ago and more, must be accepted with reserve, for their legends are not too accurately given and mere pellets and ligatures in the legends were more often

than not ignored.

Die-identities have been given in footnotes where known but of course there must be a considerable number that are not. Where it is stated that a coin is "As no. ooo", the reading is the same, not

necessarily the die.

Provincial and foreign museums and private collectors have not been mentioned except where the coin is the only or nearly the only specimen known to me. This rule is broken in the cases of the very large collection in Stockholm, of the large collection, formerly the Daniels collection, in the Brighton Museum, which includes several rarities and more than one unique coin, and, at the request of the British Museum, of the author's collection. Where the mere names of towns are given, the coins are in the local museum.

A number of abbreviations has been used, especially in the column

headed "Location or authority". These are as follows:

B.M.C. 000 British Museum Catalogue and number

B.M. British Museum (acquired since the catalogue)

B.N.J. British Numismatic Journal

	9
C-B.	The late Major P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton
F.E.J.	Mr. F. Elmore Jones
F.G.Ľ.	Mr. F. G. Lawrence
H.H.K.	The author's collection
Helsinki	The Finnish National Museum, Helsinki
Hild. ooo	Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm: number in Hilde-
	brand's Anglosachsiska Mynt i Svenska Kongliga Mynt-
	kabinettet, 1881
Huntr.	The Hunterian Collection, Glasgow University
J.L.D.	Mr. J. L. Dresser
Leningrad	The Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, U.S.S.R.
Mint	The Royal Mint Museum
N.C.	Numismatic Chronicle
MCD	Mr. N. C. Dollingol

N.C.B. Mr. N. C. Ballingal
R.C-B. Mr. Raymond Carlyon-Britton
R.C.L. The late Mr. R. C. Lockett
S.A.C. Sussex Archaeological Collections
Stockholm Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm: acquired since 1881

and in the cabinets
Stockholm (Inv. 000) Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm: number of hoard in

the "Inventarium" of deposits: not in the cabinets
Visby Gotlands Fornsal, Visby, Gotland, Sweden

It should be explained that such a large number of the illustrations on the plates is taken from the author's own collection because all the specimens in the British Museum will be illustrated, at any rate those of Chichester, in the near future in the Sylloge of English Coins now

in preparation.

My thanks are due to the staff of the coin-room at the British Museum, and especially to Mr. Dolley, for their patience in answering innumerable questions and looking up a number of die-identities, and for their kindness in preparing the casts for the plates: also to the many curators of museums and private collectors who have given me so readily information as to their coins. A special word of thanks must be given to Mr. Brazenor and Mr. Kennedy of the Brighton Museum, who went to considerable trouble to make the author welcome and to enable him to examine their coins in comfort.

BRAMBER?	Moneyer	Location or authority
Stephen		
Type B.M.C. VII		YESTON MONORALE
1. +STIEFNE +ORGAR:ON:BRA···	Orgar	Spink & Son (ex C-B. sale, 1916, 1470; Wills sale, 1938, 391; Drabble sale, 1939, 710; and Lockett sale, 1955, 1140), Copenhagen
2. +STIEFNE: +PILLEM:ON:BRAN	Willem	B.M.C. 181 (Pl. II, 1), F. E. J.
 Same obv. and probably same rev. readings but a different pair of dies 	,,	B.M.C. 182

Location or authority

¹ See Mr. F. Elmore Jones's paper in B.N.J. xxv. 119.

matthil-market	Moneyer *	Location or authority
CHICHESTER		
ATHELSTAN Type B.M.C. V		
1. +/EÐELŚTÄN REX TOT BRIT +IOHAN MO CIZSAN CIVI	Iohan	R. C. L. (not yet sold) (P1. II, 2)
2. +/EÐELŚTAN REX TŌ BRIT + CVZZAN CIV	5	Museo Nazionale, Rome. Rome hoard, 1883 (N.C. 1884, p. 242)
Eadgar Type B.M.C. III		
3. +EADGAR•REXANGLO +FLODVIN MONETA C	Flodwin	B.M.C. 185
Cross paté in the field of the obv. close to the initial cross in the legend		
4. +EΛDGAR REX Λ•NGLOR• +FLODVIN MONETA C•	,,	B.M.
Cross paté as in no. 3		
Type B.M.C. VI		
5. +EADGAR REX ANGLOX +CYNSIGE ··· CISE	Cynsige	Hild. 5
Chipped		
6. +EADGAR REX ANGLOX +FLODFIN MTO CISECI.	Flodwin	Brighton (ex C-B. sale, 1918, 1705)
7. As no. 5 +SIDEMAN M ⁻ O CIZSE•	Sideman	Stockholm (Inv. 14935) (P1. II, 3)
Æthelred II		
Type B.M.C. IIa: Hild. Bı		
8. +ÆÐELRÆD REX ANGLOX +ÆÐELM MÖD CIZZE	Æthelm	Hild. 263
9. +ÆÐELRED REX ANGLOX +HEAPVLF MOCISAN	Heawulf	H.H.K. (P1. II, 4) Brighton, Hild. 277
10. As no. 8 +HEΛΡVLF M ⁻ O CIΣCEST	,,	Stockholm
Type B.M.C. IId: Hild. B2		
11. +ÆÐELRÆD REX ANGLOX +EADNOD M ⁻ O CISEC	Eadnoth	Hild. 274
12. As no 11 +PVNSTAN M ⁻ O CIS	Dunstan	B.M., H.H.K. (ex Lockett sale, 1955, 673), Hild. 281, Leningrad
Type B.M.C. IIf: Hild. B ₃		
13. +/EÐELRED REX ANGLOV +/ELFPI MÖD EÍSE/E	Ælfwine	Hild. 254 (P1. II, 5)
14. +ÆÐELRÆD REX ANGLOX +EÆDNOD MÖD EISEA	Eadnoth	Stockholm
Type B.M.C. IIIa: Hild. C 15. +/EÐELR/ED REX ANILOX +/ELFPI MTO CISEC	Ælfwine	Hild. 255

		Moneyer	Location or authority
16.	+/EÐELRÆD RE X ANGLOX +/ELFPI M ⁻ O CI SE C	Ælfwine	B.M., Hild. 256
17.	As no. 16 +/ELFPINE M ⁻ O CIZ	"	Hild. 257
18.	As no. 15 +/ELFPINE M ⁻ O CIZEC	,,	Hild. 258
19.	As no. 16 As no. 18	,,	H.H.K., Hild. 259, Reykjavik
20.	As no. 16 +/EDEL M ^O CIZECZ	Æthelm	Stockholm
21.	As no. 16 +/EĐELM MTO CIZEC	,,	Hild. 264, Trondheim
22.	As no. 15 +/EDESTAN MTO CISE	Æthestan	Huntr., Hild. 268
23.	As no. 16 +/EĐESTAN MO CISE ¹	,,	H.H.K. (ex Lockett sale, 1955, 680), Brighton, Hild. 269, Visby
24.	As no. 16 +HEAPVLF M ⁻ O CIZE	Heawulf	Hild. 278
	Type B.M.C. III, variant: Hild. variant (wavy hair, double front tunic)		
25.	+ÆÐELRÆD REX ĀNŪLO\X +EĀDNOÐ ΜΩΟ CISE	Eadnoth	B.M. (ex Lockett sale, 1955, 678a); H.H.K. (ex Parsons sale, 1929, 149 (Pl. II, 6))
	Type B.M.C. IVa: Hild. D		
26.	+ÆLFPINE MΩO CIZE +ÆLFPINE MΩO CIZE	Ælfwine	B.M., H.H.K., Brighton
27.	As no. 26 \pm /EÐELM M Ω O CIZE	Æthelm	B.M., Hild. 265
28.	+/EÐELRÆD REX XNGLOI +/EÐESTAN M'O CISE	Æthestan	Hild. 270
29.	+ ∕EÐELR∕ED REX ⊼NJLO As no. 28	,,	Uppsala University
30.	+/EÐELR/ED REX ΛΝΓΙ +EÐESTAN ΜΩΟ CIS	,,	Hild. 4350
31.	+EÐELRED REX ANGLO As no. 28	,,	Hild. 276
32.	+ ÆÐELRÆD REX ⊼NGL + EYNN⊼ MΩ⊙ EISE	Cynna	Hild. 271, Copenhagen
33.	+ ÆÐELRÆD REX ⊼NGLO + EYNN⊼ M•Ω•⊙ EIZE	,,	Huntr., Hild. 272, Trondheim
34.	+ ÆDELRÆD REX ⊼NGLO As no. 33	,,	Hild. 272a
35.	+ ÆÐELRÆD REX ⊼NGI + EYNNΛ MΩ⊙ CI S E	,,	H.H.K. (ex Duke of Argyll coll.) (P1. II, 7)
36.	+ÆÐELRÆD REX ⊼NJL ₩CYNN⊼ M•Ω•⊙ CISE	,,	Lyceum of Borga, Finland

¹ Different die from preceding.

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		Moneyer	Location or authority
37-	+ÆÐELRÆD REX ⊼NGLO\X +EADNOÐ MΩO EISE	Eadnoth	B.M.C. 33, H.H.K.
38.	+/EÐELR/ED REX ĀNGLO As no. 37	,,	Visby
	Type B.M.C. VIII: Hild. E		
39.	+/EÐELR/ED REX ¼NGL⊙	Æthelm	H.H.K. (ex Bruun sale, 1925, 15
40.	As no. 39 +/EDELM M'O CICS	,,	Hild. 266
41.	+/EDELR/ED REX AND +/EDELM MO CYSE Two pellets in field of reverse.	,,	Brighton, Hild. 267
42.	+•/EDELRED REX ΔνΩΓ +•/EDELRED REX ΔνΩΓ	Heawulf	H.H.K. (ex Bruun sale, 1925, 15 (Pl. II, 8)
43.	+•/EDELR/ED REX XNGL As no. 42 ¹	,,	B.M. (ex Lockett sale, 1955, 696 Hild. 279, Copenhagen
44.	As no. 43 +HEPVLF MIO EIZEGE	,,	Hild. 280
	Type B.M.C. I (late issue): Hild. A		
45.	+/EÐELR/ED REX ANGLO +/ELFPI ON: CICESTR	Ælfwine	Hild. 253
46.	As no. 45 +/ELFPINE ON: CIESTER:	Ælfwine	Copenhagen
47.	+/EÐELR/ED REX ANGLOV +/EDELM ON CICSTERE:	Æthelm	B.M. (Pl. II, 9), Hild. 261
48.	Same as 47 but two pellets in field of reverse	,,	Mr. T. H. Gardner
49.	+/EÐELR/ED REX ANGLORVX +/EÐELM ON CISCESERE	,,	Hild. 262
50.	+/EDELR/ED REX XNGL* +DVNSTAN ON CISES	Dunstan	Hild. 273, Leningrad (ex Lodein Pole hoard, 1949)
51.	+/EÐELR/ED RE+ XNGLO	Leofric	Helsinki
CNI	UT		
	Type B.M.C. VIII: Hild. E ²		
	+/EDELM ON CIZC	Æthelm	B.M., Hild. 199
	+ENVT REX ANGLORVM As no. 52	,,	Hild. 200
54.	+CNVT REX•XNGL⊙ +/EÐELM ⊙NCISCE	,,	Hild. 201, Copenhagen
55-	+CNVT REX ANGLORV +/ED•ELM ⊙••IZCE	**	Hild. 202
56.	+ENVT REX ANGLOR•	,,	Visby
	As no. 52		

 $^{^{\}rm I}$ Same rev. die. $^{\rm 2}$ The coin given in Hildebrand as LEOFRIC ON GIZ (Hild. 205) is almost certainly Ipswich where there was also a moneyer Leofric in this type.

Moneyer

Location or authority

	Moneyer	Location or authority
7. As no. 53 +BRIHTN⊙Ð ⊙NCI	Brihtnoth	Hild. 203, Copenhagen
. +ENVT REX ANGLORVM +BRIHTN⊙⊕⊙NCIS	"	B.M.C. 32
9. As no. 581 +LIOFRIC ON CIXCE	Leofric	B.M. (PI. II, 10), Hild. 209
o. As no. 53 As no. 59	,,	Hild. 209a
ı. +□NVT REX ĀN□L⊙RV +□EOFPINE CIS	Leofwine	Copenhagen
2. As no. 61 +LIOFPINE ON CIZC	,,	Hild. 210, Visby
3. As no. 61 +PVLFNOÐ ⊙N CIX	Wulfnoth	Leningrad
4. As no. 54 +PVLFNOÐ ON CI	,,	S.A.C. 1, 40
5. As no. 54 +PVLFNOÐ ON CIXC	"	Copenhagen
Type B.M.C. XIV: Hild. G		
5. +CNVT REX TNGL: +/EGELM ON CICESTR:	Ægelm	B.M.C. 33, H.H.K., Brighton, Hild. 195
7. +□NVT REX ス・ +(/E)ILM ⊙N □S□EST Crude work	Ægelm?	Copenhagen
3. ENVT REX ANL: +LEOFRIC ON CICESTR•	Leofric	Hild. 206, Copenhagen
+ LEOFPINE ON CICEST	Leofwine	H.H.K. (ex Bruun sale, 1925,168) (PI. II, 11), Spink & Sons (ex Lockett sale, 1955,733), Hild. 208
+ LEOFPINE ONCIZ	**	Copenhagen
T. +CNVT RECX AN +LEOFPI ON CICE •••	"	Copenhagen
Type B.M.C. XVI: Hild. H ²		
2. +CNVT·R·ECX A: +/EGELM ON CICEST	Ægelm	B.M., Brighton, Hild. 196, Gothen- burg, Copenhagen
3. +CNVT •REC•X: +/ELFRIC ON CICEST	Ælfric	B.M., Hild. 198
1. +CNVT •REC•X +/ELFRIC ON CICE•.•	"	Copenhagen
5. +CNVT •RE•CX As no. 74	,,	Copenhagen
5. +ENVT •T RECX	Leofric	B.M.C. 34, Hild. 207

This coin is from the same obverse die as one of "Sithestebyrig", B.M.C. 514. It is more an probable therefore that this mint is now to be located in Sussex but so far all attempts pinpoint its site with any reasonable certainty have failed. See "A New Sussex Mint" Mr. F. Elmore Jones in Spink's Numismatic Circular, April 1956, p. 165.

The coin given in Hildebrand as /EGLBIRIHT(?)ONCI (Hild. 197) is almost certainly in the second of the second o

Ipswich: see Hild. 924-6.

+LEOFRIC ON CICC:

F

UC	1 110 001	ns of the Sussi	N 111 01003
		Moneyer	Location or authority
77	+CNVT •RECX X: +LEOFPINE ON CIZE	Leofwine	Copenhagen
78.	Type B.M.C. XVII: Hild. I ¹ +CNVTT RECX• +LEFRIC ON CICEESRE	Leofric	Hild. 204 (P1. II, 12)
HA	ROLD I		
79	Type B,M,C, I: Hild, A +HAROVD R +/ELFRIC ON CICES	Ælfric	B.M.C. 16, (P1. II, 13), Hild. 6
80	+HAROLD REX +L'EOFRIE ON CICEST:	Leofric	Brighton, Hild. 73
81	Type B.M.C. Vc: Hild. B +HARO:LD RECX A +/ELFRIC O CICE:	Ælfric	B.M., Hild. 69
82	. +HAROLD REEX A +/ELFRI•C ON•CICE	n	H.H.K. (ex C-B. sale, 1913, 56, (Pl. II, 14), Hild. 70
83	. +HAR•OLD REC• +GODRI:C ON CICE	Godric	Hild. 72
84	. +HARO:LD REX +LEOFRIC O:NCI	Leofric	Copenhagen
85	Type B.M.C. V: Hild. B . +HAROLD RE +GODA ONN CICE	Godric?	Hild. 71
H	ARTHACNUT		
86	Type B.M.C. Ia: Hild. Aa . +HAR• ENVT RE +LEOFRE ON EIEE	Leofric	Stockholm (Inv. 23040)
87	. +HARÐENVT RE +LEOFPINE ONN CIC•:	Leofwine	Hild. 18 (P1. II, 15)
Eı	DWARD THE CONFESSOR ²		
88	Type Brooke 1: B.M.C. III . +•EDPE•RD REX• /ELFPINE ON CICE•	Ælfwine	Hild. 57
89	. +EDPERD REX +LEOFNOÐ ON CIC	Leofnoth	Hild. 58
90	+EDPER•D REX +LEOFNOÐ ON CCE:	,,	Stockholm (Pl. II, 16)
91	. Unascertained +LEOFPINE ON CIC	Leofwine	City Hoard (N.C. 1876, p. 347)

It seems probable that this type was issued at the beginning of the reign of Edward the Confessor but as it is not certain it is put here. See Mr. Peter Seaby's "The Sequent of Anglo-Saxon Coin Types, 1030–1050" in this volume, p. 111.

There is considerable doubt as to the order of the first four types of Edward's regulated as above. They are put here in the order given in Brooke's English Coins.

		Moneyer	Location or authority
	Type Brooke 2: B.M.C. I	manage.	
	+ •• ? • • • + • • • • NE ON CIC • •	3	Hild. 56
	Fragment		
	Trung Droples of D.M.C. III		
93.	Type Brooke 3: B.M.C. II ¹ +•EDPA •RD R•	Ælfwine	H.H.K. (ex Hilton Price, C-B.
	+/ELFPINE ONCIC:		& R. C-B. coll.) (P1. II, 17)
	+EDPERD RE +∕ELPINE ON CIC	"	Copenhagen
	T/ELFINE ON LIL		
	Type Brooke 5: B.M.C. V		
	+EDPHE• RD RE +/ELFPINE ON CICEST:	,,	B.M.C. 105, H.H.K. (ex Lockett sale, 1955, 813)
-	+EDPE:• RD RE +/ELFPINE ON CICLST	,,	B.M.C. 106
	+EDP••• RD REX +/ELFPINE ON CICE∽TR:	Ælfwine	H.H.K. (P1. II, 18)
	+EDPE: •RD REX	,,,	B.M.C. 107
	+/ELFPINE ON CI[CE]STR:		
	+EDPE: •RD REX: +/ELPIN•E ON CICEST:R:	**	B.M.C. 108, H.H.K. (ex R. C-B. coll.)
	Type Brooke 6: B.M.C. VII		
100.	+EDPE D RE:X.2 +/ELFPINE ON CICEIE.	Ælfwine	B.M.C. 109, H.H.K. (ex Parsons sale, 1929, 199)
IOI.	+EDPER• D RE∙ +/ELFPINE ON CICE∽T	"	B.M.C. 110, H.H.K.
102.	As no. 100 ² +EILFPINE ON ENCE!E	,,	B.M.C. 111, T.H.Gardner
103.	+EDPER D REX +GODPINE ON CICE:	Godwine	B.M.C. 112, H.H.K.
104.	+EDPER D RE∙ +GOOPINE ON CICC∽T	,,	B.M.C. 113, H.H.K., Brighton
105.	+EDPER· D REX· +PVLFRIC ON CICEST	Wulfric	B.M.C. 114, H.H.K. (ex C-B. coll.)
	Var. sceptre ends in fleur-de-lys		
106.	+EDPA• ID REX +PVLFRIC ON CICC∽T	,,	B.M.C. 115, Brighton
	Var. sceptre ends in fleur-de-lys		
	Type Brooke 7: B.M.C. IX		
107.	EADPARD REX. AUGLO	Ælfwine	B.M.C. 116, H.H.K.
	+/EL·FPINE ON CICES·: Without cross on orb		
108.	EADPARD REX. ANGLO	,,	B.M.C. 117
	+/ELFPINE: ON CICEOT	,,	CCBS GRASGASIA
1082	A. EADPARD E+ ANGLO∙ +/ELFPINE ON CICE∞T:	,,	H.H.K. (Taffs sale, 1956, 98)
	.,		

¹ B.M.C. 104, EDPI ON CICESI, is of Ipswich, CIPESI.

² Same obv. die.

		Moneyer	Location or authority
109.	As no. 108 +GODPINE ON CICE	Godwine	B.M.C. 118, H.H.K. (ex Chancton hoard and Evans, C-B. & R. C-B. coll.), Brighton
110.	EADPPRD R:+ ANGORVI +GODPINE •• ON CICE IT	,,	B.M.C. 119, H.H.K., Brighton
III.	As no. 110 ^t +GODPINE: ON CICE TN	"	B.M.C. 120, H.H.K. (ex F.G.L. sale, 1900, 16; and Grantley sale, 1944, 1207), Brighton
112.	EADPARD REX AUG• +PVLFRIC OU CICES•2	Wulfric	B.M.C. 121, H.H.K., Brighton
113.	EADPEARD REX ANGLO +PVLFRIC ON CILEOT:	,,	B.M.C. 122, H.H.K. (ex Duke of Argyll coll.), Brighton
114.	EADPRD REX ANGLO +PVLFRIC ON CICES•2	, ,,	H.H.K.
115.	Illegible +PVLFRIC ON CICES	**	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
	Type Brooke 8: B.M.C. XI		
116.	+EADPAR• RDRE³ +/ELFPINE ON CICEAS	Ælfwine	B.M.C. 123, H.H.K. (ex Grantley sale, 1944, 1212)
117.	As no. 1163 +/ELFPINE ON CICEIT:	**	B.M.C. 124, H.H.K., Brighton
118.	As no. 1163 +/ELFPINE ON CICEST	"	B.M.C. 125
119.	As no. 1163 +/ELFPINE ON CICES	,,	H.H.K. (ex Duke of Argyll coll.)
120.	+Unascertained +/ELFPINE ON CICE∽T	"	Chancton Hoard (N.C., 1867, p. 87)
121.	+Unascertained +ELFPINE ON CICES	. "	City Hoard (N.C., 1876, p. 347)
122.	+EADPAR RD RE⁴ +E⊙DPINE ⊙N CICEIT:	Godwine	B.M.C. 126, H.H.K., Brighton
123.	As no. 1224 +GODPINE ON CICE OT	,,	B.M.C. 127, H.H.K., Brighton
124.	As no. 122 +PVLFRIC ON CICEIT	Wulfric	B.M.C. 128, H.H.K., Brighton
125.	+Unascertained +PVLRIC ON CICEST	,,	City Hoard (N.C., 1876, p. 347)
	Type Brooke 9: B.M.C. XIII •EIIDPARD REX A• +IELFPINE ON CIC•	Ælfwine	B.M.C. 129, H.H.K., Brighton, Leningrad
127.	EADPARD REX• +PVLFRIC ON CIC	Wulfric	B.M.C. 130, H.H.K. (P1. II, 19), Brighton
	Type Brooke 10: B.M.C. XV EADPARD REX ⁵ + ÆLFPINE ON CICES	Ælfwine	B.M.C. 132, H.H.K., Brighton
	Same obv. die. Same obv. die.	² Same rev. die. ⁵ Same obv. die a	³ Same obv. die. as nos. 129 and 130.

	Moneyer	Location or authority
129. As no. 1281 +IELFPINE ON CICE oT	33	B.M.C. 133, H.H.K. (PI. II, 20), Brighton
130. As no. 1281 +IELFPINE ON CICES	29	B.M.C. 134, H.H.K.
131. As no. 128 +PVLDRI⊑ ⊙N ⊑I⊑	Wulfric	B.M.C. 135
132. As no. 128 +PVLFRIC ON CICEST	,,	B.M.C. 136, H.H.K.
133. As no 128 +PVLFRIC ON CICE	**	H.H.K. (ex R. C-B. coll.)
Harold II		
Type B.M.C. I		
134. +HAROLD REX ANC +/ELFPINE ON CICEI var. no fillets to crown	Ælfwine	B.M.C. 5, H.H.K. (PI. II, 21), Brighton (Rishton sale, 1878, 5; and Wills sale, 1938, 96)
135. +HAROLD REX AI +GODPINE ON CICE:	Godwine	B.M.C. 6, H.H.K.
William I		
Type B.M.C. I		
136. +PILLEMIIS REX +BRIINMIIN ON C var. legend starts at top of coin	Bruman	J.L.D. (ex Allan sale, 1908, 32; C-B. sale, 1916, 1189; and Lockett sale, 1955, 876) (PI. II, 22)
Type B.M.C. III 137. +PILLEMIIS REX I +BRIIMIIN ON CICES	Bruman	H.H.K. (Pl. II, 23)
Type B.M.C. IV 138. +PILLEM REX IINGLOR +BRIIMMIIN ON CICES	Bruman	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (P1. II, 24)
Type B.M.C. V		
139. +PILLELM REX IIN +BRIINMIIN ON EIE	Bruman	B.M.C. 305, Brighton (C-B. sale, 1916, 1235)
140. +PILLEIMREX IINI ² +BRIIMIIN ON CICST	,,	H.H.K. (ex "War Area" hoard and R. C-B. coll.)
141. As no. 140 ² +BRIIMMNIIN ON C	,,	H.H.K. (P1. III, 25)
142. As no. 140 ² +BRIIMMIIN ON EI	,,	H.H.K.
143. +PILLEIM REX IIN +GODPINE ON CICEI	Godwine	B.M.C. 306
143a. +PILLEM REX IIN +GODPINE ON CICE	,,	H.H.K. (Taffs sale, 1956, 110)
Type B.M.C. VI		
+BRIIMMIIN ON SCIE	Bruman	H.H.K. (ex C-B. sale, 1916, 1245) (Pl. III, 26)
¹ Same obv. die as no.	128.	² Same obv. die.

water days valuable and	Moneyer	Location or authority
145. +PILLELM RX I As no. 144	Bruman	Yorkshire Museum, York
146. +PILLELM REX I +BRIIMMIIN ON CICE	,,	Hastings
147. +PILLEM REX I +GODPINE ON CICSI	Godwine	Yorkshire Museum, York
Type B.M.C. VII 148. +PILLELM REX +BRIIMIIN ON CICE	Bruman	H.H.K. (ex Lockett sale, 1955, 954) (P1. III, 27)
149. As no. 148 +BRIIMMIIN ON EE	,,	Hastings

Type B.M.C. VIII

The coins without beads in the crown and with an annulet instead of a trefoil of pellets on the shoulder, as Hawkins 242, are distinguished by (242) after the obverse reading: the quarter in which the word PAXS commences is shown by a number after the reverse reading, the quarters being $\underline{\textbf{1}} \ \underline{\textbf{2}}$

150. +PILLELM REX Bruman B.M.C. 599, H.H.K., Brighton +BRIIMIIN ON CICE4 (2) B.M.C. 605, H.H.K. (ex Morrieson 151. +PILLELM REXI +BRIIMN ON CICES⁵ (3) sale, 1933, 41), Brighton H.H.K., Brighton 152. +PILLELM REXI +BRIIMIIN ON CIC6 (I) 153. +PILLELM REXI H.H.K., Brighton +BRIIMIIN ON CIEST7 (3) 154. +PILLEM RIEX² B.M.C. 600, H.H.K. As no. 1504 (2) B.M.C. 601 155. As no. 1542 As no. 153^7 (3) B.M.C. 602, H.H.K. 156. As no. 1542 +BRIIMIIN ONCIC8 (I) 157. +PILLELMEX B.M.C. 603 As no. 156^8 (1) B.M.C. 604, H.H.K. 158. As no. 157 +BRIIMIIN ON CICI (I) 159. +PILLELMREX3 (242) B.M.C. 606, H.H.K. As no. 1515 (3) B.M.C. 607, H.H.K., Brighton 160. As no. 1593 (242) As no. 152^6 (1) B.M.C. 608, Brighton 161. As no. 1593 (242) +BRIIMIIN ON CICEI (4) B.M.C. 609, H.H.K., Brighton 162. As no. 1593 (242) As no. 153^7 (3) Edwine B.M.C. 610, Brighton 163. As no. 157 +EDPINE ON CICES (31/2) 164. Same readings as 163 but different H.H.K. obv. die12

1, 2, and 3 Same obv. dies: 2 is also same obv. die as Guildford coins, B.M.C. 690-2.
4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 Same rev. dies.
9 Same rev. die as no. 168.
12 Same obv. die as no. 166.

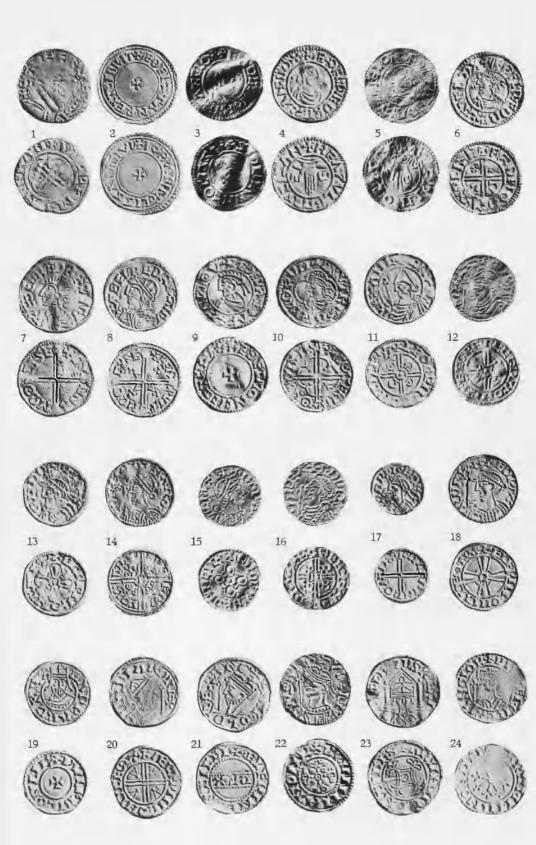
Richellano to Boulusa.	Moneyer	Location or authority
165. As no. 157 +EDPINE ON CICESI ¹⁰ (2)	Edwine	B.M.C. 611, Brighton
166. As no. 157 ¹² +EDPINE ON CICST ¹¹ (4)	,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	B.M.C. 613, H.H.K., Brighton
167. +PILLELM REX ¹³ (242) +EDPINE ON CICES (3)	"	H.H.K., Copenhagen, Brighton
168. As no. 167 ¹³ (242) As no. 163 ⁹ (3½)	,,	B.M.C. 614, H.H.K.
169. As no. 167 ¹³ (242) As no. 165 ¹⁰ (2)	December 11	B.M.C. 615, H.H.K.
170. As no 167 ¹³ (242) As no. 166 ¹¹ (4)	,,	B.M.C. 616, H.H.K., Brighton
WILLIAM II		
Type B.M.C. I		
171. +PILLELMREX +BRIINMIIN ON CIC ¹	Bruman	B.M.C. 9
172. +PILLELM REX I As no. 171 ^I	, , , , ,	H.H.K. (ex C-B, and R.C-B. colls.)
173. +Unascertained +BRIINNIIN ON CIC	**	Tamworth Hoard (N.C. 1877, p. 342)
174. +PILLELM REX +EDPINE ON CICESTI	Edwine	H.H.K. (PI. III, 28)
Type B.M.C. 2		
175. +PILELM REX +BRIIMIIN ON CICE ²	Bruman	B.M.C. 76
176. +PILLE[L]M REX As no. 175 ²	,,	H.H.K. (ex R. C-B. coll.)
177. +PILLELMEX +[BR]IIMIIN ON [[][]	"	C-B. sale, 1916, 1290
178. +PILLELMREX +EDPINE ON CICEST	Edwine	H.H.K. (P1. III, 29)
179. +PILLELM RE +GODPINE ONCICEI	Godwine	B.M.C. 77
180. +PILL·····X +GODPINE ON CICC	,,	Huntr.
Type B.M.C. 3 181. +PILLELMEX +BRIIMIIN ONCIC	Bruman	B.M.C. 181, H.H.K. (ex H.A. Parsons sale, 1929, 268) (PI. III, 30)
Type B.M.C. 4 182. +PILLELM REX +BRIIMN ON CIC[E]\$	Bruman	C-B. sale, 1916, 1317
183. +PILL[ELM]RE +GODPINE ON CIC•	Godwine	B.M.C. 233 (PI. III, 31)
Type B.M.C. 5 184. +PILLELM RE +GODPINE ON CIC	Godwine	H.H.K. (ex C-B. and R.C-B. colls.) (PI. III, 32)
¹² Same obv. die as no. 164. ¹⁰ and ¹¹ Same rev. dies.	13 Same obv. die 1 and 2 Same rev	

the state of the s	Moneyer	Location or authority
HENRY I	individed and	
Type B.M.C. VI 185. +hENRI REX +BRAND ON CICE	Brand	N.C., 1901, p. 158 (W.J.Andrew)
Type B.M.C. VII 186. +hENR[RE] +BRANT:O[N:][[]][[E]	Brand	H.H.K. (ex C-B. sale, 1916, 1338) (Pl. 1II, 33)
Type B.M.C. X 187. +hENRICV o REX A +BRAND O CICE o R:	Brand	B.M.C. 58 (P1. 111, 34)
Type B.M.C. XII 188. +hENRICVS RE: +GODPINE: ON: CICE:	Godwine	H.H.K. (P1. III, 35), N.C.B. (ex C-B. sale, 1916, 1348; and Lockett sale, 1955, 1066)
Type B.M.C. XIII		3410, 1933, 1000)
189. +hENRIC •• R +BRANDVS: ON: CICES:	Brand	B.M.C. 89
190. +hENRICVS R +GODPINE: ON: CICES:	Godwine	H.H.K. (ex Roth sale, 1918, 115; and Lockett sale, 1955, 1067) (Pl. III, 36)
Type B.M.C. XIV 191. +hENRICVS R +BRAND: ON: CICEST:	Brand '	B.M.C. 120, H.H.K.
192. +hENRIEVS R +GODPINE:ON:CICES: ¹	Godwine	B.M.C. 121, H.H.K. (ex Wills sale, 1938, 373) (Pl. III, 37), Brighton (C-B. sale, 1916, 1368)
193. :+hE[NRIEV]S R:• As no. 1921	,,	H.H.K.
Stephen		
Type B.M.C. I		
194. +STIEFNER: +GODPINE: ON: CICE:	Godwine	B.M.C. 26, H.H.K. (ex Rashleigh sale, 1909, 499; and Grantley sale, 1944, 1285) (Pl. 111, 38)
195. +•T•FNE [R]EX: +GODPINE: ON: CICES:	"	B.M.C. 27 and 28
Јони		
Group Va 196. hanriavs rax	Raulf	В.М.
+RπVLIR•OΝ•αΙαα 197. As no. 196	Simon	B.M., H.H.K. (Pl. 1II, 39)
+SIMON-ON-GIGE		
Group Vb 198. hanriavs rax *Piaras-on-aia	Pieres	B.M., H.H.K. (ex Frazersale, 1900; and Morrieson sale, 1933, 112)
199. As no. 198 *ΡΙϤRϤS·ΟΝ· ϤΙ Ϥ Ϥ	"	B.M., H.H.K.
200. ANGURICUS RCX ARAURONOCICE	Raulf	B.M., H.H.K. (ex Morrieson sale, 1933, 112)
	¹ Same rev. die.	

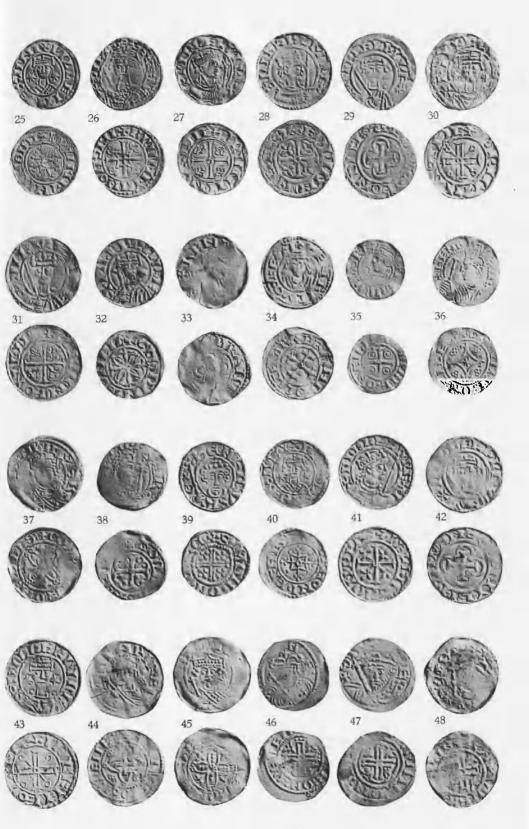
	Moneyer	Location or authority
201. As no. 198 ትRችV ИЯ•О N• СИСЕ	Raulf	B.M.
202. As no. 198 ★SIMON•ΟΝ• αΙα α :	Simon	B.M., H.H.K. (ex G.C.Hall coll.), Brighton
203. As no. 198 ★SIMON•ΟΝ• αΙα α	,,	B.M.
204. As no. 198 ★SIMON•ΟΝ•αΙααS	,,	B.M., H.H.K. (ex Bruun sale, 1925, 244)
205. As no. 198 *WIIIUαμΜ·ΟΝ· αΙα	Willelm	B.M., Mint, H.H.K., Brighton
206. As no. 198 *WILLIGUM·ΟΝ· αΙ	,,	H.H.K.
PEVENSEY WILLIAM I		
Type B.M.C. V 1. +PILLEM REX IINI + ••• LFH ON PEFNESE	Ælfheh	B.M.C. 362 (PI. III, 40)
Type B.M.C. VIII		
2. +PILLELLM REX +IELFHEH ON PEFNS	Ælfheh	B.M.C. 868, H.H.K. (ex Montagu sale, 1896, 228; C-B. sale, 1913, 734; and Lockett sale, 1955, 978), Brighton
WILLIAM II		
Type B.M.C. 1 3. +PILLELMREXI +IELFHEH ON PFNS	Ælfheh	H.H.K. (ex Macfadyen sale, 1925, 147; and Lockett sale, 1955, 999) (PI. III, 41)
Type B.M.C. 2 4. +PILLELMREX IELFHEH ON PENE var. initial cross on rev. omitted	Ælfheh	H.H.K. (P1. III, 42)
Type B.M.C. 3 5. +PILLELM RE +IELFHE ONFNE	Ælfheh	B.M.C. 212A (PI. III, 43)
Henry I		
Type B.M.C. IX 6. +hENRI RE +A··RED: ON: PENE:	Aldred?	Copenhagen (PI. III, 44)
Type B.M.C. XIV 7. +hENRIC ••• RED: ON: PEVEN•	Aldred?	H.H.K. (ex W.C.Wells coll.) (P1. III, 45)
Stephen		
Type B.M.C. II 8. +ST··FN E: +ALPINE: ON: PEVEN:	Alwine	B.M.C. 165 and 166 (PI. III, 46)

	Moneyer	Location or authority
9. +STIEFN E +ALPINE: ON: PEVE Inner circle omitted on obv.	Alwine	B.M.C. 167
Type B.M.C. VII		
io. +ST···NE +ALPINE: ON: PEF··	Alwine	H.H.K. (ex Walters sale, 1913, 71; and Lockett sale, 1955, 1146) (PI. III, 47)
II. +STIEFN E: +ALPINE ·····IEF:	n portifici	F.E.J. (ex Allen sale, 1898, 378; Roth sale, 1918, 140; and Drabble sale, 1939, 714)
12. +STIEFN E: +•ELIPE: ON: P••EN	Felipe?	F.E.J. (ex S.M.Spink & Ivo Pakenham colls.)
RYE		
STEPHEN		
Type B.M.C. II		
I. +STIEFN: +R⊼PVLF: O[N]: RIE	Rawulf	H.H.K. (ex Wills sale, 1938, 412) (PI. III, 48)
2. +ST[IE]FNE +RA[P]VL: ON: RIE	,,	Spink & Son (ex C-B. sale, 1916, 1467; and Lockett sale, 1955, 1130)
3. +S·IEFNE·· +RĀPŲL:ON:R]IE¹	"	Mr. D. Mangakis
4. As no. 2 As no. 1 Turned in die with half the obv. 0	,, on	F.E.J.
the rev. and vice versa		
5. Cut halfpenny +STI[••• +RA[••••]RIE:	,,	B.M.C. 149

¹ Same rev. die.



THE COINS OF THE SUSSEX MINTS (1)



THE COINS OF THE SUSSEX MINTS (2)

AN INTERMEDIATE SMALL CROSS ISSUE OF ÆTHELRÆD II AND SOME LATE VARIETIES OF THE CRUX TYPE

By R. H. M. DOLLEY and F. ELMORE JONES

SINCE the late W. C. Wells's paper on the Stamford Mint under Æthelræd II,1 it has been generally accepted by English numismatists that there were two separate and distinct emissions of the Small Cross type of Æthelræd II (Hild. A = Brooke I = B.M.C.i = Hawkins 205). The first issue was at the very commencement of the reign, and the second at the very end. Broadly speaking this arrangement is borne out by the evidence of the Scandinavian hoards, and it may be convenient to illustrate some representative coins of the two issues. Pl. IV, 1 is a very typical coin of the first issue from the northern part of the country, the unique First Small Cross coin of Torksey now in the British Museum.² Pl. IV, 2 is likewise unique, a penny of Canterbury from the 1914 Chester Treasure Trove, and it too is in the National Collection.3 It should be compared with Hild. 1604, an early coin of Lymne (PI. IV, 3). Together the two coins constitute a sceptre variety of First Small Cross which hitherto has not been distinguished from the relatively common Crux/Small Cross "mules" associated with York but apparently Scandinavian.4 The variety seems to be Kentish, but it would be foolish to build too much on the accident of discovery of two coins. A typical coin from southern England generally is a penny of the Worcester moneyer Maertin (PI. IV, 4). Coins of the second issue likewise betray stylistic divergencies, and here we are on firmer ground in postulating geographical groupings. Quite characteristic of coins from the West Country is the bust seen in P1. IV, 5, a penny of the Lydford moneyer Bruna with unusually full mint reading.⁵ P1. IV, 6 shows an important coin of the Winchester mint recently acquired by the British Museum. It is from the same dies as Hild. 4297 which in turn is from an obverse die employed by the same moneyer with a "Heamtu(n)" reverse.6 The style is typical of the Winchester area as a whole. It should be contrasted with an unpublished Gloucester penny (Pl. IV, 7) also recently acquired for the National Collection. We may note the archaic spelling Sigered not found before on Sired's coins of which this is perhaps the first. The same bust is found as far north as Chester and as far south as Bristol and seems characteristic of the west Midlands. An unpublished London penny from an east Prussian hoard, yet another recent British Museum accession (Pl. IV, 8), gives a good impression of a typical "London" style coin, and the bust is found on coins from the east Midlands, East Anglia, and south-east England generally. It is in

¹ B.N.J. xxiv (1944), pp. 69–109.

² ex Lockett, 643. ³ G. F. Hill, N.C. 1920, p. 162, no. 110. ⁴ No fewer than 46 die-duplicates of Hild. 810 occur in the Igelosa hoard. 6 Hild. 1271. 5 B.M.C. 279.

marked contrast to the bust usually found on coins from the York and Lincoln area—we may compare one of the very rare sceptre variety coins of Lincoln (Pl. IV, 9)—but it should be stressed that there is a certain amount of overlapping as between the two styles.¹

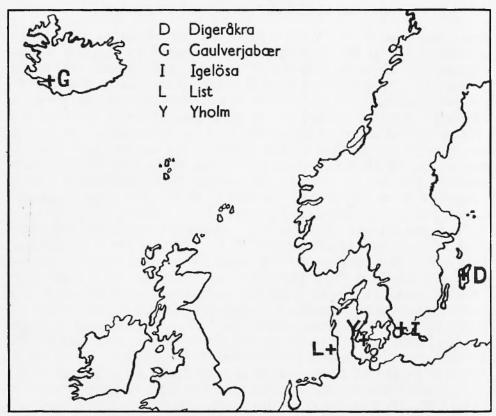


Fig. I.

An occasional coin of "Lincoln" style is found at London and vice versa, but the explanation of these discrepancies lies outside the scope

of this present note.

Wells's division of the *Small Cross* type into two issues separated by almost a quarter of a century has commanded such wide acceptance, and essentially reflects the view of so many of his precursors, that it may seem temerarious to question it. However, we would remind our readers that in doing so we are no more than following in the footsteps of perhaps the greatest late Anglo-Saxon numismatist that there has ever been, Bror Emil Hildebrand, and it is perhaps appropriate that this vindication of his judgement will be appearing in the course of the year that marks the 150th anniversary of his birth and the 75th anniversary of the publication of the second edition

¹ The explanation perhaps lies in the chaotic politics of the time. For a fuller discussion and description of at least nine provincial styles in the period c. 1010 see the paper by R. H. M. Dolley "Nagra synpunkten pa Ethelred II: s Mynt av Typ A" in the Swedish publication Antikvariskt Arkiv.

of Anglosachsiska Mynt. In that work Hildebrand maintained his view that there was an element of continuity between the two issues, and we must not forget that he had the benefit of hoard-evidence no longer available as a consequence of his arrangement of the Stockholm collection. Nor would it be wise to forget that his view was endorsed by no less an authority than the late George Cyril Brooke. It is the submission of the present writers that there is ample evidence that Wells, misled by his preoccupation with the coins of a handful of Anglian mints, over simplified the picture, and that there was in fact an Intermediate Small Cross issue, albeit on an apparently micro-

scopic scale. We are familiar with five major hoards which contain Crux and Long Cross coins of Æthelræd II in considerable numbers but no pence of Helmet type—incidentally a neat refutation of Parsons's criticism of Hildebrand's sequence—and the accompanying map (Fig. 1) shows their remarkably wide distribution. The absence of Helmet is here important because it puts out of court any suggestion that Small Cross coins present in the finds could belong to the last emission of the reign. One of the hoards has been published in detail, the Icelandic find from Gaulverjabær which contains roughly 175 Anglo-Saxon pence. Of these only one is a true Small Cross coin, a penny of the Wilton moneyer Sæwine—we must exclude an apparent Crux/Small Cross "mule" of the type which we have already suggested to be Scandinavian.3 The coin corresponds to Hild. 4008, and we illustrate a die-duplicate (PI. IV, 10) which the British Museum was recently able to acquire at the Lockett Sale.4 The second hoard with which we are concerned is that from Digerakra in Barlingbo parish on the Baltic island of Gotland.5 The coins have not as vet been published, and once more the Society lies under a heavy debt to the authorities of the Royal Swedish Coin Cabinet who have given permission for the hoard to be cited here. The English pence number approximately 350, and only two are of the Small Cross type. One is a die-duplicate of the Wilton penny of Sæwine in the Gaulverjabær find, the other (PI. IV, 11) an unpublished coin apparently of Northampton but by the "Hamwic" moneyer Æthelweard. It will be at once apparent that in point of style the two coins have absolutely nothing in common. Our third hoard—and by far the largest and most significant of them all—is the great find from the churchyard of Igelosa in Skane. It is hoped that it may be published in the course of the present year, and again the Society's thanks are due to our Swedish colleagues, and in particular to Professor Holger Arbman of Lund, for permission to supplement the bare—and inaccurate details recorded in Skovmand.6 Of 1,795 English pence, only four are of the Small Cross type. One is of Southampton, the all-important coin (P1. IV, 12) of the "Hamwic" moneyer Isegel which is proving so

¹ Anglosachsiska Mynt, p. 29. ² English Coins, p. 66.

³ N.N.Å., 1948, pp. 39-62. ⁴ ex Lockett 656. ⁵ S.H.M. Inv. 18744. ⁶ Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed etc. 1942, p. 136.

decisive in the solution of the problem of "Hamtun". I Stylistically this coin has the closest of affinities with the Æthelweard coin from the Digerakra find, and indeed with every Small Cross coin from a southern mint known to the writers which has occurred in a genuinely early context—i.e. in a hoard containing no English coin later than Hand. The remaining three Small Cross coins, on the other hand, are identical in style with the Sæwine pence in the finds from Digerâkra and Gaulverjabær. Two, corresponding to Hild. 4022, are likewise from Wilton, die-duplicates of the moneyer Wulfgar (Pl. IV, 13). The third coin is an unpublished penny of the Worcester moneyer Goda (Pl. IV, 14). The fourth and most southerly of our four hoards is that from List on the Frisian island of Sylt, and we are grateful to Dr. Peter La Baume of Cologne for the loan of a manuscript list of the coins considerably amplifying the preliminary notice of the find.² Of nearly 550 English coins, more than 500 of them of Long Cross type, not one is a Small Cross coin.

Together these four hoards contain more than 3,000 Anglo-Saxon coins of Æthelræd II, but of true Small Cross coins they can muster only seven. Turning to the Yholm hoard from the southern extremity of the Danish island of Fyn, we find the same pattern repeated with almost monotonous regularity. Among some 230 English coins of Æthelræd's Hand, Crux, and Long Cross types—and again we should remark the absence of Helmet—there is one solitary penny of Small Cross Type. One is scarcely surprised when examination reveals it to be a penny of the Wilton mint, and it is in fact a die-duplicate of the coin of Sæwine already described in our account of the hoards from Iceland and from Gotland. Five hoards, then, contain well over 3,200 Anglo-Saxon coins. Only eight, or less than $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. of the total, are of Small Cross Type. If Wells is right, these eight coins are among the twenty or so oldest pieces in the hoards. One is from the mint of Southampton, and one apparently from Northampton, and this is not perhaps so very surprising when we recall that Southampton was sacked in 981 when the First Small Cross was still current if not still being issued. One is from Worcester—not perhaps the most likely of mints—and the remaining five are all from Wilton. Wilton was not sacked until 1003, at least eighteen and more probably twenty-four years after First Small Cross ceased to be struck.

What is even more astonishing is that these five coins of Wilton should be from only two pairs of dies. Inevitably one recalls Mr. C. E. Blunt's remark concerning certain coins in the Crondall Hoard: "The inference seems inescapable that all these coins that are so strongly die-linked can only recently have left their places of issue." We believe that Mr. Blunt's scepticism was well-founded, and in the case of the *Small Cross* coins of Æthelræd II there are positive grounds for claiming that the heavily die-linked coins had been current only a very few years. There is in Finland a unique penny of Wilton concerning

¹ Cf. Spink's, Numismatic Circular, April 1955, p. 159.

² E. Nobbe, Nachrichtenblatt fur Deutsche Vorzeit, xvi (1940), pp. 107, 112.

which there cannot be the least doubt but that it belongs to Æthelræd's First Small Cross issue (Nordman, 369), the penny of Eadwine with right-facing bust which is the only First Small Cross coin with this bust known to us (Nordman, pl. i. 2). It has the converging arcs before the bust that we believe to be quite characteristic of true First Small Cross coins from southern England. Beside this coin the pennies of Sæwine and Wulfgar from the Digerakra, Gaulverjabær, İgelösa, and Yholm hoards are utterly incongruous—so much so that it is

difficult to see how they could form part of the same issue. There is, however, a remarkable stylistic affinity between the Wor-

cester and Wilton pence from the hoards on the one hand and coins of the variety of Crux distinguished by Hildebrand as Cb—or rather with certain coins so described by Hildebrand for, as we shall see, Hildebrand's Cb variety itself consists of two quite distinct issues. Of the true Cb coins, the following, taken at random, are quite representative pence of the moneyers Hunewine at Exeter (Hild. 546, Pl. IV, 15), Sæwine at Wilton (Hild. 4015, Pl. IV, 16), and Leofwold at Winchester (Hild. 4278, Pl. IV, 17). Not only is there stylistic identity between the obverses of the two series—and we ourselves are surprised that to date we have not found a die-link though this is perhaps because in only one case do the Small Cross and Cb mints coincide—but one vital epigraphical detail is common to both series. All the true Cb coins we know and all our *Intermediate Small Cross*

ANGLOIX ANGLOX

FIG. 3.

coins have the same reading of the obverse legend, the ethnic being written as in Fig. 2. It will be noticed that there is a clean break between the downstroke of the R and the comparatively small X. To the best of our knowledge this distinction is confined to the two series with which we are concerned. On all other coins of Æthelræd II which read ANGLOX—and in Small Cross they are very few—the downstroke of the R turns up sharply and is extended to form the longer of the two strokes of the x as in Fig. 3. We believe this criterion to be absolute.

There is good reason, then, to associate our new Intermediate Small Cross type with Crux, and a prosopographical consideration of the moneyers known to have struck it not only is decisive that it is not the first type of the reign but establishes its true position between Crux and Long Cross. To date we have recorded coins of Intermediate Small Cross type by the following moneyers, the other types for which they are known being set out in the accompanying table:

	Hild. B			Hild. C	Hild. D	Hild. E
Barnstaple	1	2	3			
Byrhsige ^a (Pl. IV, 18)	×	X	\times^{k}	×	×	×
(Pl. IV, 18)						
a Hild. 17.						

			Hild. I	В	Hild. C	Hild. D	Hild. E
		I	2	3			
GLOUCESTER Godwine ^b (P1. IV, 19)		_			×	×	×
ILCHESTER Leofsige ^c (Pl. IV, 20)		_	, –	_	×	×	<u> </u>
Malmesbury Ealdred ^d Leofget ^e (Pl. IV, 21)			Ξ	Ξ	×	×	×
Wilton Leofwine ^f Sæwine ^g Wulfgar ^h		Ξ		<u>×</u>	_ × ×	× }	Mint closed.
Winchcombe Ælfgar ⁱ (Pl. IV, 22)		- 1- 11 - 11 - 11 - 11 - 11 - 11 - 11	-	- h	×	×	
Worcester Goda ^J			_	_	×	10 <u>2</u> 110	n so <u>r</u> sid
 Hild. 1100. Hild. 1036. Hild. 3081 Hild. 3087. 	^g Hild. 4008. h Hild. 4021/2—in fact die-duplicates, the first a slipped striking. i Hild. 4035—reads not PINCZ but PINCL. J Unpublished coin in Igelosa hoard. k Idem.						

f Copenhagen.

It will be seen that only two of the ten moneyers are known in *Hand*, and of these Sæwine is known only for the very rare—and late— Benediction variety, and not for the First or Second substantive types which are relatively common. All ten of the moneyers are known either in Crux or in Long Cross, and six of them in both. Of the remaining four, two are known for Crux but not for Long Cross, and two for Long Cross but not for Crux. Prosopographically, then, our new Intermediate Small Cross type should fall between Crux and Long Cross, and we would further suggest that there is stylistic evidence to clinch this interpolation.

As we have seen, the obverses of our Intermediate Small Cross coins are identical with those of the true "Hild. Cb" variety of Crux. If we plot the "true Cb" moneyers in the same way, we have the following

result:

		Hild. E	3	Hild. C	Hild. D	Hild. E
F	I	2	3			
Exeter						
Ælfrica	_	_	_	×	×	×
$\operatorname{Byrhtred}^{\operatorname{b}}$	_	_	_	×	_	_
Byrhstan ^c		×	_	×	_	_
Hunewine ^d	_	_	_	×	_	_
Hereford Byrhstan ^e (Pl. IV, 23)	<u>-</u>		-		×	_
LONDON						
Byrhtmær ^f	_	_	-	×	_	-
^a Hild. 456. ^b Hild. 528 ^c Hild. 491.			• Hi	ld. 546. ld. 1334. ld. 2280.		

		Hild. B		Hild. C	Hild. D	Hild. E
	I	2	3			
Oxford						
Wulfwineg		-	-	×	×	-
(P1. IV, 24)						
WAREHAM						
Byrhsigeh	×		-	×		_
(P1. IV, 25)						
Winchester						
Ælfsige ⁱ	X	×	MITTERS.	×	×	_
Ælfwoldi			_	×	×	×
Æthelgark	to the same of	_	-	×	×	×
Byrhsige ¹	X	×	×	×	×	×
Byrhtmær ^m		×	×	×	×	no ne
$\operatorname{Byrhtwold}^{\operatorname{n}}$			-	-	×	-
Godeman ^o			-	-	×	×
Godwine ^p	-			×	×	
$\operatorname{Leofwold}^{\operatorname{q}}$	X	×	***	×	×	×
Tocar	×	×		×	_	-
York						
Osce(te)1s	_	_	_	×	×	-
(P1. IV, 26)						
g Unpublished coin in B.M. e.	x Locket	t 678a.		n Hild. 4	177.	
h Unpublished coin in Digera				° Hild. 4	223.	
ⁱ Hild. 4054/5.				P Hild. 4	241.	
J Hild. 4098.				q Hild. 4	278.	
k Hild. 4070.				r Hild. 4	326.	
¹ Hild. 4148.				s Hild. 8	04.	
^m Hild. 4158					1	

N.B. The above list includes a number of "mules" with reverses of the further variety of Crux distinguished below.



Fig. 4.

Again all the nineteen moneyers concerned are known either for *Crux* or for *Long Cross*, ten of them for both. Of the remaining nine, six are known for *Crux* but not for *Long Cross*, three for *Long Cross* but not for *Crux*. Nor is this the end of the story. There is a very rare variety of "Cb" not distinguished by Hildebrand in which the omission of the sceptre is not compensated for by the addition of a diadem. On these coins the portrait is essentially the *Long Cross* portrait on a reduced scale, with the "curly" hair, large ear and, most important of all, the double line of drapery running from the throat to the inner circle, this double line running almost vertically downwards. These features are seen admirably on a coin in the Copenhagen Collection by the Exeter moneyer Edric (Fig. 4).

On the reverse the contraction of "monetarius" should be $M^{\Omega}O$, and not the invariable M⁻0 employed hitherto on coins of Æthelræd II, virtually without exception, the omega copula being of course quite characteristic of Long Cross. This coin, however, is a unique mule with the normal Crux M-0 on the reverse. Stylistically and epigraphically there can be no doubt concerning the position of our new variant of Hildebrand's "Cb" variety, and this view is reinforced by a prosopographical survey of the moneyers of the handful of coins known to us.

		Hild. H	3	Hild. C	Hild. D	Hild. E
	1	2	3			
CHICHESTER Eadnoth ^a (P1. IV, 27)	-	×	-	_	×	_
Exeter Edric ^b (supra, Fig. 4)	_	_	-	×	×	1 mm_
Wareham Ælfsige ^c (P1. IV, 28)	-	_	<u>-</u>		×	VI de
WINCHESTER Byrhsiged (Pl. IV, 29)	×	×	×	×	×	×
Byrhtmære	- A	×	×	×	×	<u> </u>
Byrhtnoth ^f (P1. IV, 30)	×	×	×	×	×	
Godwine	_	_	-	×	×	-

^a H. H. King Collection and B.M. (ex Lockett, 678a).

e Hild. 4159 and F. Elmore Jones Collection.

The first of these coins, incidentally, is of great significance for a diadem has been added to the Long Cross portrait, thereby making it approximate to the "true Cb". Again we find that all seven moneyers are found either in Crux or Long Čross, and one of them is known for Long Cross only. Again the natural position for the coins is between Crux and Long Cross, and, as we have seen, to place them elsewhere is to do violence not only to prosopography but to style and epigraphy.

The importance of this "Long Cross" variety of Crux is that it is heavily muled with obverses of our new Intermediate Small Cross type—in fact some of the "true Cb" coins we have quoted prove on examination to have the omega copula on the reverse, namely Hildebrand nos. 1334, 4177, and 4223. Nor are mules known between "Long Cross" Crux obverses and Small Cross reverses, and this may seem finally to confirm our suggestion that "true Cb" coins are mules of Intermediate Small Cross obverses with Crux reverses. However this may be, we feel that there can be little doubt but that the evidence is overwhelming that the *Intermediate Small Cross* type comes at the very end of Crux at a time of experiment. Some confirmation of this

b Copenhagen—unique? (mule with normal Crux reverse).

^c Hild. 3947 ^d Hild. 4146 (wrongly described as type C) and T. C. Gardner collection.

^f Hild. 4168 (wrongly described as Type C) and B.M. (ex Barnett).

view comes from metrology. Whereas the *Intermediate Small Cross* coins known to us all weigh over 24 gr., and one as much as 27 gr., *First Small Cross* rarely attain 23 gr. The "true Cb" coins range from less than 20 gr. to more than 26 gr., and in fact seem to have been struck on two standards, the vast majority weighing 25 gr. or more, and a very few about 18 gr. Significantly, the "Long Cross" *Crux* coins seem to belong to the heavier group. Consequently the *Intermediate Small Cross* coins fit in very well where we have been attempting to place them, namely at the end of *Crux*, and metrology confirms prosopography and epigraphy in divorcing them utterly from the *First Small Cross* coins which are known so well to English students as a result of the 1914 Pemberton's Parlour hoard from Chester.



 $\begin{array}{c} \text{APPENDIX A} \\ \text{The Hildebrand Ca Variety of Crux} \end{array}$

This important variety, which has absolutely no connexion with the closely interdependent varieties of *Crux* discussed above, is not generally recognized in this country, perhaps because the illustration in Hildebrand is not too happy as regards the obverse and inaccurate as regards the reverse. As Hildebrand noted, the coins are appreciably smaller and lighter than in the case of the regular *Crux* issue. On the obverse the most distinctive criterion is the treatment of the hair. Whereas on true *Crux* coins this is represented by a number of approximately parallel strokes running up and into the inner circle, on *Ca* coins there is an attempt at realism with a greater number of strokes grouped so as to suggest fairly long hair falling away from the crown of the head. On the reverse the letters C R V X are disposed in the same relative positions as on normal *Crux* coins—not as in the Hildebrand plate—and frequently there are additional pellets in the field.

Ca coins are known from a wide range of mints, but the variety is particularly common at Canterbury and at London. At one time I had begun to wonder if it were indeed English—there are in fact Scandinavian imitations—but my last doubts have been dispelled by the discovery of an example in the soil of this country. I am very grateful to the Rev. F. B. Corke of Martin near Fordingbridge for permission to illustrate this coin which was found by him several feet down in the chalk at the top of a hillock beside the Tilshead-Shrewton road on Salisbury Plain. The obverse is admirably

characteristic of the variety, and the lettering on the reverse gives a very fair impression of the epigraphy. We should note the exceptional use of round C. The weight of the coin is 20.5 gr. which is about the normal for the type. The coin has since been acquired for the National Collection.

R. H. M. D.

APPENDIX B

The Wilton and Salisbury Mints

The further division of Æthelræd's First Small Cross type proposed above cannot but necessitate some modification of the table of Wilton and Salisbury moneyers accompanying my paper in Dr. N. L. Rasmusson's Festschrift where for the first time it was suggested that there is a connexion between Æthelræd's reign of just over thirty-six years and the fact that he appears to have struck six substantive types. I would suggest, however, that the essential validity of that paper remains unimpugned, and it may be thought that the new pattern is even more attractive:

	First Small Cross	First Hand	Second Hand	Bene- diction var.	Crux	Inter- mediate Small Cross	Long Cross	Helmet	Last Small Cross
Ælfnoth									S
Ælfsige					W				
Boiga				W	W				
Eadwine	W	W							
Godwine					W		W	S	S
Goldus							W	S	٠.,
Leofwine						W	W		
Leofwold		W			W				
Osbern		W							
Sæman									S
Sæwine				W	W	W	W	S	S
Wensige									W
Wulfgar					W	W			
		W	= Wilton	ı.	S =	= Salisbur	у.		

The transposition of so many Small Cross coins to the sixth column may seem to support the view that the First Small Cross issue lasted no more than a matter of months—until that is six years had elapsed since Eadger's great reform of 973—and there is much to be said for regarding both First and Second Hand as substantive types and not as early and late varieties of the same type. Unfortunately we still lack the information to establish whether the type of the money was changed from Long Cross to Helmet in September 1003 or March 1004—later medieval practice argues for September but a numismatic case could be made out for Lady Day.

R. H. M. D.



APPENDIX C

Since the setting up of this paper, the rearrangement of the British Museum trays has thrown up a major new variety of the *Crux* type which seems worth putting or record here. Superficially the coin in question, formerly in the collection of the

¹ Numismatiska Studier tillägnade Nils Ludvig Rasmusson på 50-Årsdagen den 3 Mej 1 54, pp. 52-56.

late L. A. Lawrence, conforms to the normal *Crux* pattern, but on closer examination it will be seen that the portrait is the new "curly-haired" or "transitional" bust with the addition of a sceptre. The reverse, however, proves to be from a normal *Crux* die which in fact is known from a perfectly normal *Crux* coin in Stockholm (Hildebrand 3251). Pennies of the Oxford moneyer Godinc are not particularly rare, but the British Museum coin appears to be unique.

A further visit to Scandinavia, moreover, has brought to light the existence of

further unpublished coins:

INTERMEDIATE SMALL CROSS TYPE

Oxford Ælfwine^S Æthelmær^K Wulfwine^S

INTERMEDIATE SMALL CROSS/CRUX MULE

London Godwine^L

INTERMEDIATE SMALL CROSS/TRANSITIONAL CRUX MULE

Winchester Æthelgar^K

TRANSITIONAL CRUX VARIETIES

(a) without sceptre

Dorchester Wulfnoth^L

(b) with sceptre

Oxford Ælfwine^S

K = Copenhagen L = Lund S = Stockholm

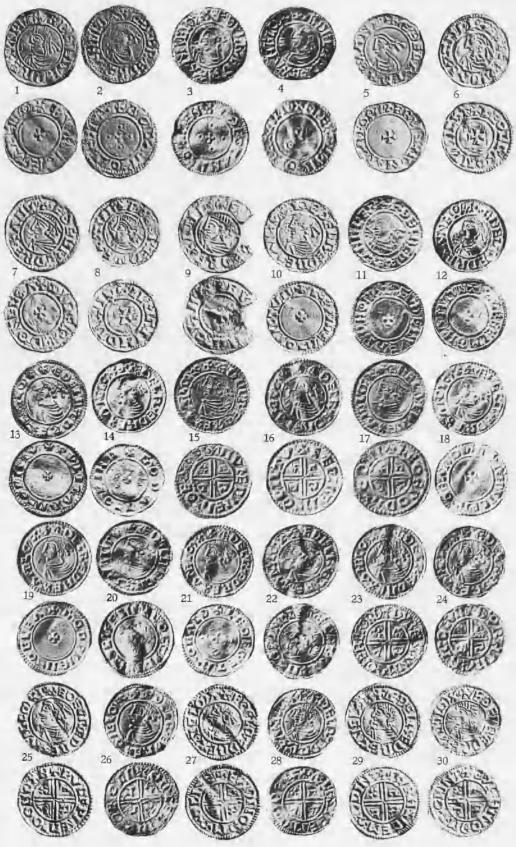
Doubtless this list will be expanded as further hoards are examined; nor can the present writer claim to have rescrutinized every coin in the Systematic Collections at Stockholm and Copenhagen, let alone in other Scandinavian collections. Of the coins listed here, one would seem of cardinal importance, the Intermediate Small Cross penny of the Oxford moneyer Wulfwine. It proves to be from the same obverse die as the *Intermediate Small Cross/Crux* mule of the same moneyer formerly in the Lockett Collection and now in the British Museum. This die-link may seem finally to settle the place of the Intermediate Small Cross type in the English series, and that the issue comes late rather than early in the currency of Crux receives further corroboration from the pattern of a major hoard from Skane which is second in importance only to that of Igelösa. The find in question was made nearly fifty years ago at Glemminge and includes more than 850 coins of which some two hundred are English. The great bulk of these belong to the Second Hand issue, but of more than seventy Crux coins not one is in any sense a variety; unless, that is, we accept an unpublished Second Hand/Crux mule from York. The Intermediate Small Cross type likewise is completely absent, and the almost inescapable inference is that the new type and the cognate variants of Crux occupy the same place at the end of the Crux issue proper that belongs to Benediction Hand at the end of Second Hand.

One should perhaps add that the new Transitional Crux coin from Oxford appears to be from the same obverse die as the penny of Godinc already noted in this Appendix, and it is clear that a study of obverse die-links within mints would produce results only less spectacular than those already observed between mints. Perhaps, too, it is a measure of our failure hitherto to place the study of late Saxon coins on a scientific basis that a short visit to Sweden and Denmark should reveal so many additions to our knowledge. Particularly striking is the emergence of Oxford as perhaps the most critical of all the mints of the Intermediate Small Cross type and of the related varieties of Crux, an emergence that is all the more surprising when one bears in mind the fact

that the Oxford Mint was the subject of such meticulous study by Stainer.

The present (June 1956) position as regards the *Intermediate Small Cross* type and the *Crux* variants discussed in the course of the above paper may be tabulated conveniently as follows, but it should again be stressed that this list cannot pretend to be definitive:

					Intermediate Small Cross Type	Intermediate Small Cross/Crux Mules	Imermediate Small Cross/Iransitiona! Crux Mules	Transitional Crux (a) without sceptre or diadem (b) with sceptre and without dia 1em (c) with diadem and without sceptre	Transitional Crax/Crax Mules
Barnstaple	Byrhsige .				×				
Chichester	Eadnoth .	•	•	•		• •		×	
Dorchester	Wulfnoth .	•	•	•	• •			×	
Exeter	Ælfric .	•	•	•		×		••••••	• • •
	Byrhtred .	•	•	•		×	• •	•• •• ••	• •
	Byrhstan .	•	•	•		×			
	Edric .	•	٠	•	• •	.:			X
Clausatan	Hunewine .	•	•	•		×	• •		
Gloucester	Godwine .	•	•	•	×		::		• • •
Hereford	Byrhstan .	•	•	•	• •		×	•• •• ••	• • •
Ilchester	Leofsige .	•	- •	٠	×	::			
London	Byrhtmær.	•	•	•	• •	×			
11.	Godwine .	•	•	•	• •	×			
Malmesbury	Ealdred .	1.	•	•	X				• •
Outoud	Leofget . Ælfwine .	•	•	•	×	• • •			• •
Oxford		•	•	•	×			×	
	Æthelmær.	•	•	•	×		• • •		• • •
	Godine .	•	•	٠	• •	• • •		×	
Wareham	Wulfwine .	•	•	٠	×	×		•• •• ••	
vv arenam	Ælfsige .	•	•	•		::		×	
Wilton	Byrhsige .	•	•	•		×			• •
willow	Leofwine .	•	•	•	×				• • •
	Sæwine .	•	•	•	×				•••
Winchcombe	Wulfgar .	•	•	•	×				
	Ælfgar .	•	•	•	×				
Winchester	Ælfsige .	•	•	•	• •	×			• •
	Ælfwold .	•	•	•	• •	×	::		
	Æthelgar .	•	•		• •	×	×		
	Byrhsige .	•	•	•	• •	×		×	
	Byrhtmær.	•	•	٠		×		×	
	Byrhtnoth	•	•	•	• •		.:	×	
	Byrhtwold Godeman .	•	•	•	••		×		
		•		•	• •		×		
	Godwine .	•		•	••	×	• • •	×	
	Leofwold .	٠.	•	•		×			
TIZ	Toca .	•	•			×	• • •		
Worcester	Goda .	•	•	•	×		• • •		
York	Osce(te)1 .					×			



ÆTHELRÆD II: INTERMEDIATE SMALL CROSS AND LATE CRUX TYPES

Plate 1v



KEY TO PLATE

Pence of Æthelræd II

т.	First	Small (TOSS	Torksey, Thurketel
2.			51035	Canterbury, Boga
	,,	,,	"	Lymne, Æthestan
3.	,,	"	,,	Worcester, Mærtin
4.	Toot	,,	,,	Lydford, Bruna
5.	Last	,,	,,	Winchester, Seolca
6.	,,	,,	,,	
7· 8.	,,	,,	"	Gloucester, Sigered
	,,	,,	"	London, Ælman
9.	,,	,,	,,	Lincoln, Gustin
10.	Intermediate	,,	,,	Wilton, Sæwine
II.	First	,,	,,	Northampton?, Æthelweard
12.	,,	,,	,,	Southampton, Isegel
13.	Intermediate	,,	,,	Wilton, Wulfgar
14.	,,	,,	,,	Worcester, Goda
15.	Hildebrand C	b		Exeter, Hunewine
16.	,,			Wilton, Sæwine
17.	,,			Winchester, Leofwold
18.	Intermediate	Small C	Cross	Barnstaple, Byrhsige
19.	,,	,,	,,	Gloucester, Godwine
20.	,,	,,	,,	Ilchester, Leofsige
21.	,,	,,	,,	Malmesbury, Leofget
22.	,,			Winchcombe, Ælfgar
	Hildebrand C	b/"Lon	g Cross" Crux mule	Hereford, Byrhstan
24.	Hildebrand C		8 61000	London, Byrhtmær
25.				Oxford, Wulfwine
26.	,, ,	•		York, Osce(te)1
	"Long Cross"	Cruv	with diadem)	Chichester, Eadnoth
27. 28.	Long Cross	Crux (with diademy	Wareham, Ælfsige
	,, ,,	,,		Winchester, Byrhsige
29.	"	"		
30.	,, ,,	,,		Winchester, Byrhtnoth

Coins nos. 3, 4, 9, 11, 12, 14-24, 26, 28, and 29 from casts or photographs supplied by the Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm. Coin 13 from a photograph supplied by the Lund University Historical Museum, and the remainder from casts of coins in the British Museum.

THREE LATE ANGLO-SAXON NOTES

By R. H. M. DOLLEY

A NEW ANGLO-SAXON MINT

In his account of the 1914 Pemberton's Parlour hoard from Chester—a major find deposited in all probability very early in the reign of Æthelræd II—the late Sir George Hill recorded a fragment of a true First Small Cross coin of that monarch of which the obverse legend



appeared to read:—ELREDRE —and the reverse legend—: MTOEAZT I Sir George Hill's publication of that find was not well received by many prominent Anglo-Saxon numismatists of his day—it was even suggested that he had failed to distinguish two separate hoards—but it has worn far better than the works of his critics. Recently the present writer has had occasion to study it in some detail, and he must confess to regarding it as one of the major contributions to English numismatics of the first quarter of this century. Not only are the readings recorded with scrupulous accuracy, but the great Greek numismatist instinctively turned for guidance to a philologist. The new generation of Anglo-Saxon numismatists will never cease to be thankful that this major hoard, like the Tetney treasure trove thirty years later, was recorded by a museum-trained scholar accustomed to the handling of large numbers of coins, and trained to observe and to reproduce as far as possible all valid criteria.

Examination of an enlarged photograph of the fragment in question, now in the British Museum, established beyond all doubt the essential accuracy of Sir George Hill's transcription of the reverse legend. The reading of the mint-name is incontrovertibly EAZT, and there are clear traces of the initial cross immediately following the final T. Sir George Hill, however, was reluctant to postulate a new mint, and we must remember that he was a scholar, with a scholar's instinctive caution, writing in a field with which he was unfamiliar and which was at that time dominated by personalities unhealthily preoccupied with the novel and with the unique. His suggestion was that the fragment

should perhaps be associated with Canterbury, and it is perfectly true that a retrograde square S is indistinguishable from an N on its side.

Accordingly the fragment has since lain in the Museum trays under Canterbury, and it was only when engaged in rearranging the whole of the late Saxon cabinets that the present writer was struck by its incompatibility with its neighbours. If he would venture to suggest that Sir George Hill's caution is no longer justified, he would do so with the greatest diffidence, and it must further be remarked that he enjoys the enormous advantage of having seen the First Small Cross coins in the Swedish hoards. It is no exaggeration to say that this revised assessment of an English coin in an English find would not have been possible were it not for the generosity of Swedish scholarship in inviting English participation in the publication of the Swedish hoards. All who have handled true First Small Cross coins of Æthelræd II—and elsewhere in this Journal a distinct Intermediate issue is for the first time distinguished—cannot fail to have noticed that they fall into three main groupings. Three enlarged obverses should make the distinctions clear:



Coin (b) is the celebrated First Small Cross/First Hand mule of Hamwic acquired by the British Museum at the Montagu Sale (lot 772) and of which the full significance was first appreciated by Mr. Elmore Jones. Subsequently it has proved to be from the same obverse die as the Hamtun penny of the same moneyer which is the only First Small Cross coin in the Igelösa find from near Lund in Skåne. To date the writer has recorded further coins of this style at a number of mints, Bedford (e.g. Hild. 77), Chester (e.g. Hill, op. cit., no. 81), Derby (e.g. ibid., no. 83), Exeter (e.g. Hild. 541), Lewes (e.g. Hild. 1420), London (e.g. Hild. 2194), Tamworth (e.g. Hill, op. cit., no. 104), Totnes (e.g. ibid., no. 106), Wilton (e.g. Nordman, 369—the unique coin of this class with right-facing bust), and Worcester (e.g. Hild. 3982). Coin (a) is the unique First Small Cross coin of Canterbury in the British Museum from the 1914 Chester hoard (Hill, op. cit., no. 110). It will be noticed that the three pellets before the face are not joined up to the shoulder by converging arcs as on the Hamtun/Hamwic mule, but are disposed in a trefoil so as to form, with the addition of a bar, a

¹ Canterbury coins of this period, however, read Γ/ENT not Γ/ENT which form is not found before c. 995 and which is never general until after the Norman Conquest.

crude sceptre. On the reverse four pellets are disposed in a regular pattern around the cross patee. What is noteworthy is that both the sceptre on the obverse and the pattern of four pellets on the reverse occur on the unique First Small Cross penny of LIMEN in the Stockholm Coin Cabinet (Hild. 1604). There can be little doubt but that we are dealing with a Kentish variety of First Small Cross, and in passing we may perhaps comment on this new vindication of Hildebrand's acumen in identifying LIMEN with Lymne in Kent. Coin (c) is a penny of the Lincoln moneyer Rodbert (B.M.C. no. 153). Coins of this style are also found at York (e.g. Hill, op. cit., no. 108), at Torksey (cf. Lockett, i. 643), at Stamford (e.g. Hill, op. cit., no. 100) and at Northampton (e.g. Lockett, i. 642). At York, Stamford, and Northampton, however, we also find coins corresponding more or less closely to penny (a), and at Stamford these predominate (e.g. Hill, op. cit., no. 108 and Wells, B.N.J. 1934, Pl. III. 33).

This is not the place to discuss the organization of Æthelræd's first coinage, and to do so adequately one would also have to take into account Eadgar's last coinage and that of Edward the Martyr. It is reasonable to suppose, however, that the dies for coins approximating to class (b) were cut at two or three centres—despite a superficial uniformity local styles can be established by a trained observer. Style (a) is, as we have seen, beyond doubt Kentish, while style (c) is associated with Lincolnshire and York. The odd die is also found at Stamford and Northampton but not west of the Trent or south of

the Nene.

It cannot be disputed that the style of the EAZT fragment is indisputably that of (c). Among features that are found on coins of Lincoln and York almost exclusively we may note the so-called "backless bust", the absence of pellets before the bust, the eye formed of two crescents which do not normally enclose a pellet, the use of + for X in the obverse legend, and the frequent occurrence on the reverse of retrograde letters such as M for N and Z for Z. Taken in conjunction these features must be considered decisive, and in the light of our new understanding of the coinage of this period we can no longer accept even the possibility of the fragment being given to Canterbury. There seems little doubt but that we are confronted with an entirely new mint for the English series, a mint of which the first four letters of the Saxon name read C A S T. If we reject the doubtful coins of Northampton, the area in which this new mint is to be sought can be defined with considerable precision as the three sokes of Holland, Kesteven, and Lindsey together with the East Riding of Yorkshire. There is no reason to suppose that "Lincoln" dies were employed west of the Trent and Soar nor south of the Nene.

To claim a new mint on the strength of a single coin is perhaps a little reminiscent of less felicitous days in the history of Anglo-Saxon numismatics, and it is pleasant to be able to point to a second coin which appears to vindicate the "Cast" reading of the fragment

¹ In particular there is a characteristic style for the Bedford area.

beyond all reasonable doubt. This is a coin in the Hunter collection, a penny of Edward the Martyr, of which the mint-name was rightly read by Taylor Combe as CASTR in his manuscript corpus and so engraved on his plate (cf. Ruding, pl. 21, 2). This coin is again



of pure Lincoln style with backless bust, reversed letters, pelletless eye and + for X in the obverse legend. The moneyer is given as LEOIMAN, probably for LEO(F)MAN, and it is most significant that the final letter of the moneyer's name barely visible on the "Cast" fragment would appear to be N. Consequently we now have two coins, probably struck within three years of one another, on one of which the mint-reading is CASTR and on the other CAZT. The style of both coins argues strongly that they were struck in the neighbourhood of Lincoln, and the probability is that they are by the same moneyer. It is indeed difficult to avoid the conclusion that we are faced with an entirely new mint for the late Saxon series, and in an area where the

existence of further mints was hardly suspected.

It is inevitable that one should think first of Caistor in Lindsey, the chief place of the soke, a royal manor in Domesday, and apparently the seat of the old bishopric. It is probably a sound principle, however, not to associate a mint with a place that was not a borough unless driven to it by all the evidence. On the other hand it must be admitted that we know remarkably little about the organization of the English coinage in the last quarter of the tenth century. If anything, indeed, Æthelræd's repeated legislation against coining without a burgh may suggest that moneyers had been in the habit of striking quite openly in other places, and it is the opinion of the present writer that numismatists have read too much into the so-called Decrees of Grately. Rather these rescripts should be considered as pertaining to the executive, and it cannot be stressed too much that their provisions apply only to the West Saxon kingdom proper, i.e. Wessex, Kent, and London, and that there is no reason to suppose that they were ever intended to stand for all time. The evidence of the coins themselves makes it quite clear that Mercia and the Danelaw were organized on quite a different basis, and it is not impossible that fifty years later coins could have been struck quite legally at a "port" in Lincolnshire. Caistor had, of course, long since ceased to be the seat of a bishopric, and this may seem to remove one objection to its being a mint of Æthelræd II. Not enough attention has been paid to the failure of the cathedral minsters to coincide with mints—Crediton, Wells, Sherborne, Ramsbury, Selsey, Elmham, Dorchester (Oxon.), Lichfield, and Durham have still to have Saxon coins attributed to them. It is perhaps worth remarking, too, that at the end of Æthelræd's reign Lindsey was occupied by the Danish army and then harried by the English as a punishment for collaboration. Consequently it is not impossible that the status of Caistor at the end of the eleventh century was very different from that which it had enjoyed upon Æthelræd's accession.

Caistor in Lindsey, then, is the numismatist's obvious choice for the mint of the CASTR penny and of the CAST fragment, but other possibilities should not be ignored. Doncaster and Horncastle were both places of some importance, nor should we ignore entirely Castor in Northamptonshire. Linguistically, however, the former seem improbable, and all three suffer the disadvantage attaching to Caistor in that they seem never to have enjoyed borough status in the period under review. Pending a pronouncement from the historians, the numismatist will be well advised to add CASTR to the canon of late Saxon mints—the second mint from the Northern Danelaw to be added during the last two years—but to regard its association with Caistor as no more than provisional. In the present state of English numismatics nothing is to be lost by caution, and much to be won if only the late Saxon numismatist can regain the respect of historians as such. It is not very edifying that their amused rejection of Bradwell-on-sea as a plausible site for "Gothabyri" must now be endorsed on purely numismatic grounds.

A PROBABLE NEW MINT IN SHROPSHIRE

In both the 1846 and 1881 editions of Anglosachsiska Mynt, Bror Emil Hildebrand gave to a mint at Bridgnorth a number of late Saxon pence on which the mint-name reads variously BRY, BRYD, BRYDIA, BRYDIGA, BRYGIN, BRYIDGE, and BYRDG under Æthelræd II, and BRY and BRYD under Cnut. At that time our own National Collection appeared to be lacking in Saxon coins of the mint or mints concerned—though in fact a coin of the Confessor lurks among those of Bristol-but Hildebrand's Bridgnorth attribution of the earlier coins received Keary's benison in the introduction to the 1893 volume of the British Museum's Catalogue. In the 1921 Numismatic Chronicle Woosnam, a pupil of Chadwick, followed up a passing suggestion thrown out by Parsons, and in the course of a brilliant note reattributed all the coins in question to Bredy or Bridport in Dorset. He pointed out the complete impossibility of BRYD being Bridgnorth, and demonstrated how it was not till the very end of the medieval period that Old English "brycg" began to be written "bridge". In the 1922 Chronicle the Bridport attribution was endorsed by Symonds on purely numismatic grounds.

In 1930, however, Andrew, who had lately taken up residence in the vicinity, proposed that the BRYD coins of Æthelræd II and of Cnut should be reattributed to Stockbridge in Hampshire of which the Roman name was perhaps BRIGA.¹ By conceding that Bridport was the BRYD mint of the Confessor—and the numismatic evidence is really extraordinarily convincing—he disarmed the very cogent objection that Bridport otherwise would be the only one of Ballard's "county boroughs" of which Saxon coins have not come down to us. In his paper, however, Andrew does not explain how it was that a place of the importance of Bredy/Bridport—a burgh already in Edward the Elder's reign if not indeed in Alfred's—did not exercise its rights of coinage before c. 1040. Moreover there are positive reasons why all the BRYD coins should be given to the Dorset borough, and it is perhaps worth remarking yet again that the fact that the first vowel is Y on the coins and I or E in modern orthography need occasion no concern. In the Burghal Hidage the spelling is BRYDIA, and in Domesday BRIDEPORT. For the interchange of Y and E within the Saxon period it is necessary only to cite Bedford coins of Æthelræd II which read BYDA and BEDA in the same type.

In the course of all this general post it would seem to have been overlooked that if BRYD is an impossible form for the modern Bridgnorth, BRYGIN is equally objectionable a form for Bredy/Bridport.² It is not without significance that the moneyer of the BRYGIN coin, a certain Æthestan, is not known from a coin reading BRYD. Thus there is very little reason for us to continue to associate the unique BRYGIN coin (Hild. 104) with the certain BRYD coins of Wine, Eadnoth, and Godric under Æthelræd II, of Ælfwold under Cnut, and of Hwateman under Harthacnut and the Confessor, unless it were from the desire, laudable in principle, not to inflate beyond necessity the already long canon of late Saxon minting-places. Incidentally, Bridport would seem to be that comparative rarity, a one-moneyer mint, and the numismatic evidence is consistent with the explicit statement

to that effect which occurs in *Domesday*.

Consequently BRYGIN stands or falls as a new mint purely on its own merits, and, if we are prepared to accept that the Roman BRIGA was on or near the site of the modern Stockbridge, and also that the Roman name survived into late Saxon times before being discarded, there is a *prima facie* case in favour of Andrew's attribution of this particular coin to Stockbridge, the more so because the moneyer is known at Winchester in the same type. On the other hand, it must be confessed that the present writer's experience of most of Andrew's excursions into history and philology is that they are most suspect when most plausible. It seemed a little surprising that Andrew made no mention of his having checked for an obverse die-link—and especially when we consider the prominence he gave in his paper to the association of Stockbridge with Winchester—and it is surely desirable to establish once and for all whether or not the *First Hand* obverse is

 $^{\rm I}$ B.N.J., xx (1930), pp. 49-62. $^{\rm 2}$ Throughout this paper Hildebrand's reading BRYCIN is retained. The coin is, however, slightly double-struck and the reading seems to be BRYCCIN. In this case the arguments that follow would be strengthened. used at the West Saxon capital by Æthestan or by any other moneyer. It will be recalled that the present writer has established obverse dielinks between Winchester and both Hamtun and Hamwic—thereby killing the myth that all Hamtun coins belong to Northampton—while Andrew himself suggested that Southampton's rights of minting



Fig. 1.

were transferred for a time to Stockbridge. Consequently an obverse die-link between Winchester and Stockbridge would be decisive—did it exist! On the other hand, the absence of a die-link, while perhaps suggestive, proves absolutely nothing. Spileman is no less a Southampton moneyer because the obverse die of his HAM coin has still to be found coupled with a Winchester reverse. In fact, the obverse of the *First Hand* coin of Æthestan does not occur at Winchester. Style is perhaps too dangerous a criterion in the present state of our knowledge concerning the *First Hand* type, but even so it may be remarked that the checking for the die-link did not prove as onerous as expected—while perhaps not utterly incompatible in style the BRYGIN coin was by no means consistent with the run of Win-

chester coinage in the type concerned.

It then occurred to the writer that no harm could be done by checking the obverse of the BRYGIN coin against the obverses of all the other First Hand coins of a moneyer Æthe(l)stan, and again it seems almost incredible that this had not been done. The number of coins involved is no more than nine. In this case, however, the result of the routine check is not only positive but decisive. The unique Stockholm coin reading BRYGIN (Fig. I) proves to be from the same obverse die as Hild. 3447, a mis-struck coin which Hildebrand gave to Stamford and which Wells accepted although the moneyer is not known there at the period in question. Fortunately three die-duplicates of the mis-struck coin have since come to light, a much better specimen since added to the Systematic Collection at Stockholm, another also in Stockholm from the Myrände (Atlingbo s:n) hoard from Gotland (S.H.M. Inv. 9392), and the third in the collection of Mr. Elmore Jones (Fig. 2) who has demonstrated that the true reading

of the mint-name is NIPAN—an important reattribution in that it added to the canon an entirely new mint for Æthelræd II.

Obviously our new mints of BRYGIN and NIFAN lie near to one another, and at first sight this may seem greatly to facilitate their identification. In fact the die-link does dispose very satisfactorily of



FIG. 2.

the last possibility of BRYGIN being Bridport—there is no plausible "New-" site within a reasonable radius—and equally the die-link may seem to drive the last nail into the coffin of Stockbridge. If one of the principal arguments against the Stockbridge attribution is the improbability—to put it no higher—of a minor mint being set up at an outpost of the West Saxon capital, how much the more is it unlikely that there were two minor mints in an area already served by the metropolitan mint at Winchester and by a further mint at the port of Southampton. One wonders, too, with which Hampshire site Andrew would have associated NIFAN. On the other hand, the dielink with BRYGIN seems fatal to any association of NIFAN with Newport Pagnell—a "Bridge-" or "-bridge" mint cannot well be fitted into the Bedford area.

Admittedly the association of coins reading NIFANPO and even NIPEPORT with Newport Pagnell is not absolutely certain, but the present writer is not disposed to dispute Carlyon-Britton's attribution, especially since Newport Pagnell is the only Newport which was certainly a borough at the end of the Saxon period. Instead it seems preferable to argue that the NIFAN of the penny of Æthelræd II is another place altogether. Granted that it is a basic principle of late Saxon numismatics that "monetae non sunt multiplicandae praeter necessitatem", equally one should be careful not to force a pattern against the evidence. Our experience with Northampton and Southampton is salutary, and is also a reminder of the fact that two mints can have the same name, a phenomenon equally attested by the existence of Southwark coins which read SVDBY and which are in consequence virtually indistinguishable from those of Sudbury. If, therefore, there seem insuperable difficulties in the way of associating the NIPAN coin with Newport Pagnell, there are precedents for seeking another Newport, or rather for seeking a "New-" for we are under no compulsion to expand NIPAN as NIPANPORT.

"New-", however, is such a common prefix in English place-names that it is perhaps easier to approach the problem from the angle of BRYGIN. First of all, we should consider the possibility that BRYGIN may represent a mint already known to numismatic science. Bruton is out of the question both philologically and numismatically—in the next note it is argued that the mint there was not opened until c. 1020 after the closure of the emergency mint at Cadbury—but Bristol at first sight is a most attractive proposition. Etymologically it is Brycg-stow—"the place of the bridge"—and at least from the time of Cnut onwards it was a place of considerable importance. However, there is no coin of Æthelræd II which can with certainty be associated with Bristol. The Hildebrand coin usually quoted reads no more than BRIC, and is by a moneyer not otherwise known at the mint. It is of Æthelræd's Last Small Cross type, and consequently was struck not less than twenty-four years later than the coin of BRYGIN. In the Last Small Cross type, of course, style is a valuable criterion, and certainly the BRIC coin would seem to belong to a well-defined group to be associated with the West Midlands, and notably Chester and Gloucester. There is some reason for believing that the Avon was a regional boundary at that time, and consequently the BRIC coin could belong to Bristol. On the other hand, it could as well be a coin of the same mint as BRYGIN, that is if we reject finally the Bristol attribution of the latter.

It must be admitted, though, that the claims of Bristol to be the mint of both the BRYGIN and the BRIC coins are not without substance. Eighteen miles across the mouth of the Severn is Newport, Monmouthshire. Admittedly Newport does not figure as a borough in Domesday, but the whole area is omitted from the survey. That it could have been a Saxon settlement is not impossible—there would be an exact parallel at the other extremity of the Welsh marches in Cledemutha, recently and convincingly associated by Wainwright with a site in the vicinity of Rhuddlan. Eadgar had intervened in the affairs of Gwent. Not only may more than just a resemblance of name underlie the confusion between Caerleon and Chester in Brut y Tywys, but the Vita Sancti Iltuti refers specifically to an invasion of Glamorgan. Moreover a fragmentary charter of Æthelræd II seems to point to there having been at least one Saxon burgh to the west of the line of the Wye, and if there was a burgh at Dewstow it would not be surprising if there was a fortress at the mouth of the Usk. Such a fortress might not be unwelcome to the Welsh also in an age when Scandinavian pirates from Dublin were masters of the Bristol Channel. If BRYGIN is Bristol, then NIPAN might be Newport. That the estuary of the Severn intervened need not be against this theory. In the age of the railway and motor we think of water as a barrier, but for the Saxon it would have been far easier to take a boat and drop down the Avon, slant across the Severn on the ebb and ascend the Usk on the flood than to take horse and ride more than seventy miles over miry roads by way of Gloucester and Chepstow.

However, it is not for the numismatist to put the case for Bristol and Newport in Monmouthshire—despite an apparent tie-up between the Cardiff and Bristol mints at the end of the Conqueror's reign. The case against these identifications of BRYGIN and NIPAN respectively is truly formidable. In the first place there is no real evidence that Bristol was a mint before Cnut—in other words we have to postulate a thirty-year interruption of striking. In the second, there is no real evidence that there was a Saxon settlement at Newport, Mon., or in its vicinity. More important still, BRYGIN is a form of the place-name that presents certain problems for the philologist as the N has no place in the regular inflexion. Whereas NIPAN is a perfectly normal dative from the weak declension, brycg whether in genitive or in dative should give brycge which on a coin could well be written BRYGI. Brycgestowe, therefore, might appear as BRYGIStowe, but it is difficult to see how a form BRYGINStowe could ever have arisen.

Inevitably our thoughts return to Hildebrand's original attribution to Bridgnorth, admittedly impossible in the case of the BRYD coins but still attractive in the case of the unique coin of BRYGIN. There can be no doubt that there was a Saxon burgh in the vicinity. The Mercian Register is explicit that in 912 the redoubtable Æthelflæda built a burgh at Bricge. In Domesday we find burgesses at Quatford, a few miles south of Bridgnorth. Any doubts that Ouatford and "Bridge" are essentially the same place are resolved by a consideration of the different versions of the *Chronicle* s.a. 896. Here the Parker MS. (A) reads æt Cwat brycge where two other versions read æt Bricge and a third æt Brygce—the last a useful reading when we come to consider the coin evidence. The element Cwat, of course, survives to this day both in Ouatford and in the village of Quat, a mile or two farther to the south. What has happened is perfectly clear. The main river-crossing, the brycg in fact which need not be a bridge as we understand it today, has shifted northwards. Whereas in the ninth and early tenth centuries the crossing was perhaps as far south as Quat, by Norman times we find the motte sited at Bridgnorth. Again pending a considered verdict from the historians, the present writer would suggest that the BRYGIN coin be given provisionally to the Saxon burgh represented by the modern town of Bridgnorth.

In this case the final N of BRYGIN need not be considered an irregular inflexion but the initial letter of the second element of the mint-name, i.e. the modern "-north". As we have seen the spelling of the first element with a Y is perfectly normal. The omission of the C is a little disturbing, but at this period no die-cutter had had occasion to engrave the consonantal sound corresponding to modern "dg". Moreover there is a strong possibilty that the coin in fact reads BRYCCIN. There only remains the question of the die-linked coin of NIPAN. One's first thought is for Newport in Shropshire, a place of some importance in modern times, sixteen miles north-east of Bridgnorth and roughly half-way along the main road from Stafford to

Shrewsbury. However, Newport is not mentioned in *Domesday*, and there can be little doubt but that it came into existence in the twelfth century at the earliest. In any case, sixteen miles seems rather far for a die to travel—considerably farther than in the well-attested cases where the same obverse is used at Southampton and Winchester, and

at Cadbury and at Bruton.

It will be recalled that there is non-numismatic evidence that the centre of settlement originally as far south as Quat was shifting even in Saxon times northwards up the left bank of the Severn. quently we should not be surprised if we find the epithet "new" applied to any of the man-made features of the area, for example to the artificial crossing of the river underlying the name Brycg, or to the fortifications commanding the passage which presumably moved with it. I am most grateful to Dr. F. T. Wainwright for pointing out to me that there is in the immediate vicinity of Bridgnorth a hamlet by the name of Oldbury. Much more work will have to be done, and in particular a survey made on the ground, but it is tempting provisionally to identify NIFAN with a hypothetical place name at Niwanbyrig at Cwat. This may or may not be an alternative name for at Brycgenorthum, but the suggestion of this note is that both BRYGIN and NIPAN are to be associated with a site or sites in the general area of Bridgnorth and Ouatford. Incidentally one wonders whether some of the early forms given for Newport, Salop., such as "novus burgus" should not in fact be taken as referring to the same area, but this is a matter for the student of place-names proper.

Of course it is possible that the NIPAN of the coins is in fact to be expanded "Niwanport", and that our hypothetical place-name in the Bridgnorth vicinity is at Niwanporte at Cwat (or at Brycge?) but even so there seem good reasons why we should not attempt to transfer to Shropshire the coins which read NIPANPO and NIPEPORT which Carlyon-Britton gave to Newport Pagnell. The style of the coin of Eadgar has no Mercian affinities, while the moneyer is known at Bedford in the same reign. As regards the coins of Edward the Confessor Mr. Elmore Jones has pointed out to the writer that there are certain stylistic characteristics which are also found on pieces from the mints at Aylesbury and Buckingham. At the period in question, too, the moneyer Sired is known elsewhere only at London, and a case could be made out that the minor mints of the Home Counties were served by moneyers from the metropolis—Corff at Reading and Dudinc at Horndon are known otherwise for the relevant period only at London.

The Eadwig coins reading NIPE only are perhaps to be given to Newport Pagnell—though the possibility of Newark cannot as yet be excluded—but they cannot well be attributed to Shropshire where the "Mercian rosette" would be expected. There remain the coins of the moneyer Ingolf which read M'ANIPY and M-OMIEPEM:, under Eadgar and Edward the Martyr respectively. The present writer has

¹ Mr. H. Loyn points out to me that *Domesday* in fact reads "nova domus et burgus Quatford vocatus".

suggested Newport Pagnell and he must confess that the style of the coins is so reminiscent of Bedford that he would favour no other attribution. Certainly, they cannot possibly be associated with Bridgnorth. While on the subject of doubtful attributions, it may not be out of place to suggest that certain entries in Brooke should be treated with caution pending further evidence. The Ægelmær coin given to Bridgnort reads no more than BRY, and could be Bristol or even Bridgnorth. The Ælfwerd penny of Æthelræd II we have already considered, while the Wulstan penny of Cnut reads no more than BR, and consequently could as well be Bridgnorth, Bridgort, Bristol, or Bruton. The same applies to an unpublished penny of Cnut's Quatrefoil type by the moneyer Ælfstan which I found last year in one of the Swedish hoards.

THE EMERGENCY MINT OF CADBURY

In the course of collecting material for the projected Swedish *Corpus* of late Saxon pence, the present writer could not but be struck by the ephemeral nature of the mint established æt *Cadanbyrig*, and also by the peculiar composition of its personnel. The following check-list compiled on the basis of the National Collections at Stockholm, Copenhagen, and London does not pretend to be a complete list of the known coins of the mint even as regards the collections concerned, but it is believed that it includes all the known pairs of dies.

 $\left\{\begin{array}{c} \text{Hild.} \\ \text{S} \end{array}\right\} = \text{Stockholm}$

K. = Copenhagen

B.M. = British Museum

ÆTHELRÆD II (979-1016)

Last Small Cross Type (c. 1010-1016?)

I. +ÆÐELRÆDREXANGLO

Pellets on inner circles before and behind bust.

Ælfwine (Pl. V, 1)

2. +·ÆÐELRÆDREXANGLORV•X God (Pl. V, 2)

3. From same obverse die as (2) God (P1. V, 3)

4. + ŒDELR ŒDREX•Λ•ΝGL• Winas (**P1. V, 4**)

5. From same obverse die as (4) Winas (P1. V, 5)

6. + ÆDELR ÆDREXANG• Wulfelm (P1. V, 6)

7. +ÆÐELRÆDREXANGLOX Wulfelm (P1. V, 7) + ELFFINEON: CADEBY

Pellets in 1st and 3rd angles of cross

S. (ex 1954 Rone hoard), K

+GODONGADANBYRIM• Hild. 117, K, B.M.

+GODONEADANBYRIM•O

+PIN:Λ·ΣΟΝΕ:Λ:D·Λ·ΒΥR Hild. 119, K

+PINAZONEADANB Hild. 120

+PVLFELMONEADAN Hild. 121, B.M.

+PVLFELMONEADANBY: Hild. 122, K

¹ Cf. P. Berghaus, Der Schatz von Sigsarve Gotland, p. 149 (Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar, Deb 83, Antikvariska Studier v).

CNUT (1016-1035)

Quatrefoil Type (c. 1017-1023?)

I. +CNVTREXINGLORVM Ælfelm (P1. V, 8)

2. +CNVTREXINGLORVM Winas (P1. V, 9)

+ EL FEL· MON CΛD B.M.C. 24

+PIN ASO NEA DEBR Hild. 119.

It will be noticed that two of the coins attributed to Cadbury by Hildebrand are omitted from this list. One of these is the Æthelræd penny of the moneyer Godefryth (Pl. V, 10). As Mr. Elmore Jones pointed out to the writer in his very early days, this is a misread



coin of Lewes (CADEN for LAPEN). Not only is Godefryth a prolific moneyer at Lewes in the same type, but he is not known elsewhere under Æthelræd nor under Cnut. Moreover, the style of the coin is utterly inconsistent with undoubted Cadbury coins of the same type (PI. V, 2 and 4) which illustrate admirably a provincial style found in the West Country only, and notably at Exeter. The style of the Godefryth coin, however, is completely consistent with other coins of Lewes of the same type, and it would seem that at this period the

dies for Lewes were being supplied from London.

The second of Hildebrand's Cadbury attributions that must now be rejected is the Cnut penny of the moneyer Swet. As an enlarged photograph shows quite clearly, the reading of the mint-name is not EANBYRI—which would be an extraordinary reading for Cadbury at the best of times, involving as it does the suppression of an essential consonant but not of a comparatively unimportant inflection—but EANBYRI. In the course of a paper that already has sought to add two new mints to the late Saxon canon one is naturally reluctant even to seem to hint at a third, but it must be admitted that here we appear to have a *prima facie* case for one. Hanbury at once comes to mind ("Heanbyrig" in the Peterborough Chronicle), but Hanbury would seem to be in Mercia from the context, and is perhaps to be dentified with Hanbury, Staffs., while the style of the coin is West axon. The moneyer Swet is known for the reign only at Dorchester, and it is tempting to suggest that the Dorchester mint may have been

¹ A second coin, apparently from the same dies, is in the Bruun Collection in Copenhagen (no. 38) and was correctly read EXNBYRI by Dr. Galster.

evacuated in the same way as Wilton and, as we shall see, Ilchester, but it is a temptation that for the present we must firmly resist. The opinion of experts in place-names on early forms is first required, and there may well be several candidates. For example there is Yarnbury Castle in South Wiltshire though the presence of the R suggests an obvious objection, while Emborough in Somerset is even farther removed than Cadbury. It befits the numismatist simply to put on record the new-mint-reading EANBYRI, to state that he knows the moneyer only at Dorchester in the next two types, to give it as his opinion that the coin is from Wessex, and further to remark perhaps that an additional ground for his disliking the obvious Hanbury is the fact that initial H unlike initial N is very rarely omitted from mintnames on the coins of this period. Incidentally no *Quatrefoil* coins of Dorchester are known, the coins hitherto attributed to that mint

being all of Derby.

One of the names of the authentic Cadbury moneyers, however, is of quite exceptional interest. This particular name is Winas, a very irregular form of the personal name Wine. Were it not for the fact that after the closure of the Cadbury mint we have two coins of patently the same moneyer which read Winus, one would be tempted to postulate a plural form from Wine, say two moneyers Eadwine and Godwine known locally as "the Wines". However, the fact that the two coins are of successive types and both remarkably neatly engraved seems to establish Winas and Winus as variant forms of an irregular singular personal name. One should perhaps remark that the first syllable is stressed and that both vowels are short. Consequently there would be virtually no difference in pronunciation as between the two forms. Winas, then, is a very unusual name, and it is interesting to note the other mints at which it is recorded. In Æthelræd's Long Cross type which apparently ceased to be struck early in 1004 we find a Winas at Crewkerne, fifteen miles to the south-west of Cadbury. In the *Helmet* type he is found at Ilchester, only seven or so miles to the west. In Second Small Cross we know him only at Cadbury, but in Quatrefoil of Cnut he strikes both at Cadbury and at Crewkerne, and then at Crewkerne only at least until c. 1028. The bracket of the coins of a moneyer or moneyers Winas, then, is roughly a quarter of a century, and all the evidence is surely that the Winas who strikes at Crewkerne is the same as the Winas who strikes at Ilchester and Cadburv.2

The second point which the present paper would seek to make is that no *Second Small Cross* coin is recorded of Ilchester, normally by no means an unprolific Somerset mint, and further it must be remarked that Bruton is not known for Æthelræd although in Cnut's first type it strikes on a considerable scale. Already we have noticed how Winas appears to migrate to Cadbury from Ilchester c. 1010 and to return to

¹ The name also occurs under the Confessor at Salisbury.

² For the first reconstruction of Winas's journeyings see my appendix to E. J. King, Years Without Memory, 1954, pp. 125-6.

his native Crewkerne c. 1020, and it is instructive to draw up a table setting out the position for the Cadbury mint as a whole. In this table all West Country moneyers are included, but the question whether the God at Exeter, for example, is the same man as the God at Cadbury is deliberately avoided.

THE MONEYERS AT CADBURY

	c. 1000-1010	c. 1010-1020	c. 1020-1030
Ælfelm	Winchcombe	CADBURY Winchester	BRUTON
Ælfwine	вкитом?	CADBURY	BRUTON/ILCHESTER
	Shaftesbury	Shaftesbury	Shaftesbury
God	ILCHESTER	CADBURY	ILCHESTER
	Exeter	Exeter	Exeter
Winas	CREWKERNE/ILCHESTER	CADBURY	CREWKERNE
Wulfelm		CADBURY	ILCHESTER

From this table it is surely obvious that Cadbury stands in a very special relationship as regards both Ilchester and Bruton. In the case of Ilchester the relationship may be further elucidated by a table setting out the moneyers for Æthelræd's last three and Cnut's first two substantive types:

THE MONEYERS OF ILCHESTER

		Æthelræd II Hild.		Cnut Hild.	
	D	E	A	E	G
Ælfsige	Barnstaple Wareham Winchester		Winchester	ILCHESTER Southampton Winchester	Winchester
	,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,		,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	***************************************	Bath
			CADBURY	BRUTON/ILCHESTER	ILCHESTER
Ælfwine	Shaftesbury BRUTON?		Shaftesbury	Salisbury Shaftesbury Winchester ILCHESTER	Salisbury
Æthelmaer	ILCHESTER	ILCHESTER	CADBURY	ILCHESTER	
God	Exeter	Exeter	Exeter	Exeter	Exeter
Godwine	Wilton Totnes	Salisbury Totnes	Salisbury	ILCHESTER Salisbury	Milborne Port Salisbury
		Winchester		Winchester	Winchester
Leofsige	ILCHESTER			ILCHESTER	Warminster
Leofwine	Taunton	Bath			ILCHESTER
	Wilton	Winchester	Winchester	Winchester	Winchester
Oswi				ILCHESTER	
Winas Wulfelm	CREWKERNE	ILCHESTER	CADBURY CADBURY	CADBURY/CREWKERNE	CREWKERNE

The essential pattern is clear. The only two Ilchester moneyers in *Helmet* are found at Cadbury in the next type. Of the eight Ilchester

moneyers in Cnut's first or *Quatrefoil* type, three only would appear to have been striking in Æthelræd's last type, all of them at Cadbury and Cadbury alone. There can be little doubt, in fact, but that the Ilchester mint was removed to Cadbury c. 1010 and did not return to its old home until c. 1017 at the earliest. The same phenomenon has been observed at Wilton where the mint was transferred to Salisbury after the sack of 1003, but in that case some of the moneyers elected to remain permanently at Salisbury, with the result that for the late Saxon period we have both Wilton and Salisbury existing side-by-side.

Before we consider the special circumstances that explain both the opening and the closure of the mint at Cadbury, we should perhaps take into account the pattern of the moneyers at Bruton. As we have seen, Bruton is not a mint of Æthelræd II, though coins of Cnut's

first type are not uncommon.

THE MONEYERS OF BRUTON

		Æthelræd II Hild.		Cnut Hild.	
	D	E	A	E	G
Ælfelm	Winchcombe		CADBURY Winchester	CADBURY/BRUTON	BRUTON
					Bath
	BRUTON?		CADBURY	BRUTON/ILCHESTER	ILCHESTER
Ælfwine	Shaftesbury		Shaftesbury	Salisbury Shaftesbury Winchester	Salisbury
" Effi"					BRUTON

It would appear that the Bruton mint was founded from Cadbury, and any lingering doubts are dispelled by a most remarkable die-link which has lain unnoticed in the National Collection for more than a hundred-and-fifty years. The unique coin of Ælfelm struck at Cadbury in Cnut's first type is from the same obverse die as a coin of the same moneyer struck at Bruton. There is reason to believe, incidentally, that both the British Museum coins are from the same hoard, a major find of pence of Cnut made in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and apparently in the vicinity of Gloucester.

The overall picture of the Cadbury mint, then, is one of quite exceptional interest. The mint came into being at the same time as striking ceased at Ilchester, and it is Ilchester moneyers who are found striking in the new mint. No *Helmet* coins are known of Cadbury and no *Last Small Cross* coins of Ilchester, and hence it is reasonable to suppose that the transfer took place at approximately the same time as the change of type. The evidence of the Wilton and Salisbury mints is that under Æthelræd the type was changed every six years, and that one change occurred either in September 1003 or in March 1004.

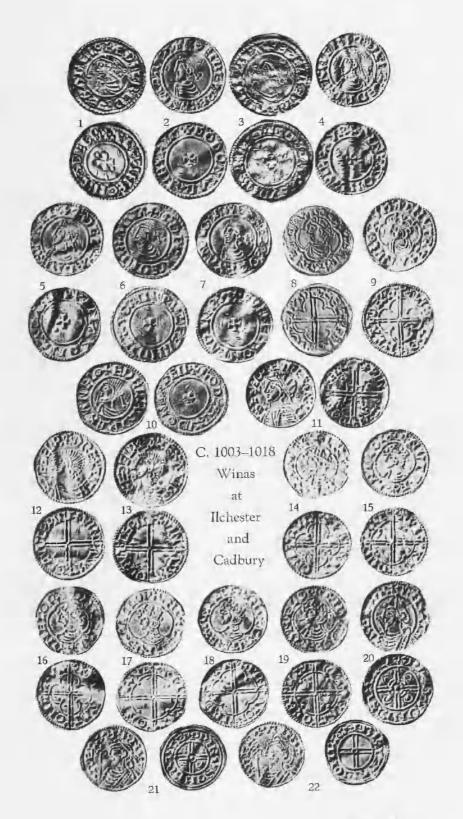
 $^{^{\}rm I}$ This die-link also clinches that Cadbury is the modern Cadbury Beacon, and not the Cadbury near Bristol nor yet another Cadbury near Exeter.

Consequently the transfer of the Ilchester mint to Cadbury can be dated with some confidence to September 1009 or March 1010. Inasmuch as Wessex had not been ravaged since the great attack of 1003, the decision would seem to have been precautionary, yet another



example of the far-sighted policies that prevailed, alas only temporarily, during the uneasy lull between Sweyn's triumphant progress of 1006/7 and Thorkell the Tall's descent on Kent in 1009. Cadbury, the modern Cadbury Beacon, was a natural defensive site—one of the few in that part of the country—with Iron Age earthworks still virtually intact. A mint established there would enjoy considerable security, the more so because the ramparts would form the natural place of refuge for the whole of the surrounding countryside. It would have needed a major host to have stormed the position, and we may recall that Salisbury had escaped when Sweyn sacked Wilton. Even a Viking army would have thought twice before attacking up a steep slope West Saxon levies entrenched behind solid ramparts and fighting not only for their own lives but also for those of their wives and children.

Of course the site was also extremely inconvenient in time of peace. It lacked water, and all the bullion and fuel for the mint had to be brought considerable distances. Such disadvantages doubtless explain the closure of the mint early in Cnut's reign when more settled conditions again prevailed. The exact date of the abandonment cannot be established with quite the same precision since it did not coincide with a change of type, but we will not be far wrong if we place it not later than 1020—we have to allow time for one moneyer, Ælfwine, to



ILLUSTRATIONS MR. DOLLEY'S THREE LATE ANGLO-SAXON NOTES

strike at both Bruton and Ilchester coins of Cnut's first type. It may well be that the exodus from Cadbury was earlier, only two Cnut coins of Cadbury are known, one in Stockholm and one in the British Museum, and a date as early as 1017 would be by no means impossible. However this may be, the evidence is pretty conclusive that Cadbury was occupied for only a very few years, and the numismatist would suggest that the site is one that might provide the archaeologist with

some nicely dated sherds. The privilege of minting, however, was too valuable to be surrendered when once conceded, and hence doubtless the establishment of the valley mint at Bruton at the same time as the return to Ilchester —we may recall that Salisbury continued to strike after the reopening of the mint at Wilton. Whether Bruton was already a burgh in its own right, or whether it merely perpetuated on a more convenient site the privileges that strictly attached to Cadbury, is perhaps an open question. Whatever the answer, Bruton is described in Domesday as a borough, and no such status attaches to the windswept hilltop once more deserted and given over to the shepherd and the wild bird. Dare one hope, too, that this note may have cleared up the problem inherent in Sir Frank Stenton's remark¹ that Cadbury was not even a royal manor in 1066 though it had struck coins for both Æthelræd II and Cnut? If so, the numismatist has still to solve the mystery of Horndon until this year known from but a single coin.

KEY TO PLATE V

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THE MINT OF CADBURY
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I. Æthelræd II, Last Small Cross, Ælfwine (Hild. —)
                                   God (Hild. 117)
2.
                  ,,
                                   God (Hild. -
3.
                                   Winas (Hild. 119)
4.
          ,,
                                   Winas (Hild. 120)
 5.
 6.
                                   Wulfelm (Hild. 121)
                                   Wulfelm (Hild, 122)
8. Cnut, Quatrefoil, Ælfelm (B.M.C. 24)
                     Winas (Hild. 119)
10. Æthelræd II, Last Small Cross, Lewes, Godefryth (Hild. 118)
                 Helmet, Ilchester, Winas (Hild. 1043)
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THE MINT OF CREWKERNE

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12. Æthelræd II, Long Cross, Winas (Hild. 344)
                              Winas (Hild. 345)
14. Cnut, Quatrefoil, Winas (Hild. 263)
                     Winas (Hild, 264)
15.
        ,,
16.
                     Winas (Hild. 265)
             ,,
17.
                     Winas (Hild. 266)
             ,,
                     Winas (Hild. 267) (same obv. die as preceding)
18.
             ,,
                    Winas (Hild. 268)
19.
         Pointed Helmet, Winus (Hild. 269)
20.
         Short Cross, Winus (Hild. 270)
21.
                      Brihtwi
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Coins 2, 4-7, 9-22 from photographs supplied by the Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm; coins 1 and 3 from photographs supplied by the Royal Coin Cabinet, Copenhagen, and coin 8 in the British Museum.

¹ Anglo-Saxon England, p. 529.

THE STAMFORD MINT AND THE CONNEXION WITH THE ABBOT OF PETERBOROUGH UNDER ETHELRED II

By IAN HALLEY STEWART

Almost within days of Mr. Dolley having informed me of his discovery of a penny of the Medeshamstede mint from a Gotland find, I had the coincidental good fortune to find a remarkable and unpublished Stamford penny of Ethelred II, which has, as I shall hope to show, an intimate relevance to the opening of the Abbot of Peterborough's

own mint, separate from that at Stamford.

In his paper on A New Anglo-Saxon Mint—Medeshamstede, I Mr. R. H. M. Dolley shows that the new penny necessitates a major revision of the views proffered by the late W. C. Wells in his learned discussions of the Stamford and Peterborough mints.² Sound as much of Wells's numismatics are, he was at pains to demonstrate that Peterborough coins should read Burgh, though the Laud chronicle³ specifically states that the old name of Medeshamstede was only superseded in the abbacy of Cenwulf, that is in 992 or after. The appearance of a coin inscribed MED of Ethelred's First Hand type, is, however, as Mr. Dolley shows, not only possible, but almost expected. The Papal confirmation of Edgar's lost charter provided implicity for the abbot's use of a die at Medeshamstede. Many students had already, in fact, come to the conclusion that the Peterborough mint was operating in Norman times, although there is no definite agreement on this point. It is to be regretted that Mr. Dolley did not give a final opinion on this later activity of the Peterborough mint when he discussed the Anglo-Saxon mint of Medeshamstede. The actual coin evidence for the Norman working of the Peterborough mint is offered by W. C. Wells:4 the existence of a coin, reading ON BVR, was taken by Wells to mean that Peterborough was operating in the late part of Štephen's reign⁵ when this particular coin of the "Awbridge" type (B.M.C. vii) was struck. It was recently sold as lot 1145 at the auction of the late Mr. R. C. Lockett's English coins, 6 and is illustrated clearly on the plates of the sale catalogue. The third letter of the mint name, though it may be an R, is indistinctly preserved; as Mr. F. Elmore Jones remarks, it may well have been some other obscure

² "The Stamford and Peterborough Mints", B.N.J. xxii. 35; xxiii. 7; xxiv. 69, concluded in Spink's Numismatic Circular, 1939, May-July.

³ Garmonsway, p. 117.

⁴ Op. cit., B.N.J. xxii. 69.

B.N.J. xxvii. 263. I had hoped to append at least a short note of this coin to appear at the same time as Mr. Dolley's paper on the Peterborough penny. The present essay has never been read in its printed form before the Society, but it may be remembered that when Mr. Dolley read his paper at the April 1955 meeting, I exhibited the Stamford penny now described, and made some tentative remarks on its significance. The exigencies of conscription prevented earlier publication, but I have now had time to approach the question more fully, and this rather more complete study is now offered. The substance of my remarks, however, made at the April meeting are reproduced here.

⁵ Ibid., p. 71.

⁶ Previously in the Roth collection; B.M.C. Norman Kings, footnote to p. clxiv.

and Hedon.²

There are, however, two Norman pennies which are attributed to Peterborough on more substantial grounds: they are of William the Conqueror, B.M.C. type II, and read on the reverse LEOFPINE ON BVR(1), the one being in the British Museum,³ and the other in Mr. Elmore Jones's cabinet. Dr. G. C. Brooke himself disallowed Wells's attribution and prefers Barnstaple⁴ in the Norman Kings. Major P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton also disagreed with Wells, but suggested Bury St. Edmunds.⁵ Now Wells put up an adequate case for Burgh, or Peterborough, and it may now be considered an opportune time to restate briefly his argument, especially in the light of the new evidence, albeit circumstantial, of the abbatical symbol of an annulet on the Stamford coins both of the Ethelred period, and of Henry I.6

Leofwine, the moneyer's name which signs the putative Peterborough pennies of William I, is first found at Stamford early in the reign of Edward the Confessor: his coins continue without a break from that time throughout the reigns of Edward, Harold II and William I, down to B.M.C. type VI inclusive. There is, however, one notable omission, William I B.M.C. type II. The mule of B.M.C. types I/II is recorded for Stamford, but no true type II penny of Leofwine is known: unless, of course, the BVRI coins were struck by the same man. If Leofwine moved to Peterborough, the Stamford mint would not produce any of his coins during his period of absence. Type II, datable to about 1069-72, would cover the historical occasion to which the Peterborough coins may be best ascribed; that is, the stormy arrival of Abbot Turold⁷ in 1070. Such is Wells's case for the identity of the BVRI Leofwine with Stamford's moneyer of that name. Actually Spicer⁸ lists a Stamford penny of Leofwine, type II, but gives no provenance. If it does exist, it is of the highest rarity and would not invalidate Wells's "proof". Leofwine may as well have returned before as after the introduction of type II.

Whether Wells's hypothesis finds favour or not, there is much to be said for it. Though only a die-identity with a Stamford coin can prove its validity beyond doubt, I must say that, to my mind, it is, at the

least, a probability.

This digression is not as irrelevant as may be supposed. For, if we accept that there are coins of Peterborough under William I, the following situation emerges. A small proportion of the Stamford

² Ibid. xxvi. 28. ¹ B.N.J. xxv. 119.

³ Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum, Norman Kings, ii. 15 and pl. iv, no. 1. ⁴ It will be remembered that coins found at Beaworth in 1833 of the PAXS type (B.M.C. viii) were supposed to be of Peterborough as reading SEPORD ON BVRDI, but Lawrence was undoubtedly correct to read these as BARDI for Barnstaple, under which mint Brooke describes them, N.K. ii. 95.

⁵ B.N.J. ix. 143.

⁶ F. Elmore Jones, "New Light on the Abbot of Peterborough in the Norman Period", B.N.J. xxvii. 179.

7 The Laud Chronicle, Garmonsway, p. 205.

8 "The Coinage of William I and II", Num. Chron., 1904, p. 278.

coins of Edward the Martyr and Ethelred II's first type have the symbol of an annulet in the reverse field. In the following type, when the abbot is known to have opened his private mint at Medeshamstede, no annulet is found on Stamford coins. Analogously, at the only other period when Peterborough coins were produced, namely Norman times, an annulet is again found at the Stamford mint on the coin(s) of one moneyer, Leftien, in B.M.C. type XIV of Henry I.

In this case, I believe, as did Wells, that the annulet at Stamford was the symbol of the Abbot of Peterborough's money. For the Edward the Martyr and Ethelred II coins, this is virtually proved by a coin of the *First Small Cross* type of Ethelred, reading PVLFGAR M⁻O STAM*, and having the annulet on the reverse roughly erased in the die. When the mint was established at Medeshamstede, there was no need to strike Stamford coins for the abbot, or to use an annulet to distinguish them. This mark, as evidenced by Wulfgar's coin, was

therefore removed from the design.

The definite association of the annulet with the Abbot of Peterborough under Edward the Martyr and Ethelred II notably strengthens the case for Mr. Elmore Jones's ideas on the annulet-marked pence of Henry I, type XIV. Indeed, it may seem to some, as it does to myself, that the theory is thereby proved. Mr. Elmore Jones¹ has mentioned the parallel instances which confirm his view: there are the renowned London pence of Edward I with an annulet on the breast attributed to the Abbot of Reading, the almost invariable annulet on Edward the Confessor's York pence (which, though not abbatical, is certainly ecclesiastical), and the annulet on the Edward the Martyr and Ethelred Stamford pence, which is discussed above. Mr. Elmore Jones did not, of course, know of the erased annulat of Ethelred II, which is perhaps the most conclusive point. It might even have been expected that some Norman coins of Stamford would have the abbot's annulet. In connexion with the Abbot of St. Augustine's known privilege of one moneyer at Canterbury, and of the two Canterbury annulet-marked type XIV pence of Henry I published by Mr. Elmore Jones,² it may be felt that little doubt remains. This, in turn, supports the probability of Leofwine of Stamford having coined at Peterborough in 1070, if it is known that the abbot was exercising his privilege in Norman times.

Since the Stamford coin with the erased annulet is of Ethelred's earliest issue it may be that the Peterborough mint was opened during the striking of that type. A Medeshamstede signature must be looked for in the First Small Cross type: perhaps the coin purporting to read PIZTAN M^O MEDEL, of which Mr. Dolley discovered a notice³ with no mention of type, is of the First Small Cross type. Anyway, it may be suggested that the Peterborough Mint was opened before the inception of the Hand type, that is before 985

¹ F. Elmore Jones, op. cit., p. 179.

² Ibid., pp. 180-1

³ "A New Anglo-Saxon Mint—Medeshamstede", B.N.J. xxvii. 65; refers to Num. Chron. (Proc.), 1850, p. 6.

which Mr. Dolley believes to be the approximate date for Hand's introduction. The basis for his chronology is the supposition that Ethelred's six main types (First Small Cross, Hand, Crux, Long Cross, Helmet, Final Small Cross) lasted for six years each. Now, though I would not question the idea of a regular type change, which quite possibly did recur every six years, I think there is some danger of over-simplification. After all, the system was in its infancy, and there is some indication of experiment. For instance, we have no clear-cut type division as in Norman times, when the system was firmly established: there are two very definite divisions of the Hand type alone, and two very rare odd types, the Benediction and Agnus Dei. Furthermore, the First Small Cross issue is merely a continuation of Edward the Martyr's; more substantial, admittedly, than the brief overlap of, say, Hand and Sceptre into Edward the Confessor's reign before the introduction of Pacx. But First Small Cross really is rare, and I rather doubt if it lasted six years until 985.2

Also, type-changing was evidently a difficult, costly, and unpopular operation. There is a good example at the end of *Crux*. There was, it seems, a period of dithering, while uninspired die-cutters at London and Canterbury were producing the *Small Crux* type (Hildebrand type Ca), and Wessex was even reviving *Small Cross.*³ This is unlikely to have happened before the end of the regular *Crux*'s statutory period, of six years or whatever it was. Possibly then, if *Crux*, and maybe *Hand* and other types exceeded six years each, if only unintentionally, *First Small Cross* might not have to be allotted six years. On extant specimens, a shorter period would, I feel, be a little more satisfactory. In that case the opening of the Medeshamstede Mint, if it occurred before the beginning of *Hand*, might be as early as c. 982.

Certainly I believe that the erased annulet coin of Stamford is comparatively early in the *First Small Cross* type, even if the above very tentative comments on chronology should be wide of the mark. For the penny is, in fact, from a very old reverse die. The present coin is the *fourth* known type to have been struck from the one reverse die; this very fact alone is, I think, sufficiently extraordinary to justify its publication in full. The four coins are:

^{1 &}quot;The Sack of Wilton in 1003 and the Chronology of the 'Long Cross' and 'Helmet' Types of Ethelred II", published in Nordisk Numismatisk Unions Medlemsblad, May 1954.

² Mr. Dolley points out that if the type was changed in March 980 it would be possible to accept two Hand types each running for six years with a consequential change from Long Cross to Helmet early in 1004 (cf. Wilton/Salisbury). This scheme would unite the Small Cross issues of Edgar, Edward, and Ethelred into one six-year period, 974-80. The apparent lack of any Second Hand type coins from Lincoln, and the great rarity of the type at York (Hild. 696 seems to be the only specimen) may argue against two substantive Hands. But there may be some other reason for this lack of Northern Second Hand type coins; certainly there is a clear division elsewhere, particularly in East Anglia, where the First Hand pence are of curious, local style.

³ R. H. M. Dolley and F. Elmore Jones, A Preliminary Note on an Intermediate Small Cross Type of Aethelraed II in Relation to the Late Varieties of Crux, Spink's Numismatic Circular, lxiv, 1956, p. 4. I am grateful to Mr. Elmore Jones and Mr. Dolley for their helpful comments for this paper, but it must be understood that it is not necessarily their views that are represented.

110 The Stamford Mint and Connexion with Abbot of Peterborough

I. Edward the Martyr. +EADPEARD REX ANGLOR +PVLFGARM OSTAM.

No annulet on reverse. (Formerly W.C.W.)¹

- 2. Edward the Martyr. Same dies as I with annulet added in reverse field at 7 o'clock. (British Museum.)2
- 3. Ethelred II. +ÆÐELREDREXANGLO Same reverse die with annulet. (B.M., found at Chester.)3
- 4. Ethelred II. From the same dies as 3, with the annulet erased from the reverse in the die. (B.H.I.H.S.)4

In the context of the opening of the Medeshamstede mint, the significance of the new coin, no. 4, has been suggested above. It is nevertheless noteworthy that so many varieties should all have been struck from it, perhaps a record for any medieval die. I said above I thought the coin was comparatively early in the first type of Ethelred: its past history, as here tabulated, certainly implies that. The figure (Pl. XIV, 8) shows the worn and rusty condition into which it had by then deteriorated. If the coin was struck towards 985, that could involve it in an exceptionally long-and demonstrably continuous-period of use. It does not seem likely. Incidentally, in addition to the above listed types, Wulfgar struck at Stamford in Edgar's last type, without annulet, and in Ethelred's second (Hand)

¹ Wells no. 56a, B.N.J. xxiv. 69, fig. 15.

<sup>No. 56, B.N.J. xxiii. 28 and xxii, pl. II, fig. 28.
No. 8, B.N.J. xxiv. 77 and xxii, pl. III, fig. 34
Illustrated in this Journal (Pl. XIV, 8), for the first time. It has been suggested that the annulet was removed from the coin, not the die. Those who have examined the coin.</sup> carefully under a glass, however, all now agree that the die has been altered.

THE SEQUENCE OF ANGLO-SAXON COIN TYPES, 1030-50 By Peter Seaby

APART from a division of opinion regarding the relative order of some of the types of Æthelred II, it has been generally accepted until comparatively recently that a definitive type sequence had been established for the early English coinage from the time of Edgar's currency reform in 974/5 until the Norman Conquest and beyond. The work that had been done on this series by Hildebrand, Evans, Hawkins, Carlyon-Britton, Brooke, and Parsons was collated by Dr. G. C. Brooke in his English Coins published in 1932. For the period from Cnut's first main type up to the fifth type of Edward the Confessor, Brooke had summarized the coinage in the following sequence:

CNUT

Br. 2 Quatrefoil type (B.M.C. VIII, Hildebrand E)

Br. 3 Helmet type (B.M.C. XIV, Hild. G)
Br. 4 Short Cross type (B.M.C. XVI, Hild. H)

Br. 4 Short Cross type (B.M.C. XVI, Hild. H)
Br. 5 Arm-and-Sceptre type (B.M.C. XVII, Hild. I)

Br. 6 Jewel Cross type (B.M.C. XX, Hild. K)

HAROLD I

Br. I Jewel Cross type (B.M.C. I, Hild. A)

Br. 2 Fleur-de-lis type (B.M.C. V and Vc, Hild. Ba and B)

HARTHACNUT

Br. I Jewel Cross type (B.M.C. I and Ia, Hild. A and Aa)

Br. 2 Arm-and-Sceptre type (B.M.C. II, Hild. B)

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR

Br. I Quadrilateral-and-Trefoil type^I (B.M.C. III, Hild. C)

Br. 2 Radiate Crown type (B.M.C. I, Hild. A)

Br. 3 Short Cross (or Small Flan) type (B.M.C. II, Hild. B) Br. 4 "Pacx" type (B.M.C. IV and IVa, Hild. D and Da)

In his paper on the coinage of Harthacnut² the late H. A. Parsons separated the Arm-and-Sceptre coins into two groups. Those with the left-facing bust (B.M.C. I) he attributed to Harthacnut's restoration in 1040. Mr. R. H. M. Dolley, in his paper published in the last volume of the Journal entitled "The 'Jewel-Cross' Coinage of Ælfgifu-Emma, Harthacnut, and Harold I", effectively demonstrated that all the coins of the Jewel Cross type were one main issue, irrespective of the fact that they bear the names CNUT, HARTHACNUT, and HAROLD. He assembled convincing arguments to show that the Jewel Cross coins bearing Cnut's name were a posthumous issue probably put out under the authority of Emma, Cnut's widow and the mother of Harthacnut, as were also the coins bearing the name of her son. Mr. Dolley was also able to prove by means of die-links that the so-called Cnut "Pacx" coins (B.M.C. XII, Hild. F) were actually mules struck during the

¹ Hereafter referred to as the "Trefoil" type.

² "The Anglo-Saxon Coins of Harthacnut", Brit. Num. Journ. vol. xi, pp. 21-55.

reign of Edward the Confessor, i.e. they were coins with Edward's "Pacx" type reverses but obverses of the Arm-and-Sceptre type struck in Cnut's name.1

This now left a situation in which Cnut's Arm-and-Sceptre coins were presumed to be the last type of his reign and separated from Harthacnut's Arm-and-Sceptre coins by an interval of five years; and, if Edward's "Pacx" type were really the fourth type of his reign, then the Cnut Arm-and-Sceptre/Edward "Pacx" mules would have been made at least thirteen years after the Cnut Arm-and-Sceptre coins ceased to be minted and after six intervening types had been issued. These mules were not issued by merely one moneyer or at a single mint, but are known of six moneyers at three widely separated mints.

The present writer was first led to make a serious study of the sequence of types when he noticed that the moneyer Sægrim of Thetford was known to Carson² only for a single type of Cnut and a single type of Edward the Confessor, i.e. Cnut Arm-and-Sceptre and Edward "Pacx" type. This was strange, for Sægrim was not a common name and thus it seemed unlikely that two moneyers of the same name were concerned; and though it would have been quite possible for coins of the six intervening types to have remained unknown for a moneyer at one of the smaller mints, it appeared odd for such a thing to happen at Thetford which was a fairly prolific mint.

From H. de S. Shortt's survey of the mints of Wiltshire³ it was found that the same thing occurred at Salisbury—the moneyer Wineman (also an uncommon name) was known only for Cnut's Armand-Sceptre type and Edward the Confessor's "Pacx" type. But in this instance a Wineman was known at the neighbouring mint of

Wilton for Brooke's first type of the Confessor.

Was it conceivable that the Cnut Arm-and-Sceptre coins and the "Pacx" coins of Edward were consecutive types linked by the Cnut/ "Pacx" mules? This at first seemed hardly likely, for it would mean completely rearranging the first four types of Edward's reign and attributing a coinage bearing Cnut's name to a period six or seven years after his death. On the other hand if this was so then the Cnut and Harthacnut Arm-and-Sceptre coins together with the very rare Armand-Sceptre coins bearing Edward's name could be treated as one main issue just as Mr. Dolley had treated the Jewel Cross coins of Harthacnut, Cnut, and Harold I.

That Cnut's third main type—the Short Cross issue—was immediately followed by the Jewel Cross coinages is indicated by the existence of a Jewel Cross coin of Ægelwine of York at Stockholm⁴

4 Hild., Cnut, type Ka, no. 440.

I That Hildebrand himself had had second thoughts about his original sequence is evident from certain remarks in the 1881 edition of his catalogue. Of the Cnut "Pacx" coins he says: "As Cnut's name on both these coins (H. 1734 and H. 3480) is misspelt (CNUTIS, CNUTIDD) we have reason to suspect they are of later manufacture and that they are combined with dies of some of Edward the Confessor's coins."

2 R. A. G. Carson, "The Mint of Thetford", Num. Chron., 1949, pp. 189–236.

3 "The Mints of Wiltshire", Num. Chron., 1948, pp. 169–87.

which has a Cnut Short Cross obverse (**P1. VI, 2**). This sequence is borne out by the coin struck by the moneyer Leifinc of London which bears the name "HAROLD", but which is otherwise a normal Cnut Short Cross coin (**P1. VI, 1**). This coin is one of the series of transitional coins which are of the last type of one reign but bear the name of the succeeding king. They are known for Æthelred II, Cnut, Harold I, Harthacnut, and Edward the Confessor.

In order to assemble sufficient data to check the correct sequence of types it has been necessary to make a record of all moneyers known to have struck coins between 1018 and 1052. This has been compiled from the British Museum Catalogue; papers dealing with specific mints or finds published in the Journal and the Numismatic Chronicle, together with intermittent notices of unpublished coins; the main English coin sales back to 1896; Hildebrand's Catalogue of the Anglo-Saxon coins in the Royal Collection at Stockholm; Nordman's Anglo-Saxon coins found in Finland; the 1876 Catalogue of the Thomsen collection now at Copenhagen and the 1928 catalogue of the L. E. Bruun Bequest; the catalogue of Anglo-Saxon coins at Uppsala University; the hoards of Haagerup, Ryfylke, and Stora Sojdeby; and information from Dr. Georg Galster regarding certain unpublished coins in the Royal Collection at Copenhagen and from A. Markova, the Director of West European Numismatics at the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad, concerning Anglo-Saxon coins from Russian hoards.

Without doubt there are some errors and a number of omissions; there must, for instance, be many unpublished coins in the Scandinavian coin hoards which have not yet been catalogued. Incomplete as these records must be, they have produced some interesting information. They have shown for instance that besides the moneyers Wineman of Salisbury and Sægrim of Thetford, who are only known for the Cnut Arm-and-Sceptre and Edward "Pacx" types, another moneyer, Edward of Lincoln, is also only known for these two types. They have also shown that there are eight moneyers known for more than one of Edward the Confessor's early types and also the Cnut Arm-and-Sceptre issue but for no other type prior to 1042.

Bruton Godric Southwark Ælfric London Brihtwine Stamford Ælfeh Nottingham Leofsige Wallingford Brihtric Shrewsbury Wulmær York Ulfcil

It is conceivable that at some of the smaller mints coins of all the "intervening" types could have remained undiscovered but it is hardly possible that this could have happened at the mints of York and London. The case for dating the "Cnut" Arm-and-Sceptre coins to around 1041/2 is strengthened when we find that five other moneyers are only known for "Cnut" Arm-and-Sceptre and Harthacnut Arm-and-Sceptre coins:

Leicester Wulfwine Lincoln Ælfric

B.M.C., Harold I, type IIIa, no. 65.

London Leofred Brun, Godric Calic Southwark Brunred

A further group of moneyers from six different mints are known for early types of Edward the Confessor and both Harthacnut and "Cnut" Arm-and-Sceptre but for no coins of Harold's Fleur-de-lis type, the Iewel Cross issues, or any earlier type:

> Bristol Æthestan Exeter Dodda Cambridge Godsune Huntingdon Ælfwine Chester Bruninc Lincoln Thurgrim

What finally establishes the approximate date of issue of the "Cnut" Arm-and-Sceptre coins beyond any reasonable doubt is the



discovery of reverse die-links with Harthacnut Arm-and-Scepts coins. So far three die-links have been traced, but it is possible the many more will be found:

London.	Edric	(Harthacnut A	Lockett Coll.		
London.	Edit	l "Cnut"	,,	,,	Hild. 2264
	Leofred	(Harthacnut	,,	,,	Hild. 125
		("Cnut"	,,	,,	Copenhagen
Stamford	Brunwine	(Harthacnut	,,	,,	Hild. 172
Stannord.	Diunwine	("Cnut"	,,	,,	Hild. 3236

Though it is conceivable that the "Cnut" and Harthacnut Arand-Sceptre coins were issued concurrently, it seems far more like that those with the name CNVT are the later issue as, though the are no links between the coins of Harthacnut and Edward the Co fessor, there are eight different mules known between the "Cni

Arm-and-Sceptre and Edward's "Pacx" issues. Some idea of the comparative rarity of the two Arm-and-Sceptre issues can be had from the following figures:

Hildebrand	121	with name	e Harthacnut	and 207	with nam	ie Cnut
B.M.C.	18	,,	,,	22	,,	,,
Thomsen collection	7	,,	,,	12	,,	,,
Haagerup Find	21	,,	,,	29	,,	,,
City Find	I	,,	,,	3	,,	,,
Ryfylke Find	2	,,	,,	5	,,	,,
Stora Sojdeby Find	l —	,,	,,	7	"	,,

This makes a total of 170 Harthacnut and 285 "Cnut" coins, or a proportion of rather more than three Arm-and-Sceptre coins bearing the name "Cnut" to every two bearing the name "Harthacnut". One is tempted, therefore, to divide their period of issue in a similar manner, assigning those with the name "Harthacnut" to 1040-1, and those with the name Cnut from 1041 until Edward's coronation in 1043. We can also probably assign to the nine months between Harthacnut's death and Edward's coronation the rare transitional coins of Arm-and-Sceptre type which bear Edward's name, sometimes in a very blundered form. These are the pieces that Carlyon-Britton called his Type I of Edward the Confessor, but they are so rare that they cannot be considered to have been a general issue. Besides the published coins of this type which are recorded for the mints of Bristol, Southwark, and Stamford, the writer has recently located at Stockholm other Arm-and-Sceptre coins bearing Edward's name struck at Oxford by the moneyer Godwine and at York by the moneyer Grimulf.² These two coins are listed as Cnut Arm-and-Sceptre coins by Hildebrand who described the obverses as "barbarous", but the king's name is spelt EDEE and EA and in style and inscription they closely resemble the Edward Arm-and-Sceptre coin of Bristol.

There seems to be no significance in the geographical distribution of the mints which struck the two Arm-and-Sceptre issues. Twenty-seven mints are known to have issued coins with the names of both Harthacnut and "Cnut", 10 are known only for coins of Harthacnut, and 16 known only for coins with the name "Cnut"; but the mints of all three groups are spread throughout the country. The remaining mints, mostly small towns, may have struck one or both issues, but if so the coins have so far remained undiscovered. However, one interesting point has emerged—no Arm-and-Sceptre coins with the name "Harthacnut" are known for the mints of Canterbury or York. The only coin which has been attributed to Canterbury is a very double-struck piece at Stockholm of the moneyer Leofnoth. Mr. Dolley examined this coin on his last visit to Stockholm and reports that it is definitely not a coin of Canterbury but was almost certainly struck by Leofnoth of Gloucester. After London and Lincoln the York mint probably had an output as great as any other mint in England and if coins of Harthacnut had been struck there, one would expect them to

See list of types and connecting links, pp. 134-5.

² See below, p. 134.

be known. Though it could be placing too much significance on what may be only a coincidence, it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that the mints of Canterbury and York at this period were entirely under the control of the Church authorities, and that ecclesiastical rights to mint money were either not reaffirmed or were actually withdrawn following Harthacnut's restoration. The mints so far known to have issued Arm-and-Sceptre coins are given below. It is only to be expected, however, that more mints will be shown to have struck both varieties of Arm-and-Sceptre coins when more of the Scandinavian hoards have been examined and published:

Harthacnut and "Cnut" Arm-and-Sceptre coins.

Bristol, Cambridge, Chester, Derby, Dorchester, Dover, Exeter, Gloucester, Hereford, Huntingdon, Ilchester, Ipswich, Leicester, Lewes, Lincoln, London, Norwich, Nottingham, Oxford, Shrewsbury, Southwark, Thetford, Wallingford, Winchester, Worcester.

Harthacnut Arm-and-Sceptre coins only.

Bedford, Buckingham, Cricklade, Hamtun, Langport, Malmesbury, Shaftesbury, Taunton, Wareham, Winchcombe.

"Cnut" Arm-and-Sceptre coins only.

Axbridge, Bath, Bridport, Bruton, Canterbury, Chichester, Colchester, "Gothanbyrig", Hastings, Lydford, Salisbury, Totnes, Warwick, Watchet, Wilton, York.

So far the writer has only dealt with the numismatic evidence for assigning the "Cnut" Arm-and-Sceptre coins to the period 1041-2. The reason for the reversion to the name CNUT is not immediately apparent. It may be that the name "Cnut" was used as a contraction for "Harthacnut". Alternatively, there may have been a political motive for the reversion to the name of a dead king—a dead emperor one might almost call him—and one whose character and influence far overshadowed those of his two sons. Has this change of name any connexion with the return to England of Edward, son of Æthelred and half-brother of Harthacnut? He had been in exile in Normandy since Cnut's accession, but in 1041 he was invited to Harthacnut's

If this first suggestion is the correct one it may also have some bearing on quite a different problem—the correct attribution of the Viking coinage struck approximately one hundred and fifty years earlier with the inscription "Cnut Rex" and the mint names EBRAICE CIVI, CVNNETTI, and QVENTOVICI. We have no literary evidence for the existence of any Viking leader named Cnut who was active in this country at this period. On the other hand a king named Harthacnut was ruling in Denmark at the end of the ninth century. If the names Harthacnut and Cnut were alternative forms used by one man, then it would appear quite within the bounds of possibility that the leaders of the Danish army operating in England during the latter part of the ninth century issued coins bearing the name of the king of the Danish fatherland, to whom they doubtless owed loyalty and possibly paid some form of scat. Is it conceivable that the EBRAICE and CVNNETTI issues come from the areas of the two great settlements of the Danish army which are recorded by the Saxon Chronicle, the first in Yorkshire in 876 and the second in East Anglia in 880? It is highly probable that the EBRAICE coins were struck at York, but the mint name CVNNETTI has produced various attributions, ranging from Chester-le-Street in Durham to Condé in France. If an East Anglian location was required, it would be tempting to suggest Knettishall, four miles from Thetford (D.B., Ghenetessala and Gnedeshalla). However, further speculation on this problem is beyond the scope of this present paper.

court and one version of the Saxon Chronicle states that "he was sworn in as king". The passage is ambiguous. It could mean that Harthacnut recognized him as his heir or even made him joint-king, just as Magnus made Harold Hardrada joint king in Norway a few years later, but as this passage is omitted from other versions of the Chronicle and is not repeated by later chroniclers, it may only refer to the fact that he was *later* sworn in as king (i.e. after Harthacnut's death). However the *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, which was written about 1042, also says Harthacnut asked Edward to come and hold the kingdom with him. If Edward was joint-king, or sub-king, for a year it might have been considered appropriate to issue coins bearing the

name of the father and step-father of the two monarchs.

Another possibility is that the coins with Cnut's name were issued immediately following the death of Harthacnut in July 1042. Though Edward was immediately acclaimed as king in London, both William of Malmesbury and Florence of Worcester suggest that he was reluctant to accept the throne and only did so after much persuasion by Earl Godwine. This may be true. It is more than likely that the Danish inhabitants of the north and east were opposed to the Saxon restoration. William of Malmesbury refers to an assembly convened at Gillingham by Earl Godwine at which he caused Edward to be received as king. He goes on to say that some yielded to Godwine's authority, "some were influenced by presents, others admitted the right of Edward; and the few who resisted in defiance of justice and equity were carefully marked and afterwards driven out of England". In any event, Edward was not crowned until Easter 1043, nine months after Harthacnut's death, and it may well be that the dies for his "Pacx" coinage were not ready until some little time after his coronation. If the succession was uncertain for some months—and there were other claimants—coins bearing Cnut's name might well have served as a useful stop-gap during the interregnum. However, if they were only issued for a period of months one would expect them to be rarer than the Harthacnut coins of the same type.

It is now necessary to deal with the coins of Edward the Confessor, bearing in mind that an explanation has to be found for the Cnut Arm-and-Sceptre/Edward "Pacx" mules. The first five types of Edward have one thing in common; they all portray the king with a clean-shaven face, whereas on his later coins he is bearded. One of these first five types, the Expanding Cross type, is linked by mules with the bearded Helmet type, so there can be little doubt that Expanding Cross is Edward's fifth type. It is the sequence of the four

preceding types, therefore, which needs to be re-examined.

Head, in his paper on the Chancton Find,² follows the sequence of B. E. Hildebrand³ for the early types of Edward the Confessor, but he says that as he did not understand Swedish he was unaware of the reasons for Hildebrand's sequence! When Hildebrand compiled his

¹ Version "C" (Brit. Mus. Cott. Tiber. B. i.). ² Num. Chron. 1867, pp. 63-126. ³ Anglosachsiska Mynt i Svenska Kongl. Myntkabinettet, Stockholm, 1846.

1846 catalogue the Swedish Royal Collection contained only 290 coins of Edward the Confessor and the Radiate and Trefoil coins were more numerous than the "Pacx" coins. In his 1881 catalogue, which lists nearly 900 coins of Edward, Hildebrand explains that he keeps to the enumeration of his 1846 catalogue in order to save confusion, but he does point out in the text that his types "A" and "D" are the most numerous in Swedish hoards and it could safely be assumed that they were struck at the beginning of Edward's reign. Hildebrand refers to type A (Radiate) as the commonest type, but this was only because he had divided the "Pacx" coins into a main type D and a variety Da which he listed separately amongst the varieties. If the 48 Da "Pacx" coins are added to the 168 D coins this gives a total of 216 different "Pacx" coins at Stockholm in 1881 compared with 205 Radiate, 133 Trefoil, 123 Short Cross, and only 56 Expanding Cross coins. As the flow of English coins reaching Scandinavia dwindles appreciably after Edward's accession and practically ceases after the issue of Edward's fifth type an arrangement of coins in descending numerical order

should give the correct sequence of types.

The British Museum Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins also follows Hildebrand's 1846 enumeration of types, completely ignoring Hildebrand's remarks in his 1881 text. Philip Carlyon-Britton, however, in his paper on Edward the Confessor published in 1905, reversed, quite rightly, the position of Trefoil and Short Cross types on the evidence of muling between them. Though Carlyon-Britton's theory of mules being authorized currency for a short period following the introduction of a new type is no longer tenable, he was more or less correct when he stated that "in the case of a mule the obverse is always of an earlier type than (and, generally speaking, is of the next preceding type to) the type of its reverse". Carlyon-Britton gave the rare Edward Arm-and-Sceptre coins as the earliest coins of Edward's reign, but he made a most unfortunate error when he cited a coin of Osferth of Lincoln as a mule between the Edward Arm-and-Sceptre coins and the next issue in his sequence—the Radiate type. In fact, the obverse of this coin (Pl. VII, 8) shows no arm and is a typical late "Pacx" obverse (typical, that is, except that the legend commences to the left of the bust instead of at the top of the coin), and this coin is important as it is part of the evidence which shows that "Pacx" type must come before Radiate type.

Carlyon-Britton made another error when he cited and illustrated a coin of Winterfuhel of York as being a mule of the "Pacx" and Expanding Cross types. This is actually a pure Expanding Cross coin and only varies from the normal in the drapery of the bust which in pattern is similar to the Jewel Cross coins. This is a normal variation of the northern die-workshop and was used at the mints of Lincoln, York, Leicester, and Norwich. To confuse the issue still further there are Expanding Cross coins with "Pacx" type obverses or, at least, obverses which are copied from "Pacx" coins, but these are by no

[&]quot;Edward the Confessor and his Coins", Num. Chron. 1905, pp. 179-205.

means rare and are known of Stamford, York, and Lincoln—all mints served by the northern die-cutting centre. We must, therefore, look on them as an official issue and not as unauthorized coins which most mules of this period appear to be. Some of these coins appear to have been struck from "Pacx" dies that must have been stored unused and issued at a later date for reasons of economy or necessity or through some irregularity at the die-issuer's office. Others, of different style, may be from dies made just prior to their issue, but copied from original "Pacx" dies. This seems to be borne out by the fact that three of the moneyers who struck these so-called "IV/V mules", Arfra of Stamford and Swertcol and Winterfuhel of York, are not known for true "Pacx" coins—in fact, they had not begun work at the time of the "Pacx" issue."

H. A. Parsons, in his paper "The First Authorized Issue of Edward the Confessor", suggested that the Trefoil type was the first main issue of Edward's reign, and he pointed out, quite rightly, that Carlyon-Britton's first type was not a main type, but merely a transitional issue of the Arm-and-Sceptre coinage. Brooke follows Parson's sequence in English Coins. Parson's main line of reasoning was quite logical; he pointed out that the Trefoil type was the only issue of Edward the Confessor which did not have the annulet symbol on the coins of the York mint; and he went on to suggest that the omission of this symbol on only one type constituted almost conclusive evidence that that type was the initial issue of the reign and that the annulet was first introduced on Edward's second issue. Notwithstanding this argument, all the other evidence points to the fact that the Trefoil type is the third main issue of the reign, and the reason for the omission of the annulet on the York coins of this type must, for the present, remain a mystery. Parsons brought forward in support of his theory two mules which he suggested linked the Trefoil type with Harthacnut's Arm-and-Sceptre coins on the one hand and the Radiate coins on the other. The first mule he cited (PI. VII, 6) does not have a Trefoil obverse—it has an early "Pacx" obverse, and the reverse is more likely to have been used originally with a "Cnut" than a Harthacnut Arm-and-Sceptre obverse. This coin has a single line diadem and the obverse inscription EDPERD REXX: is recorded by Hildebrand for nineteen "Pacx" obverses whereas it is only given for one Trefoil coin. The lettering, which is small and neat, is typical of the "Pacx" type.

The second mule is a coin of the moneyer Othin of York (PI. VII, 11) and has a Radiate obverse and Trefoil reverse, and, while it obviously links the two types, it surely indicates that the Radiate type comes before Trefoil type for as a general rule the obverse of a mule must be the earlier; the one important exception being at the beginning of a reign when mules sometimes occur with an old reverse die used with the obverse of the new king. The existence of "Cnut" Arm-and-Sceptre/Edward "Pacx" mules, "Pacx"/Radiate mules, Radiate/Trefoil mules, Trefoil/Short Cross and Trefoil/Expanding Cross mules

¹ See table of moneyers, pp. 144 & 146. ² Brit. Num. Journ., vol. xx, pp. 95-104.

must, therefore, affirm the sequence—Arm-and-Sceptre, "Pacx",

Radiate, Trefoil, Short Cross, Expanding Cross.¹

The errors which have been made in the attribution of the early mules of Edward the Confessor are interesting as they show the difficulties which have existed in determining at a glance the type of some coins from the obverse alone. The obverses of the first five types of Edward the Confessor have much in common; the typical coins of each type are easily distinguishable, but as the style of each die-sinker varies so much and the peculiarities of one type overlap on to coins of succeeding issues it is sometimes not immediately apparent to which type an obverse die belongs. Some coins of the Trefoil issue, for example, have a single line for the diadem as on Cnut's last type and many of the "Pacx" coins, but the normal coins of this type have a double-diadem with semi-circular ends similar to that on Harold's Fleur-de-lis coins. The Short Cross coins have three different types of drapery and some of the Expanding Cross coins copy the bust of the Jewel Cross coins. These variations in design seem to underline the fact that for the purpose of administrative control the obverse was of

secondary importance to the reverse.

Mr. R. H. M. Dolley, in his recent article "The Regional Distribution of Dies in the West Country, c. 1017-1023",2 has demonstrated what a wide field of research is opening to students of Anglo-Saxon numismatics, and it seems probable that in the future as much work will be concentrated on a single coin type for a regional group of mints as has hitherto been given to the whole coinage of a single mint. It is certain that with the necessary application the numismatist will be able to assemble data of immense, and as yet unrealized, value to the historian. The coinage of the Danelaw mints should prove particularly fruitful in this respect. Apart from considerations of space, it would be premature at this stage and beyond the scope of this paper to attempt any general survey of Edward's "Pacx" coinage, but a detailed study of this type—the first issue of the restored Anglo-Saxon dynasty—should be of particular value in determining, amongst other things, the extent and speed with which Edward's authority was acknowledged throughout the country. The majority of the Arm-and-Sceptre/" Pacx" mules come from Danish England, and many "Pacx" coins from the Danelaw bear the king's name in a more or less blundered form.³ These coins are too numerous to be merely the local products of moneyers who were fraudulently replacing broken dies with home-made copies. They would seem to indicate a reluctance to acknowledge Edward as the legitimate king.

Evidence as to which is the first main type of Edward the Confessor is provided not only by the "Cnut" Arm-and-Sceptre/Edward "Pacx" mules but also by the moneyers. Besides the three moneyers of Salisbury, Thetford, and Lincoln, already mentioned, who only issued

¹ See list of types and connecting links, p. 132 below.

² The Numismatic Circular, July-August 1956, p. 32. ³ For example, the coin of Ælfeh of Stamford, Hild. 670, Pl. VI, 14.

the "Cnut" Arm-and-Sceptre coins and the "Pacx" type of Edward, there are 22 moneyers who struck more than one type prior to 1042 but whose only type of Edward the Confessor is the "Pacx" type. These are:

Chester Leofwig
Derby Wulfeh
Dover Edwine
Exeter Dodda
Lewes Northman

Lincoln Sumerlida, Swertinc

London Ægelward, Ægelwine, Brungar, Leofric, Wulfgar, Wulstan.

Oxford Ægelric Salisbury Winstan Stamford Thurulf

Winchester Godman, Sæward, Swileman

York Beorn, Swegen

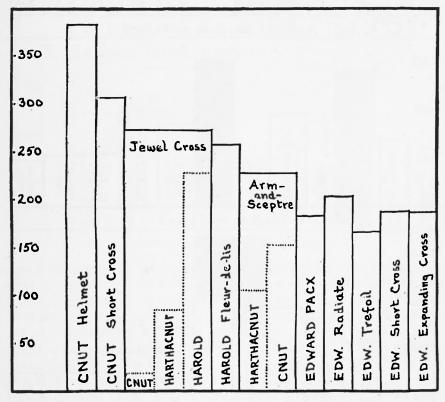
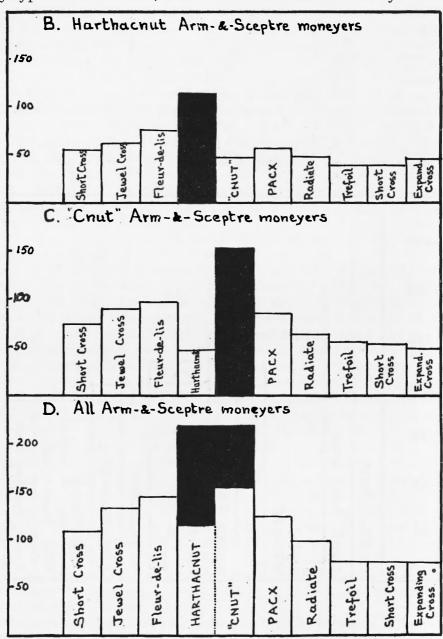


TABLE A. Moneyers recorded for period 1023-53.

Also the moneyer Gillechrist who struck coins of Harold and Harthacnut at Chester is possibly the same Gillechrist who is known only for Edward's "Pacx" type at Tamworth; and the moneyer Dunberd or Thurberd who is only known for Harthacnut Arm-and-Sceptre type at Langport is probably the same moneyer who is only known for Edward's "Pacx" type at the neighbouring mint of Ilchester.

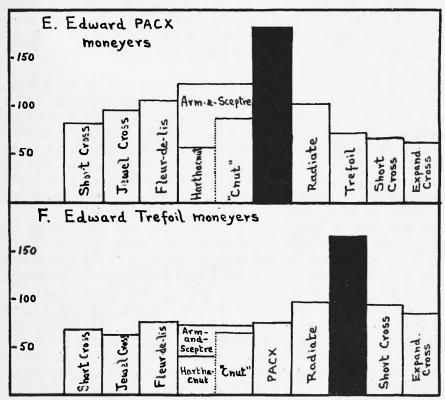
A detailed analysis of the moneyers and the types they issued seems to confirm the new arrangement. In the Tables B-F below four of the key types are dealt with; in each case the number of moneyers known



Tables B, C, and D. Analysis of Moneyers.

for a given type is recorded together with the number of those particular moneyers known for earlier and later types. That the types are now in the correct order is shown by the fact that the majority of the moneyers strike the types immediately preceding and following the

given type, fewer moneyers strike the type-but-one preceding and the type-but-one following and fewer still strike the third types preceding and following. The number of moneyers striking the Harthacnut and "Cnut" Arm-and-Sceptre coins are recorded separately, but the



TABLES E AND F. Analysis of Moneyers.

number of moneyers who struck *either* variety are also given in order to give the correct picture for the type as a whole. Table A shows the number of moneyers recorded for each type from 1023 to 1052, but it is probable that the first three or four types of Edward the Confessor show at a relatively low level due to the scarcity of these coins in English coin hoards and the decline in the number of Anglo-Saxon coins in Scandinavian hoards deposited after 1042, and this must be taken into account when considering Tables B–F.²

A scrutiny of Tables B and C will reveal the similarity of pattern between the Harthacnut and "Cnut" Arm-and-Sceptre issues. Of the 153 moneyers known for the "Cnut" issue only 74 are known to have issued Cnut's last type, but 97 of the moneyers struck Harold's Fleur-de-lis issue and 86 of them are known for Edward's "Pacx" coinage.

¹ This method of checking the sequence of types can only be effective if a substantial proportion of the moneyers have been recorded for each of the types to be dealt with.

² Since these tables were compiled several new types for certain moneyers have been brought to my notice and some coins have been re-attributed to different mints. This has, however, made no appreciable difference to the general picture given by these tables.

As only 64 of the 153 moneyers are recorded for Edward's Radiate type and only 55 for the Trefoil type it would seem clear that the "Pacx" coinage is the initial type of Edward's reign and that the Trefoil type succeeds the Radiate type. In Table D where the two Arm-and-Sceptre coinages are treated as one issue the same features are apparent: of the 229 moneyers who struck either one or both varieties a greater number were working in the Harold Fleur-de-lis and Edward "Pacx" periods than during the period of issue of Cnut's last type or Edward's Trefoil type.

In Table E which deals with the moneyers known for Edward's "Pacx" type it will be seen that a greater number of those moneyers issued the Radiate than the Trefoil type and, what is even more significant, more of the "Pacx" moneyers are known for the Armand-Sceptre coinage than are known for any of Edward's other types. Table F deals with Edward's Trefoil type moneyers and the other types they issued, and it will be seen that more of them were working during the run of the Radiate and Short Cross coinages than during

the "Pacx" or Expanding Cross issues.

The evidence of hoards also provides sufficient grounds for a rearrangement of Edward's types. Most important, as it is the only recorded native find deposited early in the reign of Edward the Confessor, is the Wedmore hoard of 1853, and I am indebted to Mrs. J. S. Strudwick for allowing me access to information she has compiled on this hoard prior to its publication elsewhere in this Journal. Our chief hoards for Edward's reign are the City, Chancton, and Seddlescombe finds which were all deposited during the second half of the eleventh century. The Wedmore hoard, which is believed to have consisted of over 200 coins, seems to have been deposited in 1043 or 1044, for though it contains 128 coins of Cnut, 7 Jewel Cross coins, 19 Fleur-delis coins of Harold I, 20 Arm-and-Sceptre coins (7 with the name HARTHACNUT and 13 with the name CNUT), there were only 5 coins of Edward the Confessor and these were all of the "Pacx" type. Amongst the Scandinavian hoards the Löseback find from Sweden, the Ojä find from Gotland, the Bolbygaard find from Bornholm and the Store Valby find from Denmark each contain the "Pacx" type only of Edward the Confessor. In the case of the Munksjørup find from Denmark I only have information regarding that part of the hoard held in the Royal Collection but the only coins of Edward the Confessor are believed to be an uncertain number of "Pacx" type coins. In the Tornegard hoard (Bornholm) and the Naginscina hoard (U.S.S.R.) only "Pacx" type and Radiate type represent the reign of Edward the Confessor. Though deposited too late to give positive

^I I am indebted to Dr. Georg Galster for supplying details of Anglo-Saxon coins in Danish hoards and to Mr. Dolley who, by courtesy of Dr. N. L. Rasmusson, has been able to consult the official inventories of the Statens Historiska Museum at Stockholm. Other Swedish hoards which may eventually corroborate the existing hoard evidence are the Espinge, Garde, Horningsholm, Lilla Valla, Nykoping, Qvinnegarda, Pilgards (C), Sibbenarfe, and Vanneberga hoards. A detailed report of the Anglo-Saxon coins in these hoards has not yet been published.

TABLE G: Finds

Brooke References	Pre-1016	2	C1	nut	6	нНачћасти	Haro	old I	v Harthacnut	Cru:"	4	Edw	ard the	Confess 3	or 5	La'er issues
Wedmore	I	21	43	64		2	5	19	7	13	5			1		
Loseback (Sweden)	I	I	5	4			I l	3		I	1					
			<u>—100</u> —			I	I	4			I					
Munksjørup (Denmark)	5	3	7	9	I		8	16		3	1					
Bolbygaard (Bornholm)	2	I	3	6			3			I	4		• •			
Store Valby (Denmark)	73	59	198	43			16	14		3	3	• •				
	I	2	3	6	• •		4	1		3	I	1	• •		• •	
	2.5	2	256	1	• •	т.	I	56	2	2	8	1 7	• • •			
I am Jo (Einland)	37	II	356 9	5	• •	1	4	2	1		2	7	Ι.			
Company Ash					::		::	13	::		11	3	53	102		
IIaa wanna (Dan manla)	33	22	62	III	T	16	160	63	21	33	12	12	1 6	17		1
Lodoinoio Dolo II (II C C D)	₩ 33				-325-				>	2	7	5	2	2		
Vikhmyaz (U.S.S.R.)	-				—I28—					2	4	I	10	2		
Desferiles (Morrose)	6	5	12	8		1	6	5	2	5	4	15	15	6	31	
Stora Sojdeby (Gotland)	404	119	101	55			7	9		7	5	13	II	I	5	I
City	9		I	26				2	I	3	37	10	60	73	598	1800 +
Chancton												4	I		137	1500 +

evidence as regards the correct sequence of types there is another English hoard of considerable interest due to the composition of that part of the find held by the National Collection. This is the Campsey Ash hoard of 1830 of which about one-third of the 600-odd coins were purchased by the British Museum some thirty years later. We do not know if that third portion is representative of the hoard as a whole but it is interesting to note that it comprises 13 coins of Harold's Fleur-de-lis type, no Arm-and-Sceptre, but 11 "Pacx", 12 Radiate, 53 Trefoil, and 102 Short Cross coins. The proportion of Edward's types

seems consistent with the new sequence.

The coinage of Denmark also has a bearing on the sequence of Anglo-Saxon coin types. After the death of Harthacnut in 1042 Magnus of Norway invaded Denmark and seized the throne. Many of his coins are copies of Æthelred's, Cnut's, and Harold's types, but some of them are copies of the "Arm-and-Sceptre" coins and one of his moneyers at Lund did copy Edward's "Pacx" type, t and that is the only type of Edward the Confessor which is copied by Magnus. Between 1043 and 1047 Sweyn Estrithson, a grandson of Cnut and a contender for the Danish throne, waged war with Magnus until the latter's death in 1047. During this war coins were struck at Odense which were copies of Edward's Radiate type; some in fact have Edward's name, some have a quite meaningless name and some have the name of Harold Hardrada, the uncle of Magnus who was fighting in Denmark in 1047. On the death of Magnus in 1047 Sweyn became undisputed ruler of Denmark. Most of his coins are copies of Byzantine types or are new native types, but a few of his coins copy Edward's Trefoil, Helmet, and Martlets types.² The Danish coinage therefore seems to corroborate our new sequence of types, and the writer is grateful to Mr. Dolley for first drawing his attention to this aspect of

It should be possible to determine the sequence of Edward's types from a study of the single-moneyer mints. Unfortunately the output of these mints was usually very small and consequently their coins are rare and many types remain unknown. Watchet, a good example of a single-moneyer mint, is of no help in solving the problem as the same moneyer Gocild continues working throughout the period under review. The Malmesbury moneyers would appear to support the new sequence—the moneyer Hunna working from Cnut's second type, through the reigns of Harold and Harthacnut, and striking coins of Edward's "Pacx" and Radiate types. Brihtwine takes over issuing Radiate coins and is also known for Trefoil and Expanding Cross

Mr. H. H. King, in his paper on the Steyning mint,4 was the first to suggest that the Short Cross issue came immediately before Expanding Cross, and he had some reason for believing "Pacx" to be the third

P. Hauberg, Myntforhold og Udmyntningeri Danmark indtil 1146, 1900, Pl. VI, no. 4.

² P. Hauberg, Pl. IX, no. 29 and Pl. X, nos. 46 and 47. ³ See tables of Mints and Moneyers, p. 143. ⁴ "The Steyning Mint", Brit. Num. Journ., 1941-4, pp. 1-7.

of Edward's types. He showed that the moneyer Frithewine was known for Trefoil and "Pacx" types and the moneyer Wulfric for "Pacx", Short Cross, and Expanding Cross, and Mr. King has since brought to our notice a coin of Frithewine of the Radiate type. The evidence of the Malmesbury and Steyning mints is therefore contradictory and this shows the danger of attempting to position types without obtaining confirmation from as many different directions as possible. In view of the other evidence there must be some doubt as to whether Steyning really was a single-moneyer mint at the beginning of Edward's reign. There certainly appear to have been two moneyers, Wulfric and Wulfget, working during the Expanding Cross coinage and Wulfric goes on minting later types.¹

The inscriptions, lettering, and size of flan of Edward's early coins also seem to be of some significance in determining their sequence of issue. The form of the word Rex is of particular interest. The form RECX is typical of the last issue of Cnut: it occurs on 85 per cent. of the Cnut Short Cross coins listed by Hildebrand. On Harthacnut's coins the word is either omitted altogether through lack of space or is abbreviated to R or RE. RECX occurs on 59 per cent. of Harold's Fleur-de-lis type and 57 per cent. of the "Cnut" Arm-and-Sceptre type. It is found on 22 per cent. of Edward's "Pacx" coins and 6 per cent. of the Radiate type, but it is not used on any of the Trefoil coins.²

In his paper on the coinage of Cnut H. A. Parsons remarked on the fact that a round-backed € was used on some of the coins of the Armand-Sceptre type. He concluded that these coins were issued late in Cnut's reign as the ϵ is not found on his earlier types and he went on to say the € "was used on some subsequent types". The absence of this form of the letter on the Jewel Cross and Fleur-de-lis types received no comment. It is, however, found occasionally on the Harthacnut Arm-and-Sceptre coins, Edward's "Pacx' issue and, more rarely, on the Radiate type. The round-backed € does not appear on the Trefoil type at all. This is consistent with the sequence "Pacx"-Radiate-Trefoil. A further pointer to the early issue of the "Pacx" type is the fact that the "Pacx" coins are of two sizes. The earlier coins are struck on the same size flan as the Arm-and-Sceptre coins, but the later coins including all those with a short voided cross on the reverse (B.M.C. IVa, Hild. Da) are struck on a smaller flan the same size as Edward's Radiate issue.

The evidence in favour of a rearrangement of types appears to be overwhelming. The mules, moneyers, hoards, and peculiarities of legend and lettering all point to the same answer and the present writer believes that the new sequence solves far more problems than it creates. Of the exact chronology of the types he is less certain. It would seem likely that the changes of type were made at regular intervals, but it is by no means certain whether a new type was first

¹ See tables of Mints and Moneyers, p. 144.
² Hildebrand describes one Trefoil coin (H. 20) as having the title "Recx". Mr. Dolley has checked this coin at Stockholm recently and reports that it reads "Reex".

issued at New Year, Lady Day, Michaelmas or at some other date. As far as the reign of Edward the Confessor is concerned, ten different types have to be fitted into a period of approximately twenty-four years, and even if Edward's last type was issued only for a few months prior to his death we cannot accord the other nine types an equal period of issue unless each type ran for two years and some odd

months—a most unlikely possibility.¹

Mr. Dolley in the Postscript to his paper on the Jewel Cross coins has already pointed out that if the Arm-and-Sceptre issue was removed from Cnut's reign each of Cnut's main types would seem to run for six years, i.e. the same period of issue as Æthelred's types.² The Jewel Cross, Fleur-de-lis, and Arm-and-Sceptre issues occupy a period of some seven years or so. It seems probable that the period of issue of Edward's types was altered some time during his reign. If the period of issue was two years per type during the earlier part of Edward's reign and was later changed to a period of three years then it may well have been during the year 1051 that the decision was made to change the length of issue. This year the "heregeld" which had been instituted by Æthelred II to pay the crews of a standing fleet of warships was abolished; and it seems likely that it was the vear that the Scandinavian standard of the 18-gr. penny was abandoned in favour of a penny 50 per cent. heavier at 27 gr. This would mean that the first four of Edward's types were issued for two years each, that the light-weight Expanding Cross coins were issued for one year, the heavy weight coins of the same type for two years, and the remainder of Edward's types for a period of three years per type. If this was the case the chronology of types from 1017-66 would be as follows:

Quatrefoil Helmet	Cnut	(Br. 2, <i>B.M.C.</i> VIII, Hild. E) 1017–23 (Br. 3, <i>B.M.C.</i> XIV, Hild. G) 1023–9
Short Cross	HAROLD I	(Br. 4, B.M.C. XVI, Hild. H) 1029–35 (B.M.C. IIIa), 1035
Jewel Cross	("CNUT" HARTHACNUT	(Br. 6, B.M.C. XX, Hild. K) 1035 (Br. 1, B.M.C. I and Ia, Hild. A and Aa) 1036
	(HAROLD I	(Br. 1, B.M.C. I, Hild. A) 1036–7 (Br. 2, B.M.C. V and Vc Hild. Ba and B) 1038–
Fleur-de-Iis	HARTHACNUT	40 (<i>B.M.C.</i> VIIIa, Hild. Ha) 1040
Arm-and-Sceptre	"CNUT" EDWARD	(Br. 2, B.M.C. II, Hild. B) 1040–1 (Br. 5, B.M.C. XVII, Hild. I) 1041–2 (B.M.C. IIIc, Hild. Cd) 1042

¹ Since this paper was written, Mr. Dolley has suggested to me that possibly two of Edward's types were issued concurrently. This would allow a three-year period for each of Edward's types except the last. Certain similarities in the design of the Short Cross and Trefoil types and the large variation in the weights of the former lend some support to this idea. A definite chronology will probably not be arrived at until the Scandinavian hoards have been recorded and fully analysed.

² Mr. Dolley and Mr. I. H. Stewart now suggest a division of Æthelred's main types into 1st Hand, 2nd Hand, CRVX, Long Cross, Helmet, and 2nd Small Cross, each of six years' duration, also a 1st Small Cross issue at the beginning of the reign for a relatively short

period.

PACX	Edward	(Br. 4, B.M.C. IV and IVa, Hild. D and Da)
		1043-4
Radiate	,,	(Br. 2, B.M.C. I, Hild. A) 1045-6
Trefoil	,,	(Br. 1, B.M.C. III, Hild. C) 1047–8
Short Cross	,,	(Br. 3, B.M.C. II, Hild, B) 1049–50
Expanding Cross	,,	(Br. 5, B.M.C. V, Hild. E) lt. weight 1051
,, ,,	,,	,, ,, hy. weight 1052-3
Helmet	,,	(Br. 6, B.M.C. VII, Hild. F) 1054-6
Martlets	,,	(Br. 7, B.M.C. IX, Hild. H) 1057-9
Hammer Cross	,,	(Br. 8, B.M.C. XI, Hild. G) 1060-2
Facing Bust	,,	(Br. 9, B.M.C. XIII, Hild. Ac) 1063-5
Cross and Piles	,,	(Br. 10, B.M.C. XV, Hild. I) 1065-6
PAX	HAROLD II	(Br. 1, B.M.C. I and Ia, Hild. A and Aa) 1066

The metrology of the Anglo-Saxon coinage has not as yet received any detailed study. However, it will be seen from the weight frequency table, Table H, that the highest frequency for the Cnut Short Cross type, the three Jewel Cross issues, the Fleur-de-lis type, the two Arm-and-Sceptre issues and Edward's "Pacx" type is between 17 and 18 gr. It is only to be expected that the majority of coins in circulation would be below weight rather than over weight and the standard was probably the penny of 18 gr. This would mean that 20d. were cut from the ore, 200d. from the mark, and 300d. from the Tower pound of 5,400 gr. The peak for Edward's second type, however, is between 16 and 17 gr. and this seems to indicate that the Radiate coins were struck to the standard of 17.1 gr., i.e. 21d. per öre. The Trefoil, Short Cross, and early Expanding Cross coins again reach the 17 to 18 gr. peak. The Short Cross coins show a great variation from 9 gr. upwards and cannot have been all struck to the same standard. That these coins were not halfpennies as has sometimes been suggested is apparent from the fact that a good proportion of them reach the 17–18 gr. of Edward's other early types. The raising of the standard weight by 50 per cent. about 1051 coincides significantly with the slackening of the political and commercial ties with Scandinavia. It would appear that the penny of 27 gr. was found to be over-heavy, for we find that the coins of the next type (Helmet type) are mostly between 19.5 and 21.5 gr. indicating a reduction to a 21.2 gr. standard, i.e. 17d. to the ore. It seems that it was the ore rather than the Tower pound to which the weight of the penny was fixed during the earlier half of the eleventh century.

```
Penny of 17·1 grs. = 21d. per \ddot{o}re = 210d. per mark = 315d. per lb.
         18.0 , = 20d.
                                   = 200d.
                                                     = 300d.
                = 18d.
                                   = 180d.
         20.0 ,,
                                                     = 270d.
                             ,,
                                                ,,
         2I \cdot 2 ,, = 17d.
                                   = 170d.
                                                      = 255d.
         22.5 ,, = 16d.
                                   = 160d.
                                                     = 240d.
                                                                 ,,
         24.0 ,,
                 = 15d.
                                   = 150d.
                                                     = 225d.
                            ,,
         27.0 ,,
                  = 200d. per lb.
```

The attempts which have been made to explain the significance of the "Pax" coins are interesting and sometimes ingenious. Keary,

К

¹ Hildebrand points out that, while comparatively few Expanding Cross light issue coins are found in Scandinavian hoards, the heavy issue coins of the same type are extremely rare.

TABLE H: Weight Frequency

Cnut "Short Cross" to Edward "Helmet" type

Taken from coins listed in the Brit. Mus. Cat. and other coins of which the writer has a note

Bold figures show the frequency peak for each type

				8 o	9.0	10.0	11.0	12.0	13.0	14.0	15.0	16·0	17.0	18·0	19.0	20.0	21.0	22.0	23.0	24.0	25.0	26.0	27.0	28·o
Weight in	ı gr	ain	s	8.9	9.9	10.9	11.9	- 12·9	13.9	- 14·9	15.9	- 16·9	17.9	18.9	19.9	20.9	21.9	22.9	23.9	24.9	25.9	26·9	27.9	28.9
Short Cross .	-						2	2	5	9	24	73	93	16	1									
Jewel Cross .								1		3	5	20	28											
Fleur-de-lis .							2	3	8	10	12	15	16	2										
Arm-and-Sceptre								I	2	4	15	26	33	3										
"Pacx".						1	1	4	9	15	15	24	26	8	I									
Radiate							1	4	3	11	13	30	10	3										
Trefoil						I	2	5	11	19	21	30	34	7	1									
Short Cross .				2	10	19	23	23	16	23	23	18	38	8	2									
Expanding Cross									2	4	5	14	29	10	3	I	2	2	4	II	28	31	8	2
Helmet			1							I	4	ΙÏ	8	22	49	98	52	4						

Carlyon-Britton, and Parsons are not the only writers to have suggested that the type commemorated a particular treaty or a state of peace. Parsons's explanation of the rare "Cnut"/"Pacx" mules is particularly interesting. He found that the "Cnut"/"Pacx" coin of Sumerlida of Lincoln was from the same obverse die as a Cnut Armand-Sceptre coin of the same moneyer. From this fact he evolved the rather strange theory that the "Cnut"/"Pacx" coins were patterns or trial pieces struck in 1020 or 1030 and were originally intended to commemorate a Congress held at Nidaros (Trondheim) in 1028, and that the design was not adopted for general issue, but that a new reverse design was made, this being the regular Cnut Arm-and-Sceptre type. Philip Carlyon-Britton also interpreted the word Pax as "pact" or treaty and suggested that Edward's "Pacx" issue was struck to commemorate the visit of William of Normandy to this country in 1051 and the alleged treaty as to the succession. He suggested that there was a somewhat similar motive behind the issue of the Edward/ Harold II mules and Harold II's "Pax" coins. It is the opinion of the present writer that the inscription had a far more general significance. Edward was a religious and cultured man and he almost certainly had some knowledge of classical coins. If not an exact equivalent of the "Pax Augusti" or other "Pax" issues of imperial times then it may well be interpreted as "Pax Domini" or possibly "May he reign in peace"—a pious expression which would be well in keeping with what we know of Edward's character. It has now been established beyond reasonable doubt that Edward's first main coinage was a Pax type; we also know that Harold II's first and only issue was a Pax type. It is beyond the scope of this paper to deal with the later Pax issues but it does not seem improbable that the Pax coinages were all coronation issues. William of Normandy did not "come in peace", and the William "Paxs" coins at present attributed to the "Conqueror" could well be the coronation coins of his son. It is also by no means certain that the "Pax" type of Henry I is correctly placed as the third type of his reign.

The outstanding problem created by the new sequence of types is the omission of the annulet from the York coins of Edward's third type. One simple answer may be that the already crowded field of the reverse left little room for an additional symbol, though this did not prevent the annulet being crammed into the reverse of the "Pacx"

coins.

In conclusion the writer acknowledges most gratefully the help he has received from the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum, particularly from Mr. R. H. M. Dolley; and also from Dr. Georg Galster, Keeper of the Royal Collection at Copenhagen, from Dr. N. L. Rasmusson and Amanuens Lars Lagerquist of the Royal Coin Cabinet at Stockholm, Dr. Gert Hatz of Hamburg, and Madame A. Markova, Director of West European Numismatics at the Hermitage, Leningrad. Without their whole-hearted assistance this paper would not have been completed.

In the following list minor varieties have been omitted for the sake of clarity.

LIST OF TYPES AND CONNECTING LINKS, 1030-53

SHORT CROSS ISSUE

Cnut. B.M.C. XVI, Brooke 4, Hildebrand H. Fig. 1.



FIG. 1.

Obv. Bust l., diademed; in front, sceptre; inscription divided by bust; no inner circle.

Rev. Short cross voided; in centre, circle enclosing pellet; inner circle.

TRANSITIONAL SHORT CROSS COIN

Harold. B.M.C. IIIa. As above, but Harold's name.

London, Lyfinc (B.M.C. no. 65). Pl. VI, I.

Obv. +HXR: OLD REC:

Rev. +LEIFINE ON LVND

MULE: CNUT SHORT CROSS/HAROLD JEWEL CROSS

Cnut. B.M.C. XXa, Hild. Ka.

York, Ægelwine (Hild. no. 440). Pl. VI, 2.

Obv. + CNV T RE+:

Rev. + EGELPINE ON EOFE

As no Harthacnut or "Cnut" Jewel Cross coins are known of the York mint, the reverse of this mule is almost certainly that of a Harold Jewel Cross coin, though a dielink has not yet been established. There are also coins which have a Harthacnut Jewel Cross obverse and a Cnut Short Cross reverse. These are known of the moneyers Alfric of Lincoln and Leofwine of Stamford. The writer has not seen the Stamford coin which was recorded by Bauer in the Naginscina hoard, but the Lincoln coin (Hild. Harthacnut no. 87) is of unusual style and may possibly have been a Danish issue. Both coins are therefore omitted from this list.

¹ Also L. A. Lawrence Sale, 1951, lot 1391.

JEWEL CROSS ISSUE

(a) "Cnut". B.M.C. XX, Brooke 6, Hild. K. Fig. 2.
(b) Harthacnut. B.M.C. I and Ia, Brooke 1, Hild. A and Aa.

(c) Harold. B.M.C. I, Brooke I, Hild. A.



FIG. 2.

Obv. Bust 1., diademed (Harthacnut B.M.C. Ia has bust r.); inscription divided by bust: no inner circle.

Rev. Cross composed of four ovals united at centre by two circles enclosing pellet; no inner circle.

MULE: HARTHACNUT JEWEL CROSS/HAROLD FLEUR-DE-LIS

Harthacnut. B.M.C. VIII, Hild. H.

London, Godric (Hild. no. 116). Pl. VI, 3.

Obv. +HXRĐ• •∧□NVT R

Rev. +GOD RIC CON LVN

Mules: Harold Jewel Cross/Fleur-de-Lis

Harold. Hild. Bb.

Canterbury, Wulfwine ((a) Hild. no. 61 and (b) no. 63). Pl. VI, 4.

(a) Obv. +HAR OLD RX

Rev. +PV LFF INE OCE:

(b) Obv. Same die

Rev. +PVL FPII ONE ENT

Oxford. Coleman (Hild. no. 799). Pl. VI, 5.

Obv. +HARO LD REX

Rev. + COL AMX NON OCX

FLEUR-DE-LIS ISSUE

Harold, B.M.C. V and Vc, Brooke 2, Hild. Ba and B. Fig. 3.



Fig. 3.

Obv. Bust l., diademed, in armour; in front, shield and sceptre; no inner circle.

Rev. Long cross voided, limbs united at base by circle enclosing pellet; in each angle, trefoil of three pellets (B.M.C. Vc) has fleur-de-lis between two pellets); no inner circle.

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TRANSITIONAL FLEUR-DE-LIS COIN

Harthacnut. B.M.C. VIIIa, Hild. Ha. As above, but Harthacnut's name. Norwich, Rinculf (Hild. no. 153). Pl. VI, 6.

Obv. +HARÐ ENVT RE

Rev. +RI NEVL FON NOR

MULES: HAROLD FLEUR-DE-LIS/HARTHACNUT ARM-AND-SCEPTRE

Harold. B.M.C. IVa, Hild. Da.

Lincoln, Othgrim (Hild. no. 445). Pl. VI, 7.

Obv. +HAR OLD RE:

Rev. +OÐRIM ON LIING

London, Edwald the Alda (B.M., ex Lockett, lot 761; Hild. no. 597). Pl. VI, 8.

Obv. +HAR OLD REC Rev. +EDPALD DE ALDA ON.



FIG. 4.

ARM-AND-SCEPTRE ISSUE

(a) Harthacnut. B.M.C. II, Brooke 2, Hild. B. Fig. 4, p. 133.

(b) "Cnut". B.M.C. XVII, Brooke 5, Hild. I.

Obv. Bust 1., diademed; in front, hand holding sceptre; no inner circle.

Rev. Over short voided cross, quadrilateral ornament with pellet at each angle and in centre; inner circle.

TRANSITIONAL ARM-AND-SCEPTRE COINS

Edward. Hild. Ca, Carlyon-Britton I. As above but Edward's name.

Bristol, Ægelwine (Lockett, lot 791). Pl. VI, 9.

Obv. +ECDI RECCE+ Rev. +

Rev. +/ECELPINE ON BRICE:

York, Grimulf (Hild., Cnut, no. 632).2 Pl. VI, 10.

Obv. +EI/ RE+ MA

Rev. +GRIMV.LF ONN EOFER.P:

Oxford, Godwine (Hild., Cnut, no. 3036).2 Pl. VI, 11.

Obv. +EDCC: RECEC+

Rev. +СОДРИЕ ONN ОС+ЕИЕ:

Southwark, Burred (Ryan, lot 851). Pl. VI, 12.

Obv. +EDPER ECX AND

Rev. +BVRRED ONN SVĐE:

Stamford, Wilgrid (Hild., no. 703). Pl. VI, 13.

Obv. +A D RE+ I

Rev. +PILGRIP ON STAN:

MULES: "CNUT" ARM-AND-SCEPTRE/EDWARD "PACX"

Cnut. B.M.C. XII, Hild. F.

Lincoln, Brihtric (Brit. Mus.; Hild., Edward, no. 296).3 Pl. VI, 15.

Obv. CNI-T DDEI Rev. +BRINTRIC ON: LINC

Lincoln, Sumerleda (Hild., Cnut, no. 1734).4

Obv. +CNVT ID REC

Rev. + SVM-ERLVD: A ON

 $^{^{\}rm I}$ See also Lockett, lot 747, and B.M.C., no. 21, both listed in error as coins of Cnut, B.M.C. type XVII.

² Listed in error as Cnut, Hild. type I.

³ Listed in error as Edward, Hild. type D. ⁴ Brit. Num. Journ.; vol. xxvii, Pl. IIIa.

Lincoln, Ulf (B.M.C., Cnut, no. 313). Pl. VI, 16.

Obv. +CNYT REX AN

Rev. +VL. FON INCO NENE

Romney, Wulmær (Copenhagen, Bruun 800). Pl. VII, 1.

Obv. +□NVT RE+•Λ:

Rev. +PV LME RON RVM

Thetford, Eadric (Hild., Cnut, no. 3480; Brit. Mus., ex Evans). Pl. VII, 2.

Obv. +CNVT IDD RE

Rev. +ED: RICO ND: EOD

The mule of Brihtric of Lincoln is from the same obverse die as the "Cnut" Armand-Sceptre coin H. 1511 at Stockholm. The mule of Sumerlyda is from the obverse of the "Cnut" Arm-and-Sceptre H. 1735 and the reverse of the Edward "Pacx" coin H. 375. The mule of Ulf is from the same reverse die as an Edward "Pacx" coin at Copenhagen (Pl. VI, 17), and the coin of Eadric of Thetford is from the same reverse die as the Edward "Pacx" H. 715³ at Stockholm.

MULES: EDWARD "PACX"/"CNUT" ARM-AND-SCEPTRE

Edward, Hild, Cc.

Lincoln, Eadwine (Hild. no. 319).4 Pl. VII, 3.

Obv, +EDP ERD REX Rev, +EDPINE ONN LINCOL

Lincoln, Godric (B. A. Seaby, Ltd.). P1. VII, 4.

Obv. +EDPT RC+ HA

Rev. +GO DRI ONL ION

Winchester, Sæwine (Ryan, lot 851a). Pl. VII, 6.

Obv. +EDPER D REX ⊼:

Rev. +S/EPINE ON PINCE€:

The two coins of Lincoln may not be thought to have typical "Pacx" obverses, but "Pacx" coins made from dies issued by the northern die-cutting centre are rare in this country, though quite a number have turned up in Scandinavian hoards. The coin of Godric is from an obverse die cut by the same hand that made a number of other York and Lincoln "Pacx" dies (cf. P1. VII, 5). The reverse of this coin is quite irregular, having no inner circle and a voided cross extending to the edge of the coin. The O in the mint name may be intended for an annulet. The Winchester coin was interpreted by H. A. Parsons as an Edward Trefoil/Harthacnut Arm-and-Sceptre mule in vindication of his theory that the Trefoil type was Edward's first main issue. That the obverse is an early "Pacx" is indicated by the single diadem, which in itself is not conclusive, and by the inscription and style of lettering.

"PACX" ISSUE

Edward. B.M.C. IV and IVa, Brooke 4, Hild. D and Da. Figs. 5 and 6.



FIG. 5.

Fig. 6.

Obv. Bust I., diademed; in front, sceptre topped by lis or four pellets; inscription divided by bust; no inner circle.

Rev. Long cross voided, each limb ending in crescent (or short cross voided, B.M.C. IVa), circle in centre; PACX in angles; no inner circle.

1 Ibid., Pl. IIIc.

² Ibid., p. 272.

⁴ The reverse of this coin is from the same die as the "Cnut" Arm-and-Sceptre coin of

Edwine of Lincoln in the Bruun collection (no. 479) at Copenhagen.

The majority of early coins have a single line diadem with loose ends at back while later coins have double line diadem, but this is not invariable.

Mules: Edward "Pacx"/Radiate

Edward. B.M.C. Ib, Hild. Aa.

Lincoln, Osferth ((a) Hild. no. 362 (b) no. 363 and (c) Lockett, lot 745).

- (a) Obv. + EDPARDRD REX $Rev. + O \cdot SFERÐ ON LIN P1. VII, 6.$
- (b) Obv. Same die Rev. +OSFERÐ: ON LINEO:
- (c) Obv. Same die Rev. +ASFERÐ ON L·INEO P1. VII, 7.

RADIATE ISSUE

Edward. B.M.C. I, Brooke 2, Hild. A. Fig. 7.



Fig. 7.

Obv. Bust l., with radiate crown; inscription divided by bust; no inner circle. Rev. Small cross patee; inner circle.

Mules: Edward Radiate/Trefoil

Edward. B.M.C. IIb, Hild. Cb.

Hamtun, Ælfwine (Hild. no. 213).

Obv. +EDPERD REX Rev. +/ELFPINE ON HAM

Worcester, Luferic (Hild. no. 756). Pl. VII, 9.

Obv. +EDPER D REX Rev. +LVFRIC ONN PIHRA:

York, Ælfwine (Brit. Mus.). Pl. VII, 10.

Obv. RIEADI•NCIEN+DI Rev. +/ELFPNE ON E•OFER•.•

York, Othen (B.M.C. no. 293). Pl. VII, 11.

Obv. +EDP• ERD REX A Rev. +ODEN ON EFROPIC•:

TREFOIL ISSUE

Edward. B.M.C. III, Brooke 1, Hild. C. Fig. 8.



Fig. 8.

Obv. Bust 1., diademed; in front, sceptre topped by four pellets; inscription divided by bust; no inner circle.

Rev. Short cross voided; in centre, quadrilateral with three pellets at each angle and one in centre; inner circle.

The normal coins of this type have a double line diadem ending in semi-circle back and front; however, some coins have loose ends at the back and a few have a single line diadem.

Mules: Edward Trefoil/Short Cross

Edward, B.M.C. IIb.

Thetford, Leofwine (B.M.C. no. 1113). Pl. VII, 12.

Obv. +EDPE RE-

Rev. +LEOFPINE O DE

This coin, which has been misread and is listed in the British Museum Catalogue as a coin of Oxford, is from the same reverse die as a Short Cross coin of Thetford at Copenhagen (P1. VII, 13). It is an extraordinary coin and the obverse appears to have been struck from a cut down Trefoil die which would originally have been wider in diameter: little of the outer circle is visible. Another somewhat similar mule exists with a cut down B.M.C. XI obverse and a B.M.C. XIII reverse.

SHORT CROSS ISSUE

Edward. B.M.C. II, Brooke 3, Hild. B. Fig. 9.



Fig. 9.

Obv. Bust 1., diademed; inscription divided by bust; no inner circle.

Rev. Short cross voided; no inner circle.

Mules: Edward Trefoil/Expanding Cross

Previously unpublished as a variety or mule.

Wilton, Ælfwine (B.M.C. no. 1327).2 Pl. VII, 14.

Obv. +EDPE: RD RE.X

Rev. /ELFPINE ON PILT, G in one quarter.

Winchester, Lifinc (B.M.C. no. 1395). Pl. VII, 15.

Obv. +EDPER D REX

Rev. LIOFINE ON PINCEST

These two mules are both listed as Expanding Cross coins in the British Museum Catalogue; they are rare examples of mules that combine two types which are not consecutive. The explanation undoubtedly lies in the fact that a small Short Cross die struck on to an Expanding Cross flan would be too prominent to pass easily into currency.³ The double-diadem with semicircular ends and the distinctive drapery of the bust distinguish Trefoil obverses from those of Expanding Cross.

¹ Num. Chron., 1905, pl. viii, no. 22.

² This coin was first recognized as a mule by Mr. F. Elmore Jones who discusses it in a short paper appearing on p. 189. The obverse is from the Trefoil die used by the moneyer Ælfstan, B.M.C. no. 1325.

³ If, however, the Trefoil and Short Cross coins were issued concurrently (see footnote 1, p. 128) this would merely be a case of normal muling.

Edward. B.M.C. V, Brooke 5, Hild. E.



FIG. 10.

FIG. 11.

FIG. 12.



Fig. 13.

Fig. 14.

(a) Light Coinage (18 gr.). Normal type. Fig. 10.

(b) ,, North-eastern type, obv. of "Pacx" style Fig. 11.

(c) ,, obv. of Jewel Cross style. Fig. 12.

(d) Heavy coinage (27 gr.). Normal type. Fig. 13.

(e) ,, North-eastern type, obv. of Jewel Cross style. Fig. 14.

Mules exist connecting the heavy issue Expanding Cross coins with Edward's Helmet type.

The writer has noted the following moneyers for the north-eastern varieties:

Variety (b): Lincoln. Brihtric, Othgrim.

Stamford. Arfra.

York. Arncil, Arngrim, Geola, Swertcol, Ulfcil, Winterfuhel.

Variety (c): Norwich. Leofwine.

York. Arngrim, Scula, Styrcol, Thor, Winterfuhel.

Variety (e): Leicester. Wulnoth.

Lincoln. Godric, Othgrim. York. Arncytel, Scula.

TABLE K: Mints and Moneyers

The mints of Canterbury, Chester, Colchester, Dover, Exeter, Hertford, Huntingdon, Ipswich, Leicester, Lincoln, Lydford, Norwich,

Oxford, Salisbury, Shrewsbury, Stamford, Thetford, Winchester, and York have been selected to demonstrate the new arrangement of

types.

The mint of London, though of exceptional interest, has not been included owing to the difficulty of correctly attributing some coins bearing the mint name LVND, LVDI, LV, &c., to London (England), Lund (Scania), or to other places with similar names elsewhere in the British Isles.

As the writer has seen only a small proportion of the coins listed he is unable to vouch for the accuracy of all the works consulted in the compilation of these tables.

King	Cni	ıt	Har- tha- cnut	Ha	rold I	Har- tha- cnut	"Cnut"		Edw	ard the	e Confe	essor
Туре	Short Cross	J	ewel Cro	oss	Fleur-de- lis		-and- ptre	"Pacx"	Radiate	Trefoil	Short Cross	Expanding Cross
Brooke's reference	4	6	τ	I	2	2	5	4	2	1	3	5
Canterbury Godwine Leofwig Ælfric Brihtred Wynred Winedeig Leofnoth Wulfwig Wulfwi Ubil Ælfred Leofwine Lifinc Wulnoth Cytel Caldewine Wulfwine Godsunu Swartinc Brunman Manna Wulfget Rudcarl Eadwerd Dirinc Wulfred	× × × × × × × ×	ì	× × ×	X	× × × × ×		× × × × ×	× × × × ×	×××××××××××××××××××××××××××××××××××××××	x x x x x x x x	× × × × × × × ;	× × × × ×
Egelric	× × × × × ×			××	×			×				

Possibly the same moneyer as Wulfwig.

-			Har-			Har-						
King	Cn	ut	tha- cnut	Ha	rold I	tha- cnut	"Cnut"		Edwa	rd the	Confe	ssor
Туре	Short Cross	Je	ewel Cro	oss	Fleur-ze- lis		-and- ptre	"Pacx"	Raliate	Trefoil	Short Cress	Ev handing Cross
Brooke's reference	4	6	I	I	2	2	5	4	2	1	3	5
CHESTER (cont.) Leofwig	× × × ×			× × × × × × ×	× × × × ×	×××××		×	×××	×	× ×	××
Wulnoth					×	×××	××	×	×		×	×
Blacaman Huscarl Colbrand Wiryin Fargrim Ælfsi Ealda [†] .									×××	×	; × ×	× × ×
COLCHESTER Leofwine	×××			××	×××		××	×	×××	× × × ×	× × × ×	× × ×
DOVER Leofric	× × × × × × ×	××	× × ×	× × × ×	× × ×	×	××	××	×	×××	××	××
EXETER Scula Wulfstan Huneman Edsige Ware Edsige Æficc Thegenwine Edwine Leofwine	× × × × × × ×		×	×			××	×	×			×
Ælfwine Lifinc G[odma]n? .	×		×						×	×		×

¹ Possibly the same moneyer as Ælfsige.

King	Cn	ut	Har- tha- cnut	Ha	rold I	Har- tha- cnut	''Cnut''		Edwa	rd the	Confe	ssor
Type	Stort Cross		ewel Cro		Fl:ur-de-	Arm	-and- ptre	"Pask"	Radia le	Trefoil	Short Coss	Ex banding Cross
Brooke's reference	4	6	I	I	2	2	5	4	2	I	3	5
EXETER (cont.) Haerra Wulnoth Edmær Caela Manleof Ælfstan Dodda Gcdwine Edwold Wulmær Hunewine Sæwulf Edwii			×××	× × ×	×××	× × × ×	×	××××××	×	×	×	××××
HERTFORD Lifinc Leofric Deorsige Godman Ewi Sæmær Godwine Ælfwine . Goldwine Wilgrip .	×××			×	××			×	××××	×		×
HUNTINGDON Ade	× × × ×			×	××	×××	×	××	×××	×	×	×
IPSWICH Ælbriht Lyfinc Widfara Leofric Leofstan Brunic Wulsie Edwi Leofwine	××			××	×××	×	× × ×	×	×	×	× × ×	×
EICESTER Ægelwig	× × ×			××	×××	××	×	×	×	×	× ×	×××

			Har- tha-			Har- tha-						
King	Cnu	ıt	cnut	Ha	rold I	cnut	"Cnut"	E	dwar	d the	Confes	
Туре	Short Cross	Jι	wel Cro	oss	Fleur-d:- lis		-and- ptre	,,A00cT,,	Kadiate	Trefoil	Stort Cross	Expanding Cross
Brooke's reference	4	6	I	I	2	2	5	4	2	I	3	5
Osgut Godwine Æthelmær Ælfsige Wulfwine Ægelmær Cnut Crinan Swart Matathan Balluc Matathan Swartbrand Harthacnut Wedlos Æthelnoth Leofing Sumerlida Leodmær Swertinc Wulfric Swafa Ælfnoth Leofwine Godric Godric Swot Aslac Wulfbern Osferth Brihtric Colgrim Cudinc Nauthman Thurstan Leofwig Wulfget Othbern Edwine Walræfen Leofnoth Leofnoth Leofwig Wulfget Othbern Edwine Walræfen Leofnoth Leofnoth Leofnoth Leofnoth Leofnoth Leofnoth Leofnoth Cudinc Nauthman Thurstan Leofwig Wulfget Othbern Edwine Walræfen Leofnoth Leofnoth Leofnoth Leofnoth Colgrim Cothbern Edwine Walræfen Leofnoth Leof	× × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × ×			× × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × ×	× × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × ×	× × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × ×	× × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × ×	×	× × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × ×	× × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × ×	× × × × × ×	x x x x x x x x x x

King	Cn	ut	Har- tha- cnut	Ha	rold I	Har- tha- cnut	·'Cnut''		Edwa	rd the	Confe	ssor
Туре	Short Cross	Ja	ewel Cro	ss	F'eur-de- lis	Arm	-and- ptre	"Facs"	Kadia e	Trefor	Shot Cross	Extanding Cross
Brooke's reference	4	6	1	I	2	2	5	4	2	r	3	5
Aelfric Aelfwine		×		×	×		×	×	×			
Malmesbury . Hunna Leofthegen . Godman . Brihtwine . Ealdwi .	×		×	×	×	×		×	×	×		××
Norwich Siric	× × ×	×		×	××	×	××	××	××	×		×
Ælwine Ælfric Ælfric Cefric Boga No re Rinculf Osmund Leofwig Godwine Thurferth Cenelm Dehfin				×××	× ? × × ×	×	×	× × ×	×××		×	×××
Oxford Alfwold Edwine Wulfwold Ælfwine Coleman Lifinc Eadwig Ægelric Godwine Ægelwig Ægelwine Ægelwine Ægelwine Ægelwine Ægelwine Ægelmær Brihtwold Godric Heregod Elfwig Swetman	× × × × × × ×		× × × ×	× × × ×	× × × × × × × × × × × × ×	× × × × ×	×	× × ×	×××××××××××××××××××××××××××××××××××××××	× × ×	× × ×	× × ×
SALISBURY Etsige Goldus Ælfred Godwine Leofstan	× × ×		×	×	××			×	×	×	×	
Winstan Wineman Alfwold		×		×	×		××	×		×	×	

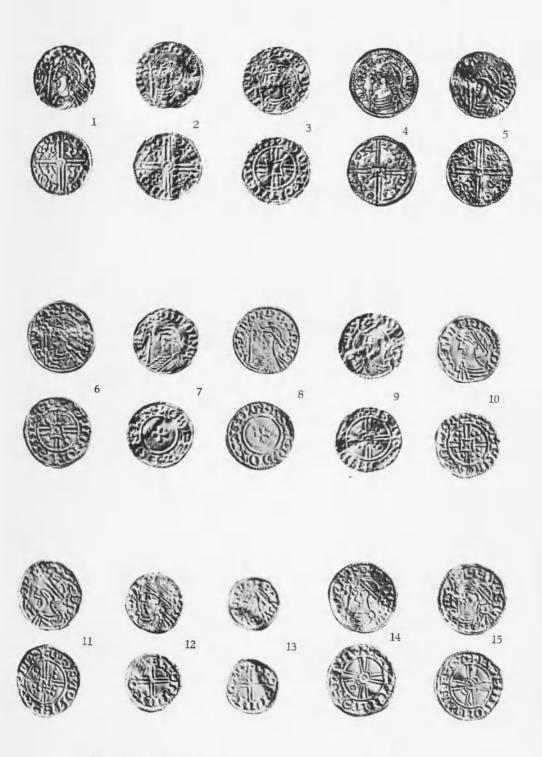
			Har- tha-			Har- tha-						
King	Cn	ut	cnut	Ha	rold I		"Cnut"		Edwa	rd the	Confe	
Туре	Short Coss	Je	ewel Cro	ss	Flour-de-		-and- ptre	"Pacx"	Radia e	Trefoil	Short Cross	Erpanting
Brooke's reference	4	6	I	ı	2	2	5	4	2	I	3	5
Brungar	× × × × × ×			× × × ×	× × × ×	×	×××	×	×××	×	×	×
Godesbrand .							×	×	×	×	×	×
Godesbrand Morulf Edwerd Oswold Oswold Osward Leofdæn Thurulf Thurstan Swert Brunwine Godric Fargrim Godwine Leofwine Eg . an Lifinc Ælfwine Arncitel Bl Casgri, &c Thurcet Ælfeh Wilgrid, &c Wulnoth Harcin, &c Balwine Eadwine Afra Wulfwine SEEYNING	× × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × ×		× × ×	× × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × ×	× × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × ×	× × × × × × ×	× × × × × ×	× × × × ×	× × × × ×	x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x	× × ×	× × × × × ×
Widia Frithewine	×		×		×			××	×	×	×	××
Edwine	× × × × × ×			× × × ×	× × ×	××	××	×	×	×	×	

King	Cn	ut	Har- tha- cnut	 Ha	rold I	Har- tha- cnut	''Cnut''		Edwa	rd the	Confe	ssor
Туре	Short Cross	J	ewel Cro	oss	Fleur-de- lis		-and- ptre	"Pacx"	Radiate	Trefoil	Short Cross	Expanding Cross
Brooke's reference	4	6	1	1	2	2	5	4	2	I	3	5
THETFORD (cont.) Leofwine . Eadric . Leofric . Godwine . Edwa . Sægrim . Tidred . Godleof . Manna . Legofrede . Ægelsie . Eastmund . Æthel . Ælfric .				×	×××	×	× × × × ×	×	× × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × ×	×××××		×
WINCHESTER Æthelric	× × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × ×		× × × × × × ×	× × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × ×	× × × × × ×	×	× × × ×	× × × ×	××	× × × × ×	×	× × × ×
Ælfwerd				× × × ×	×		×	×	×			×
Alfstan Sæwerd Lyfinc Leofwine Agelwine Edwine Wraca Sæwine Brun Elfstan Coll Loc Brand Brihtwold Godric					× × × × ×	×	×	× × ×	×××	× ?	× × × × × ×	× × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × ×

King	Cn	ui	Har- tha- cnut	Ha	rold I	Har- tha- cnut	"Cnut"		Edwa	rd the	Confe	ssor
Туре	Short Cross	Je	wel Cro	ss	Fleur-de- lis	Arm Sce	-and- pire	"Pacx"	Radiate	Trefoil	Short Crois	Evt and ng
Brooke's reference	4	6	1	I	2	2	5	4	2	I	3	5
York							1				43.0	
Colgrim Frithcol Osgot Hildolf Wulstan Farthein Wulnoth Theorsige Sunolf Crucan Godman Ucede Ægelwine Grimulf Beorn Ræfen Othin Thurgrim Anncetel Arngrim Ælfwine Dufacan Witherine Swegen Æthelwine Stircol Scula Edw Swart Ælfere Asferth Cetel Ulfcetel Godric Unolf Sæfuhel Iolla, &c. Slewine Man Iucetel Swertcol Eltan Thor Leofnoth Col Godwine Lifinc	× × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × ×			× × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × ×	× × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × ×		× × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × ×	× × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × ×	× × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × ×	× × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × ×	× × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × ×	X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X



THE SEQUENCE OF ANGLO-SAXON COIN-TYPES 1030–1050 (1)



The sequence of anglo-saxon coin types 1030–1050 (2)

THE DOVER HOARD

THE FIRST ENGLISH HOARD WITH GROATS OF EDWARD I By R. H. M. DOLLEY

In June 1955 some workmen were engaged in laying a new gas-main in Market Street, Dover, a narrow lane which led out of Market Square in the oldest part of the town. For the account of the circumstances of the find that follows, the writer is indebted to Mr. F. L. Warner, the Curator of the Dover Corporation Museum. It appears that the men were cutting a trench in which to lay pipes at a point some fifty yards from the Square, and were widening their original excavation when the pick of one of them dislodged a lead casket which fell to the bottom of the trench. A few of the coins rolled out—which may suggest that the end was loose when concealed—and the foreman gathered them up and immediately took them to the museum which is some quarter of a mile from the scene. The Curator recognized their importance, and asked the foreman to return at once and to secure both the casket and its contents. In the interval the men had ceased work, and in due course the container and the coins were brought to the Curator. Later in the day he visited the site, and was able to identify the exact spot where the casket had been concealed, its imprint being still clearly discernible in the side of the trench. The depth beneath the modern surface was little more than a foot. Subsequently a careful examination was made of the whole area, but, despite the extensive excavations necessary for the conversion of the lane into a modern thoroughfare, no further finds were made of archaeological significance. The footings of an ancient flint and brick wall were exposed some six feet from the actual find-spot, but no obvious relationship between the two could be established.

In view of the controversial composition of the hoard, it is a matter for congratulation that the hoard was reported with such commendable promptitude. There is not the least reason to suspect that any of the coins from the hoard were abstracted or overlooked, and it must be accepted that the numismatist is confronted with what is as near to a sealed deposit as is ever likely to occur outside a closely supervised archaeological excavation. It is satisfactory to note that the exemplary conduct of the workmen was the subject of commendation at the inquest, and they of course received the customary reward of the full market value of the coins retained by museums. At the inquest, too, Mr. Warner, who gave expert evidence, was commended for his excellent work in cleaning and sorting the 686 coins. Unfortunately none of the coins were left uncleaned, and consequently the characteristic patina of the hoard cannot now be established.

Mr. Peter Lasko of the British Museum's Department of British and

¹ For a preliminary account of the hoard see R. H. M. Dolley, "The 1955 Dover Treasure Trove", Archaeologia Cantiana, 1955, pp. 62-68.

Medieval Antiquities has kindly written a full description of the lead casket, and this forms an Appendix to the present paper. Here one need only remark that the size and shape, not to mention the sheer weight, of the container militate against its having been normally portable. Its very nature suggests an early form of "money-box", and it is important to bear in mind the fact that, once introduced through the slot, coins could not have been extracted except by breaking open the container. It should be remarked, too, that the "money-box" was patently not intended for the reception of groats, and that the largest among them, the English issues, might seem to have been inserted only by buckling the wall of the container so that one of the seams gaped for a short distance at each end of the slot. Alternatively, and more probably, they may have been introduced by wrenching out one of the ends, and, as we have seen, the fact that some of the coins spilled out when the container fell to the bottom of the trench confirms the view that it had been forced and tapped back before concealment. However this may be, there seems little doubt but that the hoard represents an accumulation of money hoarded up over a number of years, and that it cannot be taken as a sample of the currency in circulation at a given date. In this connexion it should be observed that the oldest coins generally were no more worn than the latest, and that the condition of the hoard as a whole was remarkably fine.

A preliminary break-down of the hoard gives the following result:

	Groats, gros, grossi, cc.	3 gros	Pence	Halfpence	Farthings
England	2		56		3
Ireland			224	2	
Scotland			344		
France	36	13			
Brabant	I				
Hainault	Shall the second of the second		2		
Holland	I				
Brescia	I				
	41	13	626	·2	3

The hoard contained 685 silver coins of the late thirteenth century, all but 59 of them sterlings, and a copper disk of penny size, apparently smooth but perhaps a washed forgery. The quite unusual composition of the find begins to emerge when the coins are classified under the following heads:

English	61	Scots	344
Irish	226	Continental	54

In other words, less than 9 per cent. of a major English hoard consists of English coins. Inasmuch as Dover was the obvious port of entry from the Continent, this might not have been so surprising were it not for the fact that an even smaller proportion of the coins, just over 8 per cent. to be precise, proves to be Continental. Almost exactly half of the coins in the hoard are Scottish sterlings, all of Alexander

III's last issue, and just under one-third are their Irish counterparts. In other words, the first impression one has of the hoard is that it ought to have been discovered not in Kent but in the Western Lowlands of Scotland, though in fact its composition would be only less

incongruous in a Scots context.

It is quite exceptional for an English hoard of the period ± 1300 to contain multiples of the sterling, and unusual for there to be present even the fractions. For the English numismatist the primary importance of the Dover hoard will always be the fact that it was the first English hoard to be published which included specimens of the groat of Edward I. The writer is especially grateful to Mr. J. D. A. Thompson for the information that hitherto the only recorded hoard provenance for the denomination and reign in the whole of the British Isles has been an ill described nineteenth-century Irish find. There is a very real danger, however, that the presence of the two English groats, remarkable as undoubtedly it is, will overshadow all other considerations, and in particular the very thorny problem of the date of the deposit of the hoard. As Mr. Derek Allen wrote eight years ago, "we obtain a limited and indeed distorted picture if we study English coins in complete detachment from their European context", and in the case of the Dover hoard the interdependence of English and European numismatics is underlined in the most dramatic manner possible. For what it is worth, the clear and unmistakable purport of the Kentish find is that there would appear to be a discrepancy of almost exactly ten years between the chronologies of the English and French national series respectively.

It is most convenient perhaps to consider the individual elements of the hoard in isolation before proceeding to a consideration of the whole, and it is perhaps most profitable to begin with the English element where a particularly close dating of the different issues has been established on the basis of official records. The oldest coin here is beyond doubt a London penny of the Long Cross issue with the name of Henry III but struck by Edward I. It belongs to Lawrence Class VII, and cannot well be dated outside a bracket of 1275–8. The position as regards the remaining sixty coins which come within the justly famous Fox classification is set out in the following table:

		Groats	Pence	Farthings	Total	Date	
I	Fox I		4		4	1279	
	II		10	I	11	1280	
-	III	2	18	I	21	1280/1	
	IV		9		9	1282/3	
	V		12		12	1284-	
	VI		I		I	±1290?	
	VII					-1294	
	VIII		I	1	2	1294-	
	IX					1300-2	
	X					1302-5	
		2	55	3	60		

The first point to be considered is the total absence of Fox Classes IX and X. In hoards deposited in the reign of Edward II, for example Boyton and Bootham, coins of these classes are relatively common. In the case of Bootham, which was by no means exceptional, there were 380 pence of Fox Classes I-IV, 16 of Classes V-VIII, 44 of Class IX, and 187 of Class X. Consequently in the case of Dover we cannot brush aside the absence of Edward I's last two types as coincidental or due to the accident of discovery. It must be accepted that the hoard was concealed before the currency of Class IX, and here the documentary evidence for the terminus ante quem seems irrefragable. Only coins of Class IX are known from the mints of Exeter and Kingston-upon-Hull, and we still possess Master John Porcher's dated instructions to set up mints at those two places as well as to reopen the mints at Bristol, Chester, and Newcastle. Class IX coins of these last three mints are likewise known, and it is difficult to see how the Fox chronology at this point could ever be disputed. There is, then, every reason for us to accept March 1300 as an absolute terminus ante quem for the English coins in the Dover hoard.

A terminus post quem is not so easy to establish. While not perhaps conclusive, the Fox evidence for the introduction of Class VIII in 1204 has much to commend it. The suggestion of other finds is that Class VIII was relatively more common than Class VII which is, as it happens, totally lacking in the Dover hoard. On the whole, therefore, one is a little reluctant to date the deposit of the English coins too near the end of the period 1294-1300, and the presence of only one penny and one farthing seems most consistent with a dating c. 1205. To some extent, too, we may justifiably appeal to the complete absence of English coins of the mint of Berwick-on-Tweed which opened in 1296. Although every other coin in the hoard proves to be Scottish, there is not a single English piece of the Berwick mint, though, as Mr. Stewart following Mr. Blunt remarks, pennies of Type I, convincingly dated to 1296/7, are "not rare". While absolute certainty is at this stage impossible, the balance of the evidence is surely that the English coins in the Dover find were put together over a number of years, and that the final addition was made not later than 1296.

In the case of the Irish coins, which outnumber the English coins by more than three to one, we are hampered by an almost complete lack of documentary evidence for the critical decade 1290–1300. There is, too, no standard classification, though that evolved by Mr. Allen on the basis of the comparatively few Irish coins in the Boyton hoard has worn extremely well indeed. It is only with the very greatest diffidence that the present writer has ventured to suggest a modification, and he would stress that in many respects it reproduces the essentials of the pioneer work of his predecessor. In favour of the new arrangement it may perhaps be claimed that the essential criteria of the three groupings are entirely positive, and that the number of mules is not excessive. Lest, however, it should be suggested that the writer's modified classification reflects, albeit unconsciously, his very strong

views on the date of the hoard as a whole, the Irish coins are here first set out according to the principles first enunciated by Mr. Allen, mules, of course, being included for the sake of clarity under the class of the

	Dublin	Waterford	Cork	Total	
"Henry III	", I			I	
EDWARD					
Class A					
Class B	6			6	
Class C	19	5		24	
Class D	58	5 8o*		138	
Class E	19 58 11*			II	
Class F	35			35	
Class G					
Class H					
Irregular	II			II	
	141	85		226	

^{*} Includes one halfpenny.

later die. The oldest coin in the hoard is undoubtedly that with the name of Henry III, though we might perhaps just throw out in passing the suggestion that it is in fact posthumous and an early issue of Edward I. The problem is, however, irrelevant to the real issue at stake, the question of the date of the latest Irish coins in the Dover hoard, and almost as academic is the problem of the absence of Allen Class A. Here the available hoard evidence is far from being decisive, but perhaps we might consider the possibility that Class A, known at Boyton from a single coin, was broadly contemporaneous with Class H.

Two factors emerge very clearly from the above table, the complete absence of coins of the Cork Mint, and the complete absence of coins of Allen Classes G and H. There can be little doubt but that the Cork Mint, known only from coins of Allen Class H, was opened for the great recoinage of 1300. Consequently the fact that there are no Cork coins and no coins of Class H argues potently that no Irish coin in the Dover hoard is as late as the first year of the fourteenth century. The absence of Allen Class G is no less suggestive. Few will dispute Mr. Allen's recognition of the fact that this class was contemporaneous with Fox Class VII in England, though one is constrained to remark that the date 1297 given for the introduction of the latter is a slip or a printer's error. Not only is the case made out by the Fox brothers for 1294 exceptionally strong, but the 1294 dating has since been endorsed by Whitton. Consequently there is little room for doubt but that 1295 is an absolute terminus ante quem for the Irish element in the Dover hoard. There is a strong probability, too, that this date should be put back by as much as a decade. As Mr. Allen himself observed, the prolixity of his Classes D, E, and F is a strong argument that they were issued contemporaneously with Fox Class IV in England, though the present writer would suggest the possibility that the two series are not perhaps quite so integrated as to rule out a lag of a year or so at Dublin. However this may be, the probable terminus ante quem for

the Irish coins in the Dover hoard could well be c. 1285.

Before proceeding to the consideration of the Scottish and continental coins, it may be convenient to set out the Irish coins in accordance with the new classification proposed in the present paper. The criteria for each Group represented in the hoard are given in the detailed catalogue of the hoard that concludes this study.

	Dublin	Waterford	Total
"Henry III" (-1279) EDWARD	I		I
Group I (1280?)	6		6
Group II (1281-3?)	75*	85*	160
Group III (1284-)	31		31
Mules II/III and III/II	17		17
Group IV (1294-)			
Group V (1300–)			
Irregular	11		II
	ITI	85	226

* Includes one halfpenny.

As we have seen, the 344 Scottish coins in the hoard form almost exactly half of the total. All belong to one issue, Alexander III's second or Long Single Cross coinage which began in 1280 and which may have continued for a short time after his death in 1286 though positive evidence for this is lacking. Thus, while the presumptive terminus ante quem is 1286, there is a possibility that it should be placed as late as \pm 1290. It can scarcely be later. Coins of Baliol are certainly uncommon, but they are not so rare that a handful would not have occurred among several hundred Scottish pence deposited after c. 1295. Bootham and Boyton suggest that the normal proportion was in the neighbourhood of 5 per cent., and consequently we might have looked for a dozen or more in the Dover hoard had it in fact contained a Scottish element deposited as late as 1300. The total absence of Baliol, too, takes on even greater significance when considered in conjunction with the parallel absence of English pence of Berwick already noticed.

Of the continental coins, the grosso of Brescia belongs to an issue which Italian numismatists have not sought to date more narrowly than between c. 1254 and c. 1337. If the Dover hoard achieves nothing else for continental numismatics, it will at least have halved that bracket, and the present writer wonders whether in fact the decade 1285-95 is not very strongly indicated. The two sterlings of Hainault have been dated very convincingly to the quinquennium 1280-5, and the absence of other "lusshebournes" again argues for the "sterling" element being comparatively early. Of the two Low Countries groats, that from Brabant has been placed after 1294, but Mlle. Lallemand has reminded us of the neglected Diest hoard which argued very strongly for a date before 1285. The Holland groat cannot be later

than 1296, and may well be earlier. Consequently it can be said of the continental coins, the French excepted, that they are consistent with the dating of the hoard \pm 1295 which is suggested by the English coins. That the Irish and Scottish coins appear a little earlier in date is surprising but not inexplicable. As we shall see, it is possible, indeed probable, that they were arriving in England by way of the continent.

It is when we turn to the French coins that inconsistencies occur. If we set them out in accordance with the now traditional classification most recently enunciated by M. Lafaurie in his classic handbook, the

result is as follows:

Gros Tournois	
Lafaurie 198 (1266–70)	4
Lafaurie 204 (1270-85)	I
Lafaurie 217 (1285, 1302, 1305)	19
Lafaurie 218 (1290)	12
Mailles Tierces	
Lafaurie 223 (1306)	13

Most striking is the fact that the mailles tierces should seem ten years later in date than the English coins in the hoard, and if we examine the Philip IV groats which could be as late it must be confessed that there is no obvious reason for giving them to the issues of 1302 or 1305. Thus, the mailles tierces are, in effect, incompatible with the balance of the French element, and the suggestion of this hoard report is that it is the comparatively common maille tierce à l'O rond and not the rare maille tierce à l'O long which happens to be mentioned in the Temple accounts of July 1295. Lafaurie himself has remarked on the early affinities of the lettering, and the suggestion that this was a deliberate archaism designed to restore public confidence seems a little too ingenious. This is not to say that there are not other mailles tierces à l'O rond to be associated with an issue of 1305.

That the French coins in the Dover hoard are not substantially later than 1295, the date suggested by the remaining 636 coins in the find, might also be inferred from the absence of the not uncommon gros à l'O long et à la fleur, convincingly dated to 1298, though it is not suggested that this argument is in any way conclusive. It is difficult, however, to explain the complete absence of the maille demie of 1296 except upon the supposition that the French element of the find was put together before that date. One feels, too, that the Dover hoard will provide substantial ammunition for those who have long suspected that many if not all of the gros à l'O rond in fact belong to Philip III. As Lafaurie himself has remarked, assays of surviving specimens of the gros à l'O long are far from explaining contemporary prejudice against the second issue, and a medievalist would suggest that this dislike was quite irrational and stemmed from association of the latter with a king known to have debased the currency in other directions. In this case one might validly conclude that the round "O" rather than the extremely rare "Philipus" spelling was, as early as the

reign of Philip IV, the popular criterion of the silver coinage of Philip III. It is rumoured, incidentally, that there are finds from Scandinavia and the Levant that would favour this readjustment of the traditional French chronology, and it is to be hoped that this prompt publication of a large and controversial English hoard will inspire others to make known the contents of finds in their charge. It was, after all, a small hoard from Gotland that proved to be the first find firmly to link the

A hoard publication is not perhaps the place to discuss subtleties and few English numismatists would claim to be competent to attempt this in respect of the French series. However, it does seem worth remarking that there are certain epigraphical affinities between some French groats and their English counterparts. Particularly striking is the use of an "N" with a pellet on the bar (N). One would like to know more of the journeyings of various "masters" of this period, and more in particular of the ramifications of the Tournemire family. For what it is worth, the opinion of the writer is that much remains to be done in this direction. It is not only a question of the ferreting out of documentary evidence, the province of the historian, but also of the recording in minute detail of stops and letter-forms. We must not forget that even as late as the thirteenth century there was a fundamental unity in western Europe, and it would not have been thought

remarkable for brothers to have served different princes.

English Short Cross and Long Cross issues.

To sum up. The English, Scots, and Irish coins in the hoard argue strongly for a date of deposit c. 1295, the Scots and Irish elements perhaps having been accrued as much as a decade earlier. The four coins from the Low Countries are by no means inconsistent with that dating, and the solitary coin from Italy is dated by the hoard rather than supplying valid dating evidence. Superficially the French coins seem to demand a date of deposit as late as 1306, but in fact they are perfectly consistent with the dating (c. 1295) arrived at on the basis of the English coins. Speculation on the circumstances of the formation of the hoard is dangerous if not profitless as well. The question of the currency of Irish and Scots sterlings apart, the small proportion of English coins, approximately 8½ per cent. of the face value of the whole hoard, does suggest, however, that it may be linked in some way with the systematic attempts that were being made during the last decade of the thirteenth century to prevent the importation into England of foreign coin. At Dover these measures culminated in the setting up in 1299 of a "control-barrier", and foreign merchants were politely but firmly relieved of their "lusshebournes". On the other hand, the admixture of English coin is against the theory that the hoard could represent a portion of the proceeds of these restrictions. However this may be, the occasion of the deposit of the hoard must surely have been the French attack on Dover on 2 August 1295, when the town was sacked and largely burnt to the ground. To quote the almost contemporary account of the Continuator of the monk Gervase of Canterbury:

Secundo die Augusti venerunt ante Dovoriam innumerabilis populus Francorum cum quingentis navibus et triginta galeis. De quibus decem milia applicuerunt, et prioratum Dovorensem omnibus bonis inibi inventis spoliaverunt, et unum monachum occiderunt. Deinde majorem partem villae combusserunt, et multa bona inde asportarunt; et duas mulieres secum abduxerunt.¹

If one is perhaps a little doubtful whether the last clause should be taken as a compliment to the discipline of the raiders or as a sorry reflection on the attractions of the Kentish ladies, the general purport of the passage is abundantly clear. A large French fleet suddenly appeared off Dover—the English fleet had already been mobilized for service lower down the Channel—and ten thousand men landed and took the town, but not of course the Castle. The Priory was sacked, and the town pillaged and set ablaze. The raiders then withdrew, the success of their attack being due in no small part to the absence

of many of the men of Dover with the English fleet.

It is the suggestion of this paper that the Dover hoard was very probably concealed as the French fleet stood into the Downs. As we have seen, there are indications that the container was hastily adapted to take coins too large for the original aperture. Moreover the depth at which it was concealed suggests haste, and had it been hidden beneath a floor one might have expected there to have been traces of the conflagration in the levels immediately above the stratum in which it was found. One suspects that it was buried in a shallow excavation in a garden or court, and that the owner either perished or was unable to rediscover the spot on account of the destruction of the surrounding buildings which had fixed the place. Of course, it is possible that the hoard had in fact been concealed some weeks earlier, possibly by a sailor who later died on active service, but the evidence of the coins points so closely to 1295 that it is difficult to discount the indications of haste that are so consistent with the French attack in the August of that very year. This being so, the 1955 Dover treasure trove would seem to share with the Chanctonbury and Seddlescombe hoards the distinction, very rare among medieval hoards, of being able to be dated almost to the day. It is therefore all the more fortunate that it should contain individual coins of such significance both for the French and for the English numismatist.

CATALOGUE OF THE HOARD

Of the 685 coins in the hoard, 82, have been acquired by the British Museum. In addition 3 Scottish pence were acquired by the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland. The remaining 600 coins with the lead casket and copper disk have been purchased by the Dover Corporation Museum. With the exception of all but one of the 18 Irish pieces, the coins illustrated are those now in the British Museum. For the identification of the Scottish pence Mr. Ian Stewart kindly made himself entirely responsible, and the writer must also express his

Gerv. Cant., Gesta Regum, ed. W. Stubbs, 1880, vol. ii, p. 313.

indebtedness to Mr. F. Elmore Jones for assistance with the identification of the English coins, and to more than one continental colleague with whom he has talked over different aspects of the hoard.

ENGLAND

LONDON

Groats

		sroats	
Fox, Class	III		
1. 89·6 <i>Obv</i>	In tressures Bes		
Rev	The same and the s		
	(Note unbarred N		(P1. VIII, 1)
2. 8g·I Obv	· ·		
	In tressures © Besi	de bust & Beneath	bust &
Rev			
	nouidouitacita	1	(P1. VIII, 2)
		Pence	
Lawrence,	Class VII		
3. 23.2 /////	//RICVSRGX III	Phe LIP	$\alpha \alpha \alpha 0$
Fox, Class	Ιc		
4. 23.4 Nor		Normal legend—	Ns reversely barred
5. 22.7 ,		", ",	,, ,, (diff. die)
6. 22·5 , aı	,, but W:R, L/: nd S•h	υ ,, ,,	" " " "
Fox, Class	Id		
7. 22·4 Nor	mal legend— N s reversely	barred Normal leger	nd N s reversely barred
Fox, Class	II		
8. 23·0 Nor	mal legend (M)	Normal lege	nd (M)
9. 22.8 ,	, (diff. die)	,, ,,	, (diff. die)
10. 22·7 11. 22·6		,, ,	
T2 22.6		,, ,	
13. 22.3		,, ,	
I4. 22·I ,		,, ,	
15. 21.6 ,	, ,, ,,	,, ,	, ,, ,,
Fox Class			
16. 22·6 Nor	mal legend (slight chip on	edge) Normal lege:	nd
Fox Class	III c		
	mal legend (S)	Normal lege	
18. 22.3		",	, (diff. die)
19. 22.0		,, ,	, ,, ,,
Fox Class		. 1\	1/0 1 1/1
	mal legend (S round-wais , ,, (diff. die)		nd (S round-waisted) , (diff. die)
		,, ,	, (um. die)
Fox, Class		Ma	nd
	mal legend (chipped flan) , , (diff. die)	Normal lege	(4:ff 4:°/
23. 21.7	, , , (diп. die)	,, ,	, (diff. die)

Hoard with Groats	of Eawa	era I	¹ 57
Fox, Class IV b			
24. 22.4 Normal legend (flan too large for dies)	Normal le	egend	
25. 22.3 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,	,,	,,	(diff. die)
Fox, Class IV e/c Mule (No pellet in reverse	legend)		
26. 22·2 Normal legend	Normal le	egend	
Fox, Class IV e			
27. 23.6 Normal legend	Normal le	egend	
Fox, Class V b			
28. 23.7 Normal legend	Normal le	egend	
29. 23·I ,, (diff. die)	,,	,,	(diff. die) ¹
30. 23.0 ,, ,,	,,	,,	
31. 22.9 ,, ,,	,,	,,	
32. 22·9 ,, ,, 33. 22·8 ,, ,,	"	,,	
	,,	,,	
Fox, Class VI b	3711.		
34. 22·2 Normal legend	Normal le	egena	
Fox, Class VIII			
35. 22·2 Normal legend	Normal le	egend	(PI. VIII, 3)
Farthing	S		
Fox, Class II			
36. 4·8 Normal legend (Chipped and corroded)	Normal le	egend	
Fox, Class III			
37. 5.8 Normal legend	Normal le	egend	
Fox, Class VIII			
38. 5·I Normal legend	Normal le	egend	(PI. VIII, 4)
DDIOGO			
BRISTO			
Penny			
Fox, Class II	N 11.		
39. 22·9 Normal legend—Ns reversely barred	Normalie	egena	
CANTERB	URY		
Pence			
Fox, Class III b			
40. 23·5 Normal legend (S)	Normal le	egend (S)	
	1,01111111	Scha (D)	
Fox, Class III g	Normal lo	(2) brone	
4I. 22·7 Normal legend (S)		eccentricall	v struck)
For Class IV b	(2007.0		.,
Fox, Class IV b	Normalia	hana	
42. 23.0 Normal legend (Flan too large for di	Normal le	genu	
12 2212			
43. 44. 4 ,, ,,	,,	,,	

¹ Pierced from reverse with blunt spike—for suspension?

	UA, C	TILL CCDI	u						
55.	22.5	Normal	legend			Normal l	egend		
		,,		(diff.	die)	,,	,,	(diff.	die)
57.	21.2	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,

YORKPence

ROYAL MINT

158

Fox, Class III d

58. 22.8	22.8 Normal legend				Normal le			
59. 22.3	,,	,,	(diff.	die)	,,	,,	(diff.	die)
60. 22.0	,,	,,	,,	,,	23	,,	"	,,
ARCHIEPIS	SCOPAL	MINT						

61. 22.6 Normal legend

Normal legend

IRELAND

MINT OF DUBLIN

Pence

HENRY III

Normal type, mullet to r.: DAV ION DIV LP (Pl. VIII, 5), 20.7. 62.

EDWARD I

Group I

No initial mark, no stops in legend, wedge-tailed R, open C and E,

	110th to with Ground of Education 1	-37
	no bar of contraction in DNS , pupils of eyes like "almonds", very plain lettering, cf. (PI. VIII, 6).	
63-68.	22.5 (2), 22.3, 21.8, 21.5, 21.1.	6
Group II		
	As Group I but initial pellet, pellet stops throughout legend, bar of contraction in DNS, pupils of eyes "dots".	
	Class A Lettering as Group I (cf. Pl. VIII, 7).	
69-88.	22·7 (2), 22·6, 22·5 (3), 22·4 (2), 22·2 (3), 22·1 (2), 22·0 (3), 21·9, 21·5, 21·0, 20·0.	20
	Class B Lettering with serifs (cf. Pl. VIII, 8). On a very few coins the last and/or penultimate stop may be omitted (cf. Pl. VIII, 9), and these coins may be considered transitional.	
89-142.	23·5, 23·4, 23·1 (2), 22·9, 22·8 (3), 22·7 (7), 22·6 (2), 22·5 (2), 22·4 (7), 22·3, 22·2 (4), 22·1 (3), 22·0 (7), 21·9 (4), 21·8, 21·7 (3), 21·6, 21·5, 21·4, 21·2, 20·8.	54
Group II	Group III Mules (cf. PI. VIII, 10) One coin (P1. VIII, 11) has Roman "N" on reverse.	
143-52.	23.0, 22.8, 22.4 (2), 22.2 (2), 21.7, 21.6, 21.5, 21.3.	10
Group II	I/Group II Mules (cf. PI. VIII, 12)	
153-9.	22.9, 22.7, 22.4, 22.2, 22.1, 21.6, 21.5.	7
Group II	I	
	The essential criteria as regards the obverse are a scroll-tailed R and as regards the reverse the use of Lombardic R and a round-waisted S .	
	Class A Initial pellet, stops between last three words usually omitted, cf. P1. VIII, 13. Two coins retain Roman "N" in reverse (cf. P1. VIII, 14). 23.0, 22.8, 22.6, 22.5, 22.4 (2), 22.3, 22.1 (4), 22.0, 21.8 (2), 21.6, 21.5	16
160-75.		
	Class B Initial plain small cross, square "E" in king's name, stop between last two words invariably absent, cf. Pl. VIII, 15.	
176-90.	22.9 (2), 22.5, 22.4 (4), 22.3, 22.0, 21.9, 21.4, 21.3 (2), 20.8, 16.8.	15
Irregular	Eleven coins are from markedly irregular dies (notably P1. VIII, 16). Those of 22 gr. and over seem of good silver and one hesitates to condemn them as false. It is interesting that only one coin imitates an obverse and not one a reverse of the writer's Group III.	
191-201.	29.4, 28.6, 25.5, 25.0, 22.9, 22.4, 22.0, 21.4, 18.4, 17.2, 16.9.	11
	Halfpenny	
EDWARD	I	

MINT OF WATERFORD

Pence

EDWARD I

Group II A

Group II B 202. (Pl. VIII, 17.) 11.9.

203-6. Cf. Pl. VIII, 18. 22.7, 22.6, 22.3, 21.3.

160		The Do	ver Hoard, the First English	
Group II 207–84.	23·8, 2 22·3 ((2), 21	6), 22·2 (8), 22·: 1·2, 21·1 (2), 21	(2), 22·8 (4), 22·7 (5), 22·6 (6), 22·5 (11), 22·4 (4), 1 (6), 22·0 (4), 21·9 (5), 21·8 (2), 21·5 (3), 21·4, 21·3 (2), 20·0.	78
			ellets between last three words and has round- (Pl. VIII, 20).	
285.			ay have scroll-tailed R on both sides as well as coin (Pl. VIII, 21).	I
286.	22·I.			I
			Halfpenny	
Edward	I		a latinasia da an gora madhinan adhin	
Group II 287.		t no stops and III, 22.) 10.8.	no initial pellet).	I
				•
			SCOTLAND	
		I	By IAN HALLEY STEWART	
		ALE	XANDER III (1280–1286)	
			Coinage of 1280–	
Burns Gr	rout I		Coinage of 1200-	
DWW G	Class	Fig.		
288-93.	I/I	141	23.0, 22.1, 21.9, 21.5 (2), 21.3	6
294-310.		142	22·9, 22·7, 22·4, 22·2, 22·1 (3), 21·9 (3), 21·8 (2), 21·6 (2), 21·5 (2), 21·2	17
3II.	I/II	141/8	20·9 (Pl. IX, 1)	17 1
312, 313.		144	22.1, 21.6	2
314.		cf. 145	21.6 (unbarred π in $GR\pi$, Pl. IX, 2)	I
315-21.	TT	146 (19 & 20)		7
322. 323.	II II/III	cf. 148 (8) 149	22·1 (Pl. IX, 3) 22·9 (Pl. IX, 4)	I I
324-6.	III	cf. 151	23·1, 22·1, 21·9 (REX•, Pl. IX, 5)	3
327-41.		,,	23.2, 22.9 (2), 22.7, 22.4 (3), 22.2, 22.1 (2), 21.9	
0.40			(2), 21.7 (2), 21.5 (unbarred in GR 7)	15
342.		"	22·2 (GR 77: Pl. IX, 6) 22·5 (•DEI:; Pl. IX, 7)	I I
343. 344.		,,	22.4 (•DEI:; Pl. IX, 8)	I
345.		151 (13)	21.0	I
346-50.		157	22·8, 22·4, 21·9, 21·1, 20·6	5
351-9.	III/I	153	23.1, 22.2 (2), 21.9, 21.8 (4), 21.2	9
360.		cf. 153	23.0 (GR 77: ; Pl. IX, 9)	I I
361. 362.	III/II	158 155	22·2 21·9	I
			 9	
	oup II	Group I Mule	aget (Group II Closs III/Croup I Closs I	
363.		181	22: (Group II, Class III/Group I, Class I, Pl. IX, 10)	I
_				

Burns Gi	roup II			
Revers	se: four	mullets of five	points	
364-7.	II	165	22.8, 22.6, 22.1, 21.9	4
368 - 80.		166 (34)	22.5, 22.3, 22.2, 21.9 (4), 21.3 (4), 21.0, 20.8	13

Revers			e points, one of six	
381.	Class II/III		22·5 (Pl. IX, 11)	1
Revers 382.	se: two II	mullets of five 167	points, two of six 22·4	I
Revers 383–6. 387. 388–93. 394, 395.	III	mullet of five p 168 cf. 168 200	points, three of six 22.7, 22.3, 22.1 (2) 21 3 (D GR; Pl. IX, 12) 22.4, 22.2 (2), 22.1, 21.7, 21.6 (Third head) 22.3, 21.0 (Third head and a new reverse type for Class I; Pl. IX, 13)	4 1 6
396-9. 400, 401.	I I/II I/III II	mullets of six 1 158 A, 22·3, 22 161 169 178 or 184	5·2, 21·7, 21·5 (Pl. IX, 14) 23·1, 22·6 21·6 (Unrecorded mule; Pl. IX, 15) 22·5, 22·1, 21·5, 21·0, 20·5, 19·6 23·2, 23·1 (2), 23·0 (2), 22·8 (2), 22·6, 22·4, 22·3 (2), 22·2 (8), 22·1 (7), 22·0 (2), 21·9 (3), 21·7 (2), 21·6 (4), 21·5 (2), 21·4 (3), 21·3, 21·2 (2), 21·1,	4 2 1 6
458. 459. 460-80.		cf. 178 or 184	(GRT·; Pl. IX, 17) 21·6 23·5, 22·8 (2), 22·6, 22·5 (2), 22·4, 22·3, 22·2 (3), 22·1, 22·0 (2), 21·9, 21·7, 21·6, 21·5, 21·4, 21·0,	49 I I
481, 482. 483-94.	III/I	182 201 A	20·9 (Third head) 22·1, 22·0 (First head; Pl. IX, 18) 22·9, 22·6, 22·4, 22·1 (2), 22·0, 21·9, 21·6 (2), 21·1, 20·8, 20·7 (Third head)	2I 2 12
495-505. 506-14.	III/II	183 or 189 203	22·5 (2), 22·4, 22·1 (2), 22·0, 21·9, 21·8, 21·5 (2), 21·1 (First or second head) 22·9, 22·8, 22·2 (2), 21·9, 21·8, 21·6 (2), 21·3 (Third	II
	1		head)	9
515. Ano	maious III	207	22·2 (irregular obverse die; Pl. IX, 19)	I
Revers		e mullets of six Fig.	points, one star of seven	
516-20. 521. 522, 523. 524.	I I/III II/I II/III	159 164 173 177	22.6, 22.4, 22.3, 22.2, 22.1 21.3 22.1, 21.5 22.2	5 1 2 1
525-7. 528-32. 533, 534. 535.	III III/I III/II	179, 180, or 185 A 188 	22.4 (2), 21.7 (First or second head) 22.1 (2), 21.8, 21.5, 21.3 (Second head) 22.2, 22.1 (Third head; P1. IX, 20) 22.2	3 5 2 1
	e: two	mullets of six p 160	points, two stars of seven 22.4, 22.2 (4), 21.9 (2), 21.8 (2), 21.5 (2), 21.3, 21.0 (3)	15
551-4. 555-76.	I/II II	162 170	22·1, 21·6 (2), 21·0 22·9, 22·4 (2), 22·3, 22·2, 22·0 (4), 21·9 (3), 21·8 (4), 21·7 (2), 21·6, 21·5, 21·3, 20·9	4
577-97. 598-602.	II/III	174 177 A	22·4, 22·3, 22·2 (2), 22·1, 21·9 (2), 21·8 (5), 21·7 (3), 21·6, 21·4, 21·3 (4) 22·1 (2), 21·9 (2), 21·5	21 5
603. B 5442		cf. 177 A	22.2 (mullets in 1st and 3rd quarters; P1. IX, 21)	ĭ

162		The Dov	er Hoard, the First English	
604. 605–7.	III/I	188 A 202	21·8 (Second head) 23·1, 22·8, 22·4, 22·1 (2), 21·9 (2), 21·8 (2), 21·7, 21·6 (2), 21·5 (Third head)	I I3
608–20. 621.	III/II	101 ci. 191	21.8, 21.6, 21.5 (Second head) 21.9 (mullets in 1st and 3rd quarters; P1. IX, 22)	3 I
622–8. 629.		204 cf. 204	23·1, 22·5, 22·1, 21·9 (2), 21·8 (2) (Third head) 21·3 (mullets in 1st and 3rd quarters; Pl. IX, 23)	7 1

Reverse: four stars of seven points

630. II 172 22·3 21·0 (unrecorded class for this reverse; **P1.IX, 24**)

N.B. In a future paper Mr. Stewart hopes to discuss at length the significance of this major find for the student of the Scottish series as such.

LOUIS IX

Gros Tournois

Lafaurie 198

Obv. +BNDICTV;SIT;NOME;DNI;

Rev.	*TV	RONVS	CIVIS

600		4uvd	OVICUS REX		A 103	
632.	05.9	E		₩•	•S•	(P1. X, 1)
622	65.5		S•R			(= = = = = = = = = = = = = = = = = = =
633.	⁰ 5 ⁻⁷		.•*		•S•	(P1. X, 2)
634.	65.7		S•R			(2 2 2 2 2 7 - 7
034.	95.7		∨ ≭ S•R		•\$•	(P1. X, 3)
635.	63.1	Ħ	H	and th	here are other	l by two pellets pellets between l 12th and 1st lis. (Pl. X, 4)
			S•R			

PHILIP III

Gros Tournois

Lafaurie 204

636. 64:I +BNDICTV:SIT:NOME:DNI:

NRI:DEI:ITV.XPI

*TVRONV.S.CIVIS (Pl. X, 5)

*Phillipus-rex

PHILIP III OR PHILIP IV

Gros Tournois

Lafaurie 217

+BNDICTV;SIT;NOME;DNI; RRI;DEI;IhV•XPI

*TVRONVS CIVIS

					*TVR	OWA	SCIVIS	
		+PhIIII	PPVS F	REX				
637.	64.4	H Iħ	Н		Н			
				*				/D1 V 4)
638.	64.1	Н	Н	Ħ		N		(Pl. X, 6)
639.	63.0				[Same dies as no.	И	•	(Pl. X, 7)
		XV#I						/D1 37 0)
			•					(P1. X, 8)
640.	63.8	H	н	Н			÷	(Pl. X, 9)
641.	63.8	H Xx		Н	R	•		(Pl. X, 10)
640	60.0		×	ď				
642.	63.8	₩X		Ų				
					R	٧		(Pl. X, 11)
640	60.0	ī ī da	¥	77				
043.	63.7	H	Н	H				
					R	И		(Pl. X, 12)
644	63.7	[Sa	me obv.	die as i	10. 645] [Same dies as no.	620]		
044.	03.7	ITVX			[Same dies as no.	V39.		
							•	
645	63.5	H 4 t	н	Н				
۰45.	03.3	1141		п	R	v O		(Pl. X, 13)
6.6		[Sa	me obv. o	die as r				
040.	63.4	ITA		Ω				
				JAC	R	٧		(Pl. X, 14)
6.1-		-	٧					
047.	63.4	H \$	Н	H	R	N		
		-11						
648.	63.3	H	Н	Ĥ				(Pl. X, 15)
		情						
				·×				(Pl. X, 16)
649.	63.3	H	Н	Ħ				/D1 37 175\
		Ix						(P1. X, 17)

164		2	The Dov	er Ho	oard, the First English	
650.	63.2					
				N		(P1. XI, 1)
651.	62.9	ਜ 4 5	Н	Н		
		es.			R	(P1. XI, 2)
652.	62.9				Mr. w.	(= == === , =)
			Ic +		Ţ. K +	(P1. XI, 3)
653.	62.7	BNDITV		Ĥ	R	
			•			(P1. XI, 4)
654.	5 ⁸ ·7	Н	HŒ	Ĥ	R +	
	100	Į7.	+	_	A '	(P1. XI, 5)
655.	58.6			Ĥ	R ·	
			٧.			
					B	(Pl. XI. 6)

PHILIP IV

Gros Tournois

Lafaurie 218

+BNDICTV;SIT;NOME;DNI;

		~					
		TUPL	TANNUG	nc	*TVRONVS CI	IS	
	_		LUPPVS		^		
656.	64.9	Н	Н	Н			
		X-	ŀ				
							(P1. XI, 7)
657.	64.5	H	Ħ	Н			(,-,
57.	- 7 3	L				*	
							/D1 VI (1
C=0	6			-			(P1. XI, !)
658.	04.2	н _	Н	Н			
		L	r		[Same dies as nos. 662 and 666]	*	(P1. XI, 9)
659.	63.8	H ITs	Н	H			
0,5	•	15			N		
		I	•		**		
			•				(P1. XI, 10)
660	606	T.					(F1. A1, 10)
000.	63.6	П	Н	Н			
		175					
		Ŀ					(P1. XI, 11)
661.	63.6	Н	Н	Ĥ			
	r. Ag		(
							(P1. XI, 12)
662.	62.6	ũ	Н	Н			(11. 221,)
002.	03 0		`c	.,	[Come dies 6-0 1666]	*	
		•	Α'		[Same dies as nos. 658 and 666]	*	
	_	_		-			
663.	63.4		Н	Н			
		1	T.			*	(P1. XI, 13)

		Ho	ard with	a Groats of Edward I		165
664.	63·2 H Iħ	Н	Н			
	I.			R		(Pl. XI, 14)
665.	63·1 H ★	Н	Н			
	The Lite			N		(Pl. XI, 15)
666.	61·8 Ħ Ľ r	Н	H [Sai	me dies as nos. 658 and 662]	*	
667.	58·6 H	Н	H			/D1 VI 16\

PHILIP IV

· · (P1. XI, 16)

Mailles Tierces

Lafaurie 223

#Philippus Rex 5. S. (P1. XII, 1) (P2. XII, 2) (P3. XII, 2) (P4. XII, 2) (P5. XII, 2) (P6. XII, 2) (P6. XII, 2) (P6. XII, 3) (P7. XII, 4) (P7. XII, 5) (P7. XII, 6) (P7. XII, 6) (P7. XII, 6) (P7. XII, 7) (P7. XII, 8) (P7. XII, 9) (P7. XII, 9) (P7. XII, 9) (P7. XII, 10)			+BNDICTV SIT NOS	Ω€;I	IN INC	*TVRONVS CIVIS		
S			+PhiLippvs REX			A V NOX V B CI V I B		
S	658.	21.8		W	Н			
Toth and Ioth and Ist lis. (PI. XII, 2)			S•					
670. 21·6	659.	21.7		W	HNRI	10th and 10th and 1st lis.		
Solution	670	27.6		Ф	н			
671. 21·6 Sr	0,0.	210		746		and 1st lis.		
And 1st lis. (P1. XII, 4) Pellets between 1st and 2nd and 1oth and 1st lis. S. (P1. XII, 5) Fellets between 1st and 2nd lis. S. (P1. XII, 5) Fellet between 1st and 2nd lis. S. (P1. XII, 6) Fellets between 2nd and 3rd and 8th and 9th lis. S. (P1. XII, 7) Fellets between 1st and 2nd and 1oth and 1st lis. Fellets between 1st and 2nd and 1oth and 1st lis. Fellets between 1st and 2nd and 1oth and 1st lis. Fellets between 1st and 2nd and 1oth and 1st lis. Fellets between 1st and 2nd and 1oth and 1st lis. Fellets between 1st and 2nd and 1oth and 1st lis. Fellets between 1st and 2nd and 1oth and 1st lis. Fellets between 1st and 2nd and 1oth and 1st lis. Fellets between 1st and 2nd and 1oth and 1st lis. Fellets between 1st and 2nd and 1oth and 1st lis. Fellets between 1st and 2nd and 1oth and 1st lis. Fellets between 1st and 2nd and 1oth and 1st lis.			S•		-			
Pellets between 1st and 2nd and 1oth and 1st lis. S・ (PI. XII, 5) Fellet between 1st and 2nd lis. S・ (PI. XII, 6) Fellets between 2nd and 3rd and 8th and 9th lis. S・ (PI. XII, 7) Fellets between 1st and 2nd and 1oth and 1st lis. II	671.	21.6		M	Н	and 1st lis.		
and Ist lis. S. (PI. XII, 5) Fellet between 1st and 2nd lis. S. (PI. XII, 6) Fellets between 2nd and 3rd and 8th and 9th lis. S. (PI. XII, 7) For 21.4 Fellets between 1st and 2nd and 1oth and Ist lis. Fellets between 1st and 2nd and 1oth and Ist lis. Fellets between 1st and 2nd and 1oth and Ist lis. Fellets between 1st and 2nd and 1oth and Ist lis. Fellets between 1st and 2nd and 1oth and Ist lis. Fellets between 1st and 2nd and 1oth and Ist lis. Fellets between 1st and 2nd and 1oth and Ist lis. Fellets between 1st and 2nd and 1oth and Ist lis. Fellets between 1st and 2nd and 1oth and Ist lis. Fellets between 1st and 2nd and 1oth and Ist lis.	6-0		۶٠		ш			
S	0/2.	21.5			н			
**S* (P1. XII, 6) 674. 21·5 **H Pellets between 2nd and 3rd and 8th and 9th lis. **S* (P1. XII, 7) 675. 21·5 676. 21·4 **S* (P1. XII, 8) Pellets between 1st and 2nd and 1oth and 1st lis. **I			S•					
674. 21·5 H Pellets between 2nd and 3rd and 8th and 9th lis. S. (P1. XII, 7) For 21·5 S. (P1. XII, 8) Pellets between 1st and 2nd and 1oth and 1st lis. II ·S· S· (P1. XII, 9) For 21·4 H Pellets between 1st and 2nd and 1oth and 1st lis. S. (P1. XII, 9) For 21·4 For	673.	21.5			H			
and 9th lis. S. S. (PI. XII, 7) 675. 21·5 676. 21·4 Fellets between 1st and 2nd and 10th and 1st lis. II S. S. (PI. XII, 9) Fellets between 1st and 2nd and 10th and 1st lis. II S. S. (PI. XII, 9) Fellets between 1st and 2nd and 10th and 1st lis. Fellets between 1st and 2nd and 10th and 1st lis. S. (PI. XII, 10)	6-1				-	_ (, _ ,		
S	0/4.	21.5			П			
S• S• (P1. XII, 8 Pellets between 1st and 2nd and 10th and 1st lis. 11			S.					
676. 21·4 Pellets between 1st and 2nd and 10th and 1st lis. 677. 21·4 H Pellets between 1st and 2nd and 10th and 1st lis. •S• (P1. XII, 9) 678. 21·3 N Pellets between 1st and 2nd and 10th and 1st lis. •S• (P1. XII, 10)	675.	21.5			Ĥ			
and 1st lis. I	6=6		S•					
677. 21·4	0/0.	21.4						
677. 21·4								
678. 21·3 (Pl. XII, 10)	677.	21.4			Ē	Pellets between 1st and 2nd and 10th		
	678.	21.3		W	H	S• (P1, XII, 11)		

The Dover Hoard, the First English

679. 21·1

Pellets between 1st and 2nd, 9th and 10th and 1st lis.

(PI. XII, 12)

680. 21·0

M H Pellets between 1st and 2nd and 1oth and 1st lis.

•S• S•

(PI. XII, 13)

BRABANT

JEAN I (1261–1294) or JEAN II (1294–1312)? Mint of Brussels

Gros
681. Cf. De Witte 298

Obv. *MOVETT:BRVXELY

(PI. XII, 14)

Rev. +MOM€N:DOMINI;MOSTRI;SIT;B€N€DITVM *BRABANTIE:DVX

HAINAULT

JEAN D'AVESNES (1280-1304)

Mint of Valenciennes

Esterlins
682. 21·9 Obv. **I*COMES*NANONIE
Rev. VAU|ENC|NEN|ENS'
683. 21·2 Obv. As 682 but different dies
Rev. ,, ,, ,, (Pl. XII, 16)

HOLLAND

Gros
684. 63.3 Obv. *TVROMVS CIVIS

Par *PRADICTVISIT: IACME: DIVINE !: DE !: IDVVP !

Rev. ★BUDICTV:SIT:UOME:DUI:hKI:DEI:IhVXRI ★RUORENTIVSCO

BRESCIA

Commune

Grosso 685. 26·7

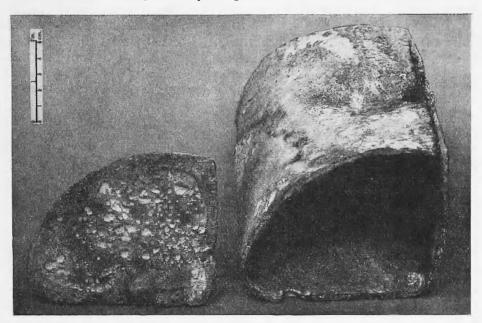
As Corpus Nummorum Italicorum, Lombardia, p. 80, no. 16, but stop after marks of contraction at end of reverse legend.

(PI. XII, 18)

THE CONTAINER

The hoard was discovered, as has already been pointed out, in a leaden money-box. The box is made out of a lead sheet just over $\frac{1}{10}$ in. (3-4 mm.) thick, 14 in. (31.5 cm.) long, and 6.4 in. (16.3 cm.) wide. This sheet was bent around two wedge-shaped end-pieces 3.8 in. (9.9 cm.) high at the back and with a base of 4.7 in. (12 cm.). The right angle at the back and the curve in the front suggest that it was meant to stand against a wall. The coin-slot is cut out in the centre at the top where the ends of the sheet meet and is 1 in. (2.5 cm.) wide.

The end-pieces were originally sweated into position and smoothed off on the outside with an abrasive or a file. The box was unfortunately damaged by a blow of the pick-axe of the finder on the top, near the slot, causing a fairly deep dent. There can be no doubt that



the right-hand end of the box, which is now open, was prised open purposely when the hoard was deposited in 1295. This end-piece fell out when the box was dislodged in the earth, scattering the coins. One can detect two places in the edge, and at the corresponding spots in the end-piece, which show the kind of wilful damage consistent with the box having been forced open. Not only the evidence of this damage points to the hurried opening of the box but also the fact that the hoard included a number of English groats that were too large to be pushed through the coin-slot. The owner of the moneybox had obviously not envisaged the saving of coins of such high denomination or the purpose to which circumstances forced him to put the box.

Money-boxes were known in Roman times and again are found in large numbers from the sixteenth century onwards.² Such "boxes" were known as "thrift" or "christmas boxes" and were made, as a rule, of pottery. The only way of extracting one's savings was by smashing them, and this feature at least the present leaden box has in common with the pottery examples. This fact also proves that our box was not, as one might have thought, an alms box in a church. Alms boxes were in use in churches at least as early as the beginning of the

¹ Caylus, Recueil d'Antiquités, tom. iv, pl. liii, figs. 3, 4, p. 157.

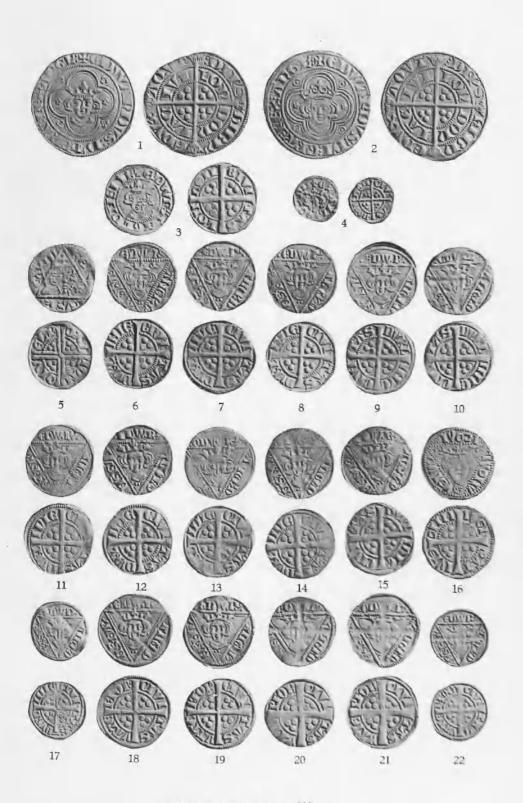
² Journal of the British Archaeological Association, vol. xxx, 1874, pp. 441-3. The German Encyclopedia Brockhaus states under Sparbüchse that medieval money-boxes existed in Germany from the thirteenth century onwards but gives no reference.

thirteenth century,¹ but lead is not a material that would have lent great security to its contents. Although safety might of course have been achieved by cementing the box into a wall, the shape of the box and the position of the slot would not be easy to accommodate, and the fact that alms-boxes must be emptied at intervals rules out this possibility. If indeed it is a simple money-box for the use of an individual, then it has the distinction of being a most unusual container in which to find a hoard² and, as far as I know, the only English medieval money-box to have come to light so far.

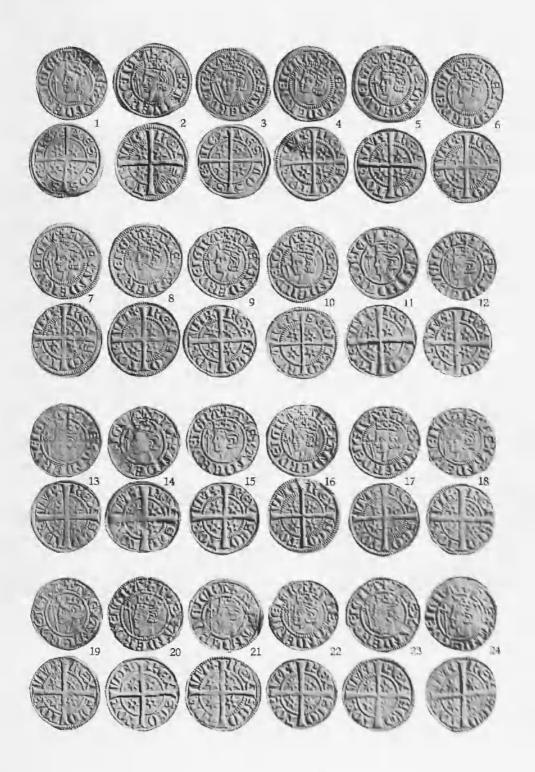
P. E. LASKO.

¹ Du Cange, under Troncus, Truncus.

² It is more normal, of course, to find them in pottery vessels. Only occasionally are other materials found, for example: Stone receptacle, with coins of Henry II, found at Ampthill, Beds. (Num. Chron. vol. ii, 1840, p. 54). Bronze jug, with coins dating from c. 1280 to c. 1345 found at Dumfermline, Fife, in 1896 (Antiq. Journ. vol. xvi, p. 323; Num. Chron., 5th ser., vol. xvi, p. 304). Two anther horns, with denarii from c. 875 to 916, found at Grüneck Castle near Ilanz, Switzerland in 1811 (Arch. Journ., vol. iv, 1847, p. 74). Bronze cup with Roman coins of the third century A.D. from Valtis, St. Gall, Switzerland (Ur Schweiz, vol. xiv, no. 3 (1950), p. 47). Other examples of lead containers of a hoard are a lead plate (perhaps pewter?) of about 6 to 8 in. in diameter, with its sides turned inwards to form a cup, found at Sheldon in Derbyshire in 1867 containing a hoard dated c. 1142 (this reference was kindly given to me by Mrs. J. S. Strudwick (Brit. Num. Journ. vol. vii, 1910, p. 28)); the celebrated Cuerdale hoard (c. 905) which is said to have been enclosed in a leaden chest which was so decomposed that only small portions of it could be secured (Num. Chron., vol. v, p. 1); the Campsey Ash hoard, Suffolk (c. 1066), which was found in two parcels in thin lead cases (Lindsay, Coinage of the Heptarchy, p. 122). I owe these last two references to Mr. Christopher Blunt.



THE DOVER HOARD (1)



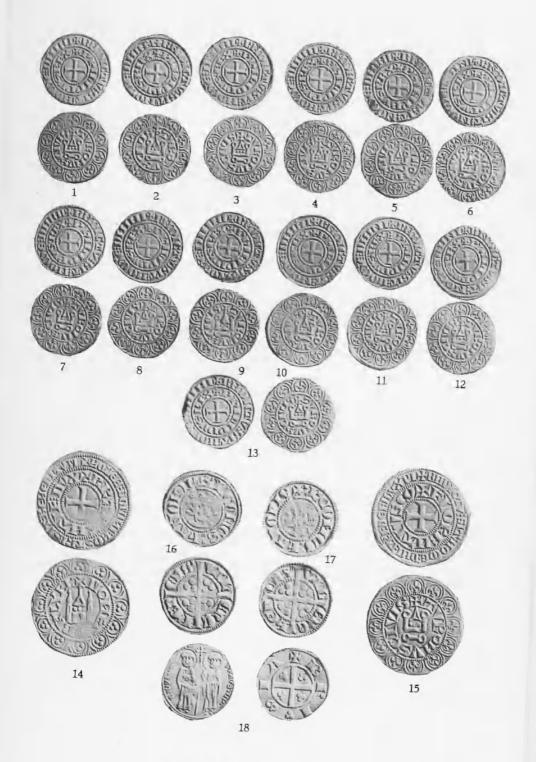
the dover hoard (2)



THE DOVER HOARD (3)



THE DOVER HOARD (4)



THE DOVER HOARD (5)

UNPUBLISHED INFORMATION UPON CHARLES I WEYMOUTH MINTS

By J. R. VINCENT

At the conclusion of his paper on the Weymouth Mints of Charles I (B.N.J. iii, 3rd ser., pp. 97-118), Mr. Derek Allen makes mention of the probable existence of further die varieties in this series. I now propose to tabulate briefly the unpublished specimens which I have examined and photographed together with certain unrecorded information concerning the Weymouth Issues. (Pl. XIII.)

Half-crowns

Four additional half-crown reverse dies occur.

Fig. 1. Obv.—As Allen B.

Rev.—. CHRISTO: AVSPICE: REGNO[]

Square shield crowned. Two loops and flowers on either side.

ooooo on crown band. No shading between crown and shield.

Bird-headed harp.

Ex Murdoch and Fargubar.

Ex. Murdoch and Farquhar.

Fig. 2. Obv.—As Allen E.

Rev.—CHRISTO * AVSPICE * REGNO:

Oval shield crowned and draped. A lis on either side above. •••• on crown band.

Ex. Bliss, Francis, and Ryan. Another occurs ex. Naish and Hamilton Smith.

Fig. 3. Obv.—As Allen F.

Rev.—CHRISTO * AVSPICE * REGNO:

Oval shield crowned and draped. A lis on either side above. ••••• on crown band.

Ex. Wigan, Marsham, Whittaker, Banes, and Wheeler.

Fig. 4. Obv.—As Allen I.

Rev.—♣ CHRISTO ♣ AVSPICE ♣ REGNO ♣

Oval shield crowned and surrounded by \wedge ornaments. •••• on crown band which does not overlap shield.

Ex. Raymond Carlyon-Britton. A better specimen is illustrated in the Montagu catalogue, 3rd portion, Pl. X, lot 607.

The following legend stops have been identified:

I 39. Reverse legend reads: CHRISTO 🕏 AVSPICE 🕏 REGNO 🕏

K. Obverse legend reads: • 🚱 • CAROLVS • D • G • MAG • BRI • FR ET • HI •

K 56. Reverse legend reads: 🗣 CHRISTO 🐡 AVSPICE ° REGNO 🍨

An Oxford half-crown occurs dated 1643 (Fig. 5), the reverse of which was used at Weymouth a year later. The altered die, Allen A 1, is shown in the Plate, Fig. 6. These two coins form the only known die link between Bushell and Vyvyan's Mints.

SHILLINGS

Two uncommon shillings occur with bust R.

Fig. 9. Obv.—• • CAROLVS • D • G • MAG • BR : FR : ET • HIB • REX • Bust of king to R. Fully mantled and copied from Oxford shilling

(Hawkins 524). XII behind head. Rev.—Same as half-crown die Allen D 21. (Fig. 7.)

170 Unpublished Information upon Charles I Weymouth Mints

Fig. 10. Obv.—As above.

Rev.—Same as half-crown die Allen D 23. (Fig. 8.) Ex Murdoch and Farquhar.

It is interesting to note the Oxford influence on the obverses of these four coins connected by their reverse dies. The half-crown obverse is of the Briot type used at Oxford in 1643 and the shilling obverse is certainly copied from the so-called pattern Oxford Shillings Bust R. (Figs. 11 and 12.) From recent study of the shilling issues, I am of the opinion that the same irons were used for the collar and scarf on the Oxford coin (H. 524) and the Weymouth pieces.

The following legend stop has been identified:

Allen A 3. Reverse reads: ★: CHRISTO * AVSPICE * REGNO :

THREEPENCES

The following legend stop has been identified:

Allen A I. Reverse reads: ❖: CHRISTO: AVSPICE: REGNO:

Much remains to be learned concerning this most interesting series. As further information comes to me I shall submit it for publication. I am indebted to the London coin dealers who have found coins for my examination: without their valuable help this short article could not have been written.



WEYMOUTH COINS OF CHARLES I



THE "DUNKIRK" TOKENS

By ARTHUR C. GRIFFIN

It is an unfortunate fact that of the large number of books published on the eighteenth-century token coinage few are able to give any notes on the historical background of the various issues. Excellent as these publications are in their ways they are little more than descriptive catalogue-lists and information about the token issuers, their lives and their businesses is extremely scanty.

The collection and collation on a national scale of detailed information on tokens would undoubtedly be a colossal undertaking, but one which might be broken down and tackled county by county by students



Type I. Type I variety (struck on large flan).

of tokens or by numismatic societies operating within their particular territories. The task should be commenced while old records are still available and while old buildings still exist; otherwise many of the tokens which are at present something of a mystery will no doubt remain so.

The halfpenny tokens listed under Dunkirk in the Somerset section of Dalton and Hamer's catalogue have long been in this latter category and it is in an attempt to throw some light on these issues that I have

prepared these notes.

There are three main types of the Dunkirk halfpenny, all similar in design. The obverse, which is common to all, depicts a fleece suspended with an ornate monogram or cypher below. The legend success to the staple of england surrounds the central design. The reverse of the first type portrays a large five-storied building and bears the legend Dunkikre factory 1795. Charles Pye in his work on tokens says that only a few impressions were struck. Certainly this type is scarce and presumably was the first issue.

The reverse of the second type differs in that the mis-spelling on the first issue is corrected to read DUNKIRK and SOMT. (for Somerset) is added below. According to Pye some 5 cwt. of this issue were struck and these pieces are frequently met with. There is yet a third type, similar to the foregoing but lacking the small ornamental flourishes about the cypher on the obverse. Pye appears to have been unaware

of this third issue and it may be that his figure of the amount struck is an inclusive one for both the second and third types.

Unlike the majority of contemporary issues the Dunkirk pieces have no edge readings. The edge of the first type is grained obliquely to the



FIG. 2.

Type II.

Type III.

left on the normal coin but varieties exist with upright graining, part graining to left and part to right, with graining to the left over an original reading PAYABLE IN DUBLIN OR LONDON and with plain edge on a large flan.

The second type has the edge grained to the right with one variety—

plain edge struck without a collar.

The third type also exists with two edges—grained to the right and with plain edge. There are therefore nine collectable specimens in all.

These edge varieties are without exception extremely rare and it is possible that they were concocted for sale to token collectors of the day. On the other hand they may be genuine errors on the part of the manufacturers. It was customary to inscribe the edges of blanks before striking and carelessness by workmen could easily cause incorrect or mixed edges. Moreover, some manufacturers are known to have used up blanks left over from previous requisitions, thereby saving time and the expense of remelting.

The whole issue is, however, well-struck and of good weight and

undoubtedly made for genuine commercial purposes.

The tokens, with their fleece design and reference to "the Staple of England", are obviously connected with the clothing industry. The building appearing on the reverse is a typical woollen mill of the period.

An original circulation not far removed from Bath is indicated by the fact that worn specimens of the commoner varieties are occasion-

ally found in the possession of local residents.

Examination of some early maps of Somerset shows the former existence of an area or old site marked as Dunkirk or Dunkirke situated within the parish of Freshford. At this picturesque village five miles from Bath may be found abundant evidence of a clothing industry which has now disappeared. Some weavers' cottages are still to be seen and two old cloth mills still exist, one being now a rubber factory.

The second mill, standing below Friary Woods away from the

village proper, is still known locally as Dunkirk Mill. This is a substantial structure and although now disused it is not as yet completely derelict. The outer fabric is almost entirely covered by creeper but appears to be quite sound. Large areas of the roof remain intact. Most of the flooring has collapsed to the ground but the main staircase can be ascended with comparative safety. Behind the mill is the mill pond and two smaller reservoirs used for breeding trout.

There can be no doubt that this is the building depicted on the tokens and I suggest that a strong case exists for the relisting of

the "Dunkirk" pieces under Freshford, Somerset.

The identity of the token issuers is concealed in the monogram on the obverse of the tokens. The catalogue reading of this monogram as M & I is surely suspect. The second of the letters can only be an old-

fashioned J.

The student of the history of Freshford will, ere long, come across the names of Methuen and Joyce in connexion with the local woollen industry and in his book on Freshford the Rev. P. J. Goodrich says: "Wealthy were the clothiers who resided at Freshford. The names of Methuen and Joyce are noted in our history. Each of them, of course,

was intimately associated with the production of cloth."

Goodrich does not tell us which member of the noted Methuen family was connected with the Freshford cloth trade at the time of the issue of the tokens, but most probably this was Paul Methuen, M.P., a Wiltshire landowner, who became a baron in 1838. It was an ancestor of his, another Paul Methuen, who founded the industry at Freshford and imported Flemish weavers for the purpose. Many of the latter no doubt originated from the then Flemish town of Dunkirk and presumably applied the appellation to their new surroundings in memory of their former home. When Paul Methuen died in 1667 he was described by a contemporary as "the greatest cloathier [sic] of his time".

The influx of the Flemish weavers is clearly traced in the parish registers where many foreign-sounding names can be read to this day.

Of Joyce we can be more specific. In 1803 a Parliamentary Committee was set up to inquire into the wool clothiers' petition made that year and it is recorded that Mr. John Joyce of Freshford gave evidence before the Committee as to the exact duties of inspectors of cloth. In the Parish Church at Freshford is a memorial tablet inscribed: "John Joyce, clothier, of this place, who died 25 April 1804, aged 56 years."

Near the church is the village store which until recently had been in the hands of one local family for many generations. Here it was that the mill workers exchanged their tokens for goods and some appreciable business must have been transacted here as Freshford in 1795

contained 150 dwellings and had a population of around 900.

According to Pye, the "Dunkirk" tokens were struck by W. Lutwyche of Temple Row, Birmingham, from dies by Arnold, and Pye must surely be correct in his statement as the Dunkirk obverse die can be found muled with another of Lutwyche's productions, the

Bishop Blaize reverse of the Leeds token. The majority of the contemporary Bath token-issuers obtained supplies from Lutwyche and no doubt the nearby Freshford issuers did likewise. It is interesting to note that a Mr. W. Lutwyche resided at 12 Marlborough Buildings, Bath, towards the end of the eighteenth century. This may have been the token manufacturer himself or at least some connexion with the firm and, if so, it would have been easy to place orders for tokens through this local contact.

The Dunkirk tokens are well up to Lutwyche's usual high standard of striking and Arnold's skill is apparent from the fine cross-hatching of the windows on the token reverse, each individual window pane

being clearly shown.

As in other localities, the woollen industry at Freshford has died out, stifled by foreign competition and the introduction of the cotton trade, but the old Dunkirk Factory and its tokens still exist as reminders of those bygone days.

MISCELLANEA

AN INSCRIBED GOLD STATER OF THE DOBUNNI FROM KING'S WESTON, BRISTOL

On Friday, 2 December 1955, Mr. Jack Jones unearthed the coin described in this note while digging in the back garden of his house at 23 Haig Close, Westbury Lane, Westbury-on-Trym, Bristol. The site is immediately south-east of the large quarry near the south-west end of King's Weston Hill, at National Grid Ref. ST 54807738. The locality bears other evidences of Early Iron Age occupation. The coin was submitted for identification to the City Museum, Bristol, by whom it has now been acquired. (Pl. XIV, 9).

The obverse bears the usual motif resembling a fern, pine-tree, or a stylized ear of corn, or even a fish-bone, the identity of which is still

uncertain.

The reverse bears a fine disjointed horse and wheel, and the legend ANTEDRIC(OV). The letters ANTED occur above the horse. The A has the top missing but there are no indications of crossbar. The letters NTED are normal, the D being plain and clearly formed. The letter R is beneath the horse's head, I is between the forelegs, and G (in the form of a reversed 2) is between the inner foreleg and the wheel. The letter O, if it ever existed, is outside the field. There is a V behind the horse's outer hindleg, but it is uncertain whether this V is part of the legend or (perhaps less likely) an ornamental device. The horse is of the usual triple-tailed type with the forelegs and the inner hindleg separated from the body. In the field above the horse is a crescent between two pellets with a cross beneath. There are two crosses under the neck and one under the belly, and there is a pellet between the forelegs and the body. Between the forelegs and hindlegs is a fine six-spoked wheel.

The type resembles *Evans*, i. 7, and *Mack*, 386. Mr. Derek Allen informs me, however, that the coin is from the same dies as one in the British Museum (Evans collection) from the Nunney Hoard in a later state (at present numbered 1074). The die-relationship is shown in the

illustration.

The coin has a slightly coppery colour, weighs $82\frac{1}{2}$ gr., and has a specific gravity of 11.83. Were it composed exclusively of gold and copper this would indicate about 28 per cent. gold and 72 per cent.

copper. Its maximum diameter is just over 18 mm.

The writer is grateful to Mr. Derek Allen for much assistance in preparing this note; to Mr. Jack Jones for showing him the find-spot; to Mr. A. J. Banister of Bristol for determining the specific gravity, and to the Director, the City Museum, Bristol, for permission to publish the discovery.

L. V. Grinsell

TWO TREMISSES OF THE MEROVINGIAN MINT OF QUENTOVIC

In his standard work Anglo-Saxon Gold Coinage in the Light of the Crondall Hoard, Dr. C. H. V. Sutherland claimed that "the mint of Wiccus in Pontio (Quentovic, in the Pas de Calais) was a mint which supplied more coinage to Britain than any other". This was a bold and imaginative claim, and the more so because in the very next sentence he conceded that "it is true that no other specimens of Quentovic have been found in Britain except in the Crondall hoard, and that these seven Crondall specimens show a closely knit dielinkage". New evidence, however, has come to light, and on the whole it may be said amply to vindicate the emphasis which Dr. Sutherland has laid upon the importance of Quentovic for the student

of early Anglo-Saxon gold coinage.

In the Derby Museum and Art Gallery there is an electrotype of a triens of Quentovic, and the records show that the original was found, together with gold ornaments set with garnets, in a grave, allegedly of a woman, destroyed in the course of constructing a railway more than eighty years ago. Unfortunately we are not told where the find was made, but both the men who figure in the case were connected at the time with the Midland Railway. There can be little doubt but that the find was made in the Midlands and, very probably, in the Derby area. It may be objected that Mercia is not the most likely of provenances for a Merovingian tremissis, but the little we know about the other grave-goods is consistent with finds from the same area, for example, those from Brassington Moor and Cowlow.² The ornaments and garnets passed to the senior of the two men, and were in due course broken up, the gold and stones being made into brooches and rings for each of his seven daughters. The coin, however, passed to his assistant, and was later sold by him to the British Museum in 1883. This fact may seem to bear out the essential accuracy of the statement of the last surviving daughter of the elder man who believes that the discovery of the grave was made before her birth in 1872.

The "Derbyshire" triens corresponds exactly to none of the pieces recorded in Belfort, though obviously belonging to the group 4977-9 (Pl. XIV, 10). The bust is most reminiscent of that on 4977, but the legends have more of an affinity with those on 4978. The moneyer is of course the celebrated "Anglus", and consequently the coin is even more welcome than if it had proved to be an eighth coin of "Dutta". The weight of I·I7 grammes (I8·I gr.) is just a little on the light side, but the die-relationship is the normal one \↑, and there can be no doubt but that the coin is a genuine issue of the Merovingian mint of

Oxford, 1948, p. 27.

² Cf. E. T. Leeds, Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology, Oxford, 1936, p. 108. It is indeed tempting to associate the coin with the pagan Saxon urn-field found at Kings Newton in September 1866 while making a railway cutting (cf. Reliquary, 1869) and hushed up at the time. Kings Newton is only eight miles south of Derby, and the date of discovery is just about right. On the other hand the few published details of the urn-field suggest the sixth rather than the seventh century.

Quentovic, and not a contemporary English imitation. Incidentally the dating of the grave suggested by the presence of this coin, i.e. after rather than before the middle of the seventh century, accords well with the usually accepted dating of the Brassington Moor and Cowlow finds.

In 1946 the British Museum was fortunate enough to purchase a second triens of Quentovic with an English find-spot and by a third moneyer. It corresponds exactly to Belfort 6508, Prou 1122, and appears to be from the same dies. It is, however, struck on a wider flan, and in particular we may note the dentellated outer circle which is substantially complete on both sides (Pl. XIV, 11). The weight is unusually high, 1.42 grammes (21.9 gr.), but the die-axis is the normal ↑↑, that is if we regard the initial cross of the reverse legend as the criterion, in which case the obverse legend begins at 2 o'clock and the reverse type, a degenerated cross-on-steps resembling nothing as much as a branch, slants diagonally across the field. On the other hand, on another coin of the moneyer Dagulfus (Belfort 4981 = Prou 1120) the reverse type is patently the usual cross-on-steps, and it is the type and not the initial cross of the legend that gives the normal die-relationship. Not only is this particular tremissis welcome for the exceptionally complete form of the mint name VVIC IN PONTIO, but the exact find-spot is known, Birchington in Kent. Consequently the total number of trientes of Ouentovic with English find-spots now stands at nine, and Dr. Sutherland's case for the importance of what was geographically the nearest Merovingian mint to England may appear substantially endorsed. I

R. H. M. Dolley and R. G. Hughes

SAXON AND ARABIC COINS FOUND AT DEAN, CUMBERLAND

In the issue of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for August 1790 "A lover of Antiquities" writes to the editor as follows:

Newtown Stewart

Mr Urban,

In paffing through Keswick, in order to visit its celebrated lake, I met with some coins, in the possession of Mr. Crosshwaite, who exhibits an interesting little museum there. He informed me, that they had been deposited in a leaden vessel, and were discovered in the village of Dean, about twelve miles West of Keswick, by a cow's treading upon the spot where it lay concealed. Mr Crosshwaite procured eleven, bearing the mark of a cross, and twenty of different sizes and various impressions, but similar in coinage to that in Plate III. No 9, which I have endeavoured to give a representation of. I have taken the exact size of the coins described; and all of those (excepting No. 3), having Saxon characters, were in excellent preservation; some of the other class had suffered. The inscription upon No. 1, appeared to me to be LAMBERTVS IMPE; reverse, CHRISTIANA RELIGIO; No. 2, BORACE the reverse

¹ A tenth tremissis, almost certainly an English find, is clearly identifiable among the descriptions in the eighteenth-century manuscript catalogue of the Cotton collection $(B.N.J.\ 1954$, pp. 302–12). Unfortunately this coin, by the moneyer "Anglus", cannot now be traced, but the composition of the collection as a whole suggests a provenance north rather than south of the Thames.

I could not read; No. 3, ERI . . ENER; reverfe . . . No. 4, SC (perhaps SANCTUS) EADMUND R.; reverfe, BERA MONET. No. 5, S. CEAIDN; which I conjecture to be a coin of the laft monarch, as also the three with Saxon characters, not represented,



as they feemed to vary only by the change of one or two letters, and the name of the moneyers. No. 6, PILM REX; reverfe, C. IMNELR: fuppofing this to be William's, it differs from any I have feen reprefented. Nos. 7 and 8 were decidedly of Edward's, and the characters perfectly diffinct.

In hopes that this communication, respecting so extraordinary a mixture of coins, may be interesting to some of your correspondents, and that intelligence may be conveyed through the channel of your useful Magazine concerning them, I take the

liberty to trouble you.

The only other reference to this hoard which I have been able to find is in Marsden's *Numismata Orientalia* where it is stated that a dirham of Harûn Al-Rashîd A.H. 182 (A.D. 798) and a dirham of Al-Muktafi-billah A.H. 293 (A.D. 905) with another belonging to the same dynasty were dug up at a village called Dean, Cumberland, in

the latter part of the eighteenth century. Some of the Anglo-Saxon coins are reproduced in the *Numismatique du Moyen-Âge* by Joachim Lelewel.

The museum at Keswick was established by Peter Crosthwaite, a retired Naval Commander, in 1780 and presumably the find was made sometime between that date and 1790. Although a remarkable man in many ways there is nothing to suggest that he had any particular knowledge of Anglo-Saxon coinage, so it is strange to note that at least five of the eleven coins "bearing the mark of a cross" which he selected from the hoard are distinct rarities. After his death the Crosthwaite Museum was carried on by his family till 1870 when the collection was sold, the principal antiquities being purchased by the British Museum. None of the coins came to the British Museum at that time, however, and it is likely that some at least were sold very much earlier as indicated in the notes below.

The composition of this portion of the hoard is as follows:

English							
St. Eadmund coin	age					3	
Alfred (Danish In		n)				I	
Edward the Elder						2	
St. Peter coinage						I	
							7
ARABIC							
Harun Al-Rahîd			1			I	
Al Muktafi-billah						2	
Samanid .						I	
Unknown .						19	
							23
ITALIAN							
Lambert .					 •	I	
							I
Unknown							
Bearing mark of o	cross					3	3
0							34

In the north of England, Scotland, and Ireland a number of hoards of similar composition have been found.

The coins shown in the plates may be described as follows:

- I. Lambert denier (as King of Italy A.D. 894-8). (S. Tyssen had a coin corresponding to this description—lot 145—and this is now in the British Museum via Banks.)
- 2. St. Peter penny, York. c. A.D. 915 (= B.M.C. Type v, no. 1137, ex S. Tyssen?).¹
- 3. Alfred, Lincoln c. A.D. 890–900 (= B.M.C. Type viii, no. 82, ex Tyssen).

¹ It is not surprising that Samuel Tyssen's name appears in conjunction with several of these coins. He was an ardent collector and one who purchased entire collections: Edward Hodsoll 1794, Thomas Snelling 1773, Rev. Richard Southgate 1795 (except the English silver pennies). Many other collections were privately acquired by him.

- 4. St. Edmund penny. East Anglia c. 890—"Bera monet". The reading is not in B.M.C. or Brooke. Lindsay mentions Bera in the Coinage of the Heptarchy but I feel sure that he found the information in Joachim Lelewel's Numismatique du Moyen-Âge. Recently while I was using the B.M. copy of this book a small manuscript fell from the pages which was in Lindsay's handwriting. A St. Eadmund penny, moneyer Bera, another Winer Moneta and four others were sold in the Cuff Sale, 8 June 1854, lot 389, these could very well be the St. Eadmund pennies of this hoard.
- 5. St. Eadmund penny, East Anglia. c. A.D. 890 (COINMO = COMM?).
- 6. St. Eadmund penny, East Anglia c. A.D. 890. Blundered?.
- 7. Edward the Elder, A.D. 901–25. B.M.C. Type ix (= B.M.C. 98 ex Tyssen but omits cross in reverse field).
- 8. Edward the Elder. A.D. 901-25. B.M.C. Type ix (= B.M.C. 100 which is, however, ex Cotton. Tyssen, however, also possessed an example).

Samanid

9. Al Muktafi-billah, A.H. 289-95 = A.D. 901-7. Mint of Andaraba A.H. 294 = A.D. 906.¹

The coins described in Marsden's Numismata Orientalia are as follows:

'Abbasid

Harûn Al-Rashîd, in the name of his son Al-Amîn-Muhammed, A.H. 182 = A.D. 798.

Sámánid

Al-Muktafi-billah, A.H. 289-95 = A.D. 901-7. Mint of Al Shash, A.H. 293 = A.D. 905.

I unknown.

J. S. STRUDWICK

AN ACCOUNT OF SOME SAXON COINS FOUND AT HONEDON NEAR CLARE, SUFFOLK, 1687

In the year 1687, between 200 and 300 Anglo-Saxon silver pennies were found in a grave at Honedon. In the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1687 Sir Philip Skippon gives a description of 21 of the coins and commences his account of the find as follows:

In May 1687, at Honedon nigh Clare in Suffolk, the Sexton, as he was digging a Grave in the Church-yard, met with a Skull; and near it his Spade broke a Yellow Earthen Pot, (fome fay there was no Pot) wherein were many Silver pieces of Saxon Mony, fome of which I have feen, and endeavoured to read the Infcriptions, which are fo various, that there are fcarce two alike, tho' they are generally of the fame

¹ My thanks to Dr. Walker for identifying this coin.

Bigness, viz. of a Groat, and about the same weight. I ghess this variety of Inscriptions ariseth from the many Masters of the Mint who were appointed to coyn Mony in several Places, and who might each of them have a different Stamp.

Later he states: "I am credibly inform'd, some of Egbert's and Ethelbert's Coyn were found amongst them." Some of the coins are

said to have been discoloured and diminished in weight.

The description of the twenty-one coins given by Sir Philip is repeated below, and it will be noted that they are all covered by the successive reigns of Æthelstan, Eadmund, and Eadred—these three reigns covered the period A.D. 925–55. If it was indeed correct as suggested by Sir Philip that coins of Ecgbeorht and Æthelbearht were among those found the hoard would cover a period of at least II6 years which would be quite exceptional. The probability is that the coins described are a sufficiently good sample of the whole to exclude the possibility of there really being any of Ecgbeorht and Æthelbearht.

It may be noted that a somewhat similar hoard was found at Kintbury, Berkshire, in June 1761, when some hundreds of ancient silver pieces were found by a grave-digger under a skull. Many of these were Anglo-Saxon silver pennies of the reigns of Æthelstan, Eadmund, Eadred, and Eadwig.

The list of the coins described by Sir Philip Skippon is as follows:

	Obv.	Wt.	Rev.
I.	∕EÐELZTAN RE+ +		P NE +++ FEHO Winele
2.	/EÐELSTAN RE+ +		∴ LAND +++ ∜EHO∴ Landac B.M.C. 115
3.	/EÐELSTAN RE+ +	23	TTEF +++ ANVI: Stefanus Hunterian Museum
4.	/EÐELSTAN RE+ +	24	AREM +++ ONETA Are
5.	EADMVND RE+	21	∴ ЭИЗВ +++ DICTVS $\cdot \cdot \cdot$ Benedictus $B.M.C.$ 24
6.	EADMVND RE+	16	∴ MAN +++ ANO∴ Mana
7.	EADHVND RE+ +	19	ALB +++ ERIHG Alberi(c)? B.M.C. 16
8.	EADMVND RE+		IVEH +++ NETA Ivan
9.	EADMVN RE+ +		·· ИТІL +++ ИАН·· Litilman
10.	EADMVND RE+ +	24	91A +++ AREM ↔

¹ Archaeologia, vol. viii, p. 430 gives the date of the find as July 1762. In the Annual Register of 1761 there is an account of the find as follows: "There were lately dug up some hundreds of ancient silver pieces of coin, which were found under a skull. The grave-digger sold those that fell to his share for 16s. 6d. Many of them are much valued by the curious." One coin of Eadred is in the Archbishop Sharp collection, 5 pennies of Eadmund and Eadred were sold in the William Powell sale of March 1762, and 1 penny of Eadred in the National Collection B.M.C. 92. Mr. C. E. Blunt kindly informs me that a coin of Eadwig from this find is in the Ashmolean Museum.

	Obv.	Wt.	Rev.		
II.	EADMVN RE+ +		. LITIL +++ WAN.	Litilman	
12.	EADMVND RE+ +		MAN +++ MANO	Mana	B.M.C. 106
13.	EAMVND RE+		MAN +++ MANO	Mana	
14.	EADHVND REPT+ Edmundi facies		+ REIHGRHZIOH	Reingrim	
15.	EADMVND RE+ +		E · RH O + O HO	?	
16.	EADMVND REX:	24	INGEL +++ □ARH	Ingelgar	B.M.C. 81
17.	EADH ∀ ND RE+ +	25	∵ □ΟΤΛΕ +++ ΝΟΠΕ ··	Gota	B.M.C. 74
18.	+EADRED RE+ Edredi facies		FREDRED MONETA+	Fredred	B.M.C. 114
19.	+EADRED RE+ Edredi facies		MANEENINNO+	Mannecin	
20.	+EADRED+ Edredi facies		ZPERLINL WONE	Sperling	
21.	+EADRED REX Edredi facies	24	+ I·IMHECHINONE	Mannecin	
				I.S. STRI	IDWICK

A NEW TYPE FOR THE HALFPENNY OF EADRED

RECENTLY there passed through the London sale-room a halfpenny of Eadred (946–55) which is not without interest for the student of tenthcentury English coinage. The then owner was kind enough to give permission for its publication and for the making of an electrotype copy. Strictly perhaps the coin is not unpublished—a very brief mention appeared in the Society's *Proceedings* for 1946 (p. 98)—but it has never been illustrated, and the original note and the salecatalogue alike leave a little to be desired. Both for example are silent concerning weight and die-axis, and the serious student of the series would give much to know the find-spot, an omission from the first note that cannot now be rectified. The sale-catalogue, incidentally, claimed that "the only other halfpenny of this reign is of the normal penny type", despite the fact that the full publication of the 1950 Chester treasure trove, appearing only a few months earlier (B.N.J. 1953, pp. 125-60) and admittedly itself overlooking the existence of this fifth specimen, had already listed no fewer than four round halfpence of Eadred, two being whole coins and two cut portions. Of these, one of the whole coins and one of the "farthings" approximated to the "normal penny type", while the others were versions in miniature of decidedly rare penny types of the period. In all the circumstances, then, a slightly fuller publication of the new coin may seem desirable if not indeed essential.

The coin (P1. XIV, 13) is in an excellent state of preservation, and is

¹ Sotheby Sale, 17 March 1955, lot 30.

particularly well struck up as regards the obverse, in this case perhaps the more interesting of the two sides. The die-axis is 90°. Unfortunately the coin is a little chipped at one point on the edge, but even so it weighs 8.9 grains. This accords well with such other weights as have been recorded for halfpence from the middle of the tenth century, and all the evidence points to the theoretical weight of such coins being not in excess of 10 grains. If it could be assumed that the moneyer was allowed the same profit on two halfpence as on two pennies, in theory we should now have sufficient data for the calculation of the normal weight of the mid-tenth-century penny. A 10-grain halfpenny argues for a 22-grain penny, a 9-grain halfpenny for a 21-grain penny, an 8-grain halfpenny for a 20-grain penny, and so on. Unfortunately a frequency table constructed on the basis of more than a hundred pence of Eadred in the Chester hoard suggests if anything that the penny was being struck on at least two standards, perhaps simultaneously, and the recorded weights of the handful of mid-tenth-century halfpence are quite consistent with that picture. Even if we exclude the "London" halfpenny of Eadgar on the plea that it is to be associated with the markedly heavier penny of the years immediately preceding the great reform of c. 970, we will need many more round halfpennies before the metrological problems can be approached with any confidence. One point, however, that does already begin to emerge is that the average round halfpenny weighed substantially less than half the average penny. It is to this weight inferiority, and not to any opposition on the part of the moneyers, that we are doubtless to ascribe the eventual triumph of the cut halfpenny. Commercially the latter was the better option, and especially when a type was evolved which made obvious any dishonesty in the cutting.

The obverse type of the new halfpenny is without exact precedent in the Anglo-Saxon series, the simple cross patée of the normal "circular" obverse being replaced by a twelve-leaved symmetrical ornament. Inasmuch as halfpennies hitherto have reflected the types of already recorded pence, it is possible, even probable, that one day this type will be found on a tenth-century penny. The reverse is of normal type, and the moneyer, Mangod, is new for the reign, though known at "Hamtun" (B.M.C. II) and Winchester (B.M.C. I4) under Eadwig. Normally one would suppose that the Mangod at "Hamtun" and the Mangod at Winchester were one and the same man, but the style of the two coins is so divergent that we are surely justified in giving the "Hamtun" coin not to Southampton but to Northampton. We may note especially that the "Hamtun" coin employs a duplicated initial cross for the final X of the obverse legend, a characteristic of Midlands coins of this period, and the widely differing letterforms argue no less plausibly for distinct schools of die-cutting. Consequently we must assume either that there were two Mangods,

¹ It must be borne in mind that dies for the halfpenny entailed as much labour, were, if anything, more fragile, and in any case wore out after striking no more halfpennies than the penny dies pence.

one in Wessex and one in Mercia, or that a Mangod transferred from

Northampton to Winchester or vice versa.

The question then arises of the mint of the new halfpenny. Superficially the spelling Mangod would favour Northampton-on the Winchester penny the name appears as Manngod—and traditionally halfpence have been associated with the Danelaw. Against this it can be argued that prosopographical and stylistic considerations assign these halfpennies already recorded to Mercia and Wessex as well as to Anglia, and indeed only one of them, the Baldwin halfpenny of Eadmund, is prima facie to be attributed to a mint in the East Midlands, and then only with considerable reserve. The style of the new coin, moreover, is far superior to that of the run of tenth-century pence from the reconquered Danelaw, and has notable affinities with the neat and precise coins of Wessex of this period, coins incidentally which are far from common. The absence of a rosette of pellets seems to rule out Mercia, and epigraphically the coin is West Saxon. The forms Mangod and Manngod are not incompatible, and a Winchester attribution has much to commend it. Thus the new halfpenny may seem to foster the hope that exceptional types were not a monopoly of Mercia, and that a future hoard consisting primarily of West Saxon pence may throw up at least one new type, if only the counterpart of the halfpenny. On the other hand, we must not forget that the evidence of all three Rome hoards is that coinage in Wessex was on nothing like the scale of that in Old Mercia and the reconquered Danelaw—perhaps because even in those days the victor paid economically the heavier price. It is doubtful then if even a major hoard from Wessex could dispute the predominance of Mercian and Anglian coins suggested by finds already known to us, though the small treasure trove from Tywardreath appears superficially to argue the contrary.1

However this may be, the new halfpenny of Eadred is a coin of cardinal importance for the student of provincial schools of die-cutting. It may also be commended to the student of Anglo-Saxon art, if only as another refutation of the out-moded view that with Offa the art of making beautiful coins was lost. Undoubtedly in the tenth century the initiative passed to Mercia, but the new coin from Winchester may suggest that the West Saxon die-cutters were equal masters of their craft and lacked only official encouragement and the opportunity afforded by large-scale coinage. Given these it is possible that the coins of Wessex might have rivalled in beauty the so-called "rare" types of Edward the Elder. At least the handful of known examples of their craft, the EXA and VIN pence of Alfred together with the ELIMOsina sixpences, the BAD penny of Edward the Elder, and the VVIN halfpenny of Eadgar, reveal an economy of design and a chastity of execution that surely entitle them to rank among the fairest coins struck by English moneyers for English kings.

R. H. M. DOLLEY

¹ Num. Chron. 1955, pp. 5-9.

CONTEMPORARY FORGERIES OF LATE SAXON PENCE

It has often been remarked that coins from Scandinavian Viking Age hoards, and especially English pence, bear traces of systematic defacement in the shape of minute "pecks" which would seem to have been made by driving a small gouge at an oblique angle into the surface of the coin. These "pecks" appear indiscriminately on obverse and reverse, quite often on both, and are usually confined to the field, although occasionally they do intrude upon the design. Anyone who has attempted a serious study of die-links between mints and moneyers will know how a crop of these mutilations can transform the superficial appearance of a coin, and it is a little surprising that they have not received more attention. The traditional explanation is the obvious one, namely that the cuts were made in order to establish that the coins were of silver throughout, and it has been argued that the "pecking" was done in this country by recipients of the so-called Danegeld who were determined not to be fobbed off with bad coin.2 There are, however, certain cogent objections to the time-honoured interpretation that do not appear to have been posed and still less

In the first place, there is good evidence that "pecking" was not generally practised in this country. This form of mutilation is conspicuously absent from the increasing number of coins which can now be identified as from eleventh-century British finds, and in particular from the pence in the Caldale hoard so clearly the property of a Scandinavian returning homewards.3 Although the "pecks" do appear on some of the hundreds of English coins in the great hoard from İgelösa in Skåne, a hoard which surely represents the annates of trade with the Viking hosts that ravaged England in the opening years of the eleventh century, they are lacking on the English coins in the parallel hoard from the island of Sylt.4 Moreover, the "pecks" are present even in the Igelösa hoard on a number of imitations of Anglo-Saxon coins which we now know to have been struck in Denmark and southern Sweden, and they also occur on a number of German and Arabic coins that could not well have found their way to Gotland by way of England. It is not the purpose of this note, however, to attempt to establish the chronological limits within which this form of mutilation was practised, nor indeed to seek to localize it within Scandinavia, but it is hoped that these introductory remarks will have sufficed to dispose of the romantic picture of suspicious Vikings laying

¹ e.g. Brooke, English Coins, Pl. xvI. II—in fact a Scandinavian and not an English coin.

² Brit. Num. Journ. xiii, p. 3.

³ Supra, p. 52.

⁴ For the date of the as yet unpublished hoard from Igelosa cf. N.N.U.M., May 1954, pp. 54-55—the English element ends with long cross, but a handful of German and Arabic coins may have been added a year or so after the last accession of English pieces. For the Sylt hoard cf. Erwin Nobbe, "Ein Silberschatz der Wikingerzeit von List auf Sylt" in Nachrichtenblatt fur Deutsche Vorzeit, 1940, pp. 107-12. A detailed list of the coins kindly put at my disposal by Dr. La Baume of Cologne suggests that this hoard should be dated perhaps a year or two earlier than that from Igelosa.

aside their axes and swords in order to test the new-coined pence by

which their peace was bought.

It remains obvious none the less that at one stage in their currency considerable trouble must have been taken to establish the authenticity of the English pence in the Scandinavian hoards. At least as regards the later Gotland hoards, it is probably safe to say that nine out of ten of the coins are so disfigured. Many of the coins have as many as a dozen of the "pecks", and so systematic a check must surely have been occasioned by a real need for vigilance. In consequence one might have expected to find still in existence a goodly number of plated forgeries. Of course they would not occur in the same proportion as they were originally uttered—large numbers would have been taken out of circulation as a result of the test which has left its mark on the genuine coins—but even so it is astonishing, not to say disturbing—that until now one and one only of these plated forgeries has been reported. Significantly enough it appears to have been an English find, but the soil of Gotland is so notably the antithesis of metallophagous that the present writer would like to put it on record that he has personally examined many thousands of coins from the Gotland hoards without finding a single piece which gave the least

hint of being plated.

The discrepancy between the mutilation of tens of thousands of coins and the survival of a single plated forgery is a very real one, and cannot be ignored. The explanation may perhaps be afforded by a second example of a plated forgery which recently has come to light in England. Unfortunately the coin originally recorded by the late H. A. Parsons cannot now be traced, but his description of it leaves little room for doubt that it belonged to exactly the same class of forgery. The new specimen was found in the soil by Mr. D. Schooling of Much Hadham in Hertfordshire, and, on learning of its possibly unique significance, the finder most generously presented it to the National Collection whither it had been brought for identification. Superficially it is a normal penny of Æthelræd's last substantive or second small cross type (Hild. A = Brooke I = B.M.C. i) which the present writer believes to have been issued between c. 1010 and c. 1016. On the basis of a cast (Pl. XIV, 15) one would hesitate to condemn it, and it would seem to be if not from official dies at least from dies cut by an official engraver. The reverse legend appears to read +BYRVHSTAN ON PINES, and the treatment of the bust is entirely consistent with the somewhat distinctive portrait that is found on coins of this type from the Winchester area. Examination of the actual piece, however, reveals the essential structure of the coin, which is seen to consist of a core of a soft grey metal sealed between two thin plates of silver or silver alloy. The weight of 20.06 gr. is not in

¹ H. A. Parsons, Brit. Num. Journ. xvii, p. 83.

² It is possibly significant that neither the obverse nor reverse die are recorded in Hildebrand-though it is surprising how often early eleventh-century coins found in England prove to be from dies not represented in the Scandinavian collections.

itself suspicious, but the specific gravity is far higher than would be the case with a silver coin. Three weighings in air and water give an average of 10.91, and for practical purposes there were only two metals known to the Saxons with a higher specific gravity than silver. One of these is lead, the other gold. In the case of the coin from Much Hadham there is no room for doubt that the core is lead,

or at least a lead alloy. The lead core and one of the silver plates are of approximately the diameter of a normal penny, but the other plate was somewhat larger so that its edges could be turned up to provide the coin with a silver rim. How this turning-up was achieved is not quite certain, but a very similar effect can be detected upon a most interesting coin in Mr. Grover's collection which has the appearance of being struck on a flan composed of two distinct laminations of silver. Mr. Grover's coin, a penny of Cnut's second substantive or helmet type, does not appear, however, to incorporate a base core, though it is from an altered reverse die which perhaps read originally +PYNSIGE: ON LVDEN. The weight is on the low side, only 15.5 gr., but this is not exceptional for a penny of this type. Perhaps the moneyer was using up odd scraps of metal left over after the hammering out of the sheets from which the flans were cut, but even so it is a little odd that a coin of such irregular fabric should be from an altered reverse die. Its relevance to the Much Hadham coin lies in the fact that on Mr. Grover's coin the turning-up of the edge does seem to have been obtained in the act of striking by the use of some form of collar. Already on quite other grounds the present writer has postulated the use of a collar with square-headed dies as an essential of late Saxon mint-practice, and a craftsman in silver has since informed him that the use of a collar would be of enormous assistance in procuring a sharp impression from the dies. Incidentally, on the Much Hadham coin the silver plating is so thin, little thicker indeed than modern tinfoil, that many of the letters have punched completely through it, giving a curious stencil effect. On the obverse, moreover, a large area has flaked away, revealing both the structure of the coin and the leaden core.

One would like to submit this tantalizing forgery to laboratory analysis, and in particular to establish whether or not some form of solder was used to attach the plating to the core. Visual examination does suggest that some third metal or alloy was present, and there can be little doubt that the employment of some adhesive would greatly have facilitated the accurate centring of the three layers of metal between the dies. However, neither assay nor chemical analysis are possible, while the coin remains virtually unique, and the presence or absence of a solder must remain for the present an open question. Even so, the fact that the core can be identified as either lead or a high lead alloy marks a significant step forward in our search for the explanation of the rarity of Saxon plated forgeries. It is the sug-

¹ Brit. Num. Journ. xxvii, pp. 167-72.

gestion of this note that here we may well have the key to the whole

mystery.

Every numismatist knows how capricious is the survival of a lead coin or seal. In isolation they may survive for centuries—we may remark the frequent occurrence in the English soil of remarkably well-preserved medieval papal bullae—but equally they may disintegrate almost overnight. Even more capricious is the survival of a lead object which has been in contact with other metals, and especially where the metals have lain in juxtaposition in a soil at all inclined to dampness. It is as though the different elements set up some mutually destructive electrolytic action in the soil. Even if the silver sheathing of a Saxon forgery were to remain unaffected, the destruction and collapse of the core would speedily result in it being buckled and distorted out of all semblance to a coin. Even the trained archaeologist could be pardoned for failing to recognize the numismatic relevance of two crushed pieces of foil, and away from an excavated site a disintegrated Saxon forgery would scarcely be remarked, let alone identified for what it once had been. It is indeed an attractive possibility—to put it no higher—that the reason for the disappearance of a class of forgery which once was prolific lies in the chemical instability of its composition. At least it would seem worthy of being put on record, if only to provoke some more plausible explanation of a problem that in the past has not been formulated and still less faced.

There remains the question of the identification of the moneyer who uttered the particular forgery from Much Hadham. Under the provisions of III Æthelræd 8, the penalty for forgery was death, and there is some reason for thinking that at the time that the coin must have been struck the capital penalty had not been repealed by the enactment known rather arbitrarily as IV Æthelræd.¹ In this connexion it may be significant that the name BYRVHITAN appears deliberately ambiguous. Although a legitimate form of Burhstanwe may compare slightly earlier London coins of the prolific moneyer Byrhsige reading BYRVHILE—there may seem an intentional risk of confusion with the contemporary coins of the moneyer Brunstan whose pence read BYRVNSTAN. Philologically the two names cannot be the same, but the epigraphical distinction rests on the subtlety of the difference between an H and an N. The careers of the two moneyers may throw some light on the problem of whether justice was done. Burhstan is known at Winchester from only two coins, both of Æthelræd's second small cross type, one reading BVRHSTAN (Hild. 4133) and the other, the Much Hadham plated forgery, reading BYRVHITAN. Brunstan, on the other hand, was striking at Winchester in the previous type, i.e. before c. 1010, struck numerous coins in the next type (e.g. Hild. 4125, 4127-9, and 4180-3), and continued striking for at least a time under Cnut (cf.

¹ Cf. Mr. R. S. Kinsey's forthcoming studies in these pages.

Hild. 3720-2). One remarks, too, that under Cnut a name approximating to Burhstan occurs on only two coins (Hild. 3434/5), allegedly of Taunton, but not recognized as of that mint by Brooke. Thus the evidence would seem to point to Brunstan's being a solid and worthy citizen of Winchester, while Burhstan's career there would seem to have been ephemeral in the extreme. Consequently the philological equation of Byruhstan with Burhstan despite the occurrence in the same mint and type of a moneyer B(y)runstan seems to be vindicated by due consideration of the evidence of the coins. Unfortunately there is not yet the evidence to decide whether the Winchester Burhstan paid at once the due penalty for his crimes, or whether he escaped for a time, possibly to strike the coins reading 0 TA which, pace Brooke, must surely be given to Taunton.

R. H. M. DOLLEY

AN UNPUBLISHED MULE OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR

The two coins illustrated (PI. XIV, 14, 15) are early pennies of Edward the Confessor by the very rare moneyer Wineman whom we know to have struck at Salisbury in this reign and in Canute's last type. Since one (the Brooke type I) is of Wilton and the other (the Brooke type 4) is of Salisbury it is pertinent to see the extent to which they fall into line with the seemingly conclusive evidence of the York and Steyning mints (the latter so ably dealt with by Mr. King in his article in *Brit. Num. Journ.* 1941/2) which demonstrates that Brooke type I is the first substantive type of the reign and that type 4 moves up two places and becomes second. A study of the details of the very close association between the neighbouring mints of Salisbury and Wilton makes it difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Wineman of these two coins is one and the same individual, but this cannot be proved.

Should this conclusion be wrong the coins are of no significance for type chronology, but if it is right we have here the opposite of a tie-up with the York/Steyning evidence unless, as might well have been the case, Wineman worked for a short time at Wilton towards the end of his spell of office at Salisbury. This possible explanation of the dual mint signature sounds far-fetched but it is not without parallel. I am grateful to Mr. Dolley for having suggested it to me and for having pointed out that the same thing happens in the case of the Salisbury/Wilton moneyer Alfred under Canute. Coins of this moneyer are known of Salisbury only in Canute's first type, of both Salisbury & Wilton in his third type and then

again only of Salisbury under Harold I.

A few more Wineman coins might give a conclusive answer but Hildebrand and B.M.C. between them record only three coins of his of Salisbury and the Wilton seems to be unique.

By kind permission of the Keeper of Coins at the British Museum

I am also illustrating (P1. XIV, 16) a hitherto unnoticed mule of Brooke types 1/5 which my study of the Wilton coins in the British Museum has brought to light. This is B.M.C. no. 1327. Also illustrated (P1. XIV, 17) is B.M.C. no. 1325 which shows the true coin of the obverse die of the mule. I know of no other mule of these two types and it is of course a surprising one to crop up. However, other instances of Edward the Confessor mules of types

However, other instances of Edward the Confessor mules of types out of sequence are known and it is possible this 1/5 mule may simply result from abnormal conditions obtaining at the time at this particu-

lar mint.

The explanation of all apparent anomalies brought out by the coins under review may well be that the Wilton mint is at this period not

a reliable guide to type chronology.

The mint does not seem to resume its earlier output either as to continuity or volume for something like fifty years after the sack of the town by the Danes in 1003 in which year the moneyers removed lock stock and barrel to Old Sarum and there started up the mint of Salisbury. Mr. Dolley has written a fascinating little treatise on this event and its vital significance on the chronology of the long cross and helmet types of Ethelred II (Nordisk Numismatisk Unions Medlemsblad, Maj 1954, pp. 152-6).

If these coins do nothing else they underline the interest to be gleaned from a study of this tricky subject of the early chronology of the Confessor's reign. It would be typical of the period if the Wilton mint which is so valuable for chronology between the millennium and 1020 were quite useless for that same purpose between 1040 and 1050.

F. Elmore Jones

A NEW NORMAN FORGER

The series of pennies of William I, with reverse inscriptions fraudulently altered, is well known: especially since the late Dr. G. C. Brooke collected the various examples together, and described them in the B.M.C. Norman Kings, p. cxlix. Brooke records the nefarious activities of a certain Ælfsi of London, who struck coins of light weight from altered dies of B.M.C. types I, II, and III; Ælwine of London, type II; and Godwine of London, types II, VII, and (?) VIII. In each of these instances a deliberate attempt evidently has been made not only to obscure the name of the moneyer and mint by marks of defacement cut into the die, but to indicate some other possible mint by alteration of the letters, e.g. LVND, LVNDE, LVNDEN, &c., to

These two mules and the prima facie case for putting the Wilton Wineman of Brooke type I later than his Salisbury coins of Brooke type 4 definitely support Mr. Seaby's chronology but the contradictory evidence of the York and Steyning mints remains as

strong as ever.

¹ Since this note was written Mr. Peter Seaby has published his suggested reclassification of the early issues of Edward the Confessor in which Brooke type 4 is placed first and Brooke type 1 third. He has also discovered a second example of a mule of Brooke types 1/5 in the National Collection viz. B.M.C. no. 1395 of the Winchester Mint.

EXECSDE (Exeter), CANDENI (Canterbury), LINCONE (Lincoln), and others less definitive. All the specimens from these mutilated dies are much underweight, many probably of base metal, so that the dishonest moneyer could make the maximum profit from his forgery.

Now I have found yet another piece of evidence for Norman counterfeiting: the coin incriminates, I think, another London moneyer, hitherto with a clean record, namely Wulfwine, in B.M.C. type III. Though the reverse legend is not all clear, it has plainly been altered systematically, the first wen of Wulfwine to R, the L of LVNDI to C, and many other letters, including, curiously, the O of the harmless preposition ON which is normally left unchanged. The coin reads on the obverse +PILLEMVREX, which is somewhat obscured through double-striking; I believe the reverse was originally engraved as +PVLFPINEONLVNDI (cf. B.M.C. 203). It is evidently of base metal, and weighs barely 14 gr. (PI. XIV, 18).

With reference to the coins of this kind that he noted, Brooke remarked, "that these coins are all of the London mint and of the reign of William I is perhaps a coincidence". I doubt it. There seems to have been a fraudulent liaison between London and Thetford, especially in the first decade after the Conquest. One obverse die, used by Godwine for a defaced London coin of type II, is found at Thetford on a coin of Cinric weighing 12.9 gr. (B.M.C. 145): the two other coins of that type by Cinric that are listed weigh 15.4 and 13.2 gr. respectively. The latter has an obverse die which is used for the enigmatical "MAINT" coins, which, since they all weigh about 13–15 gr., must surely be from a forged reverse die used at London or Thetford.

An instance of a coin from an altered die, further to those listed by Brooke, emanating as it does, apparently, from the London mint, does very strongly postulate a certain amount of organized forgery flourishing in the Capital at this particular time, closely connected, as I have suggested, with similar practices at Thetford. There is, of course, no reason to suppose that this form of deception was not employed elsewhen or elsewhere in Norman times: I think one or two specific cases have been discovered.

IAN HALLEY STEWART

THOUGHTS ON THE NORMAN COINAGE OF WALES IN THE LIGHT OF TWO ADDITIONS TO THE SERIES

The William I "Paxs" type penny (Pl. XIV, 19) was contained in Lot 324 of the late Dr. L. A. Lawrence's collection (Glendining 14/3/1951) and was described in the sale catalogue as: "a specimen with only part of reverse legend readable ——VAN ON———, apparently unpublished." The obverse has an odd and unsightly appearance, due to mis-striking and the surface of the coin is partially covered with a thin coating of verdigris but it is of very good weight (21.5 gr.) and exceptionally fine metal. It is slightly cup-shaped. It is possible that

the coin is a stray from the famous Beaworth find of 1833. The sale catalogue description went as far as was possible at that time but I have always felt certain that we have here a new addition to the excessively rare and highly distinctive group of Norman coins of

Welsh mintage.

The letter form π pointed very definitely in that direction since this only occurs on the irregular coins assigned to the mints of Cardiff and "Devitun". On all coins of regular workmanship the letter A is invariably $\uparrow \rightarrow$ or II, viz. forms nos. I and 2 in the Epigraphical Table to B.M.C. (Norman Kings), but the former, the earlier form of the letter, occurs only once (no. 602). It is strange, however, that the A in the word PAXS is invariably π on all coins.

The letter v for U instead of the normal V or II (here again the former being very exceptional) is also a characteristic feature of "Devitun" and Rhuddlan and occurs nowhere else but I take the letter on the ——VAN coin to be a v not a U since the preceding

letter is either 1 or N.

If the letter is a V no comparison with normal epigraphy is possible since V does not occur in the alphabet of the regular PAXS type coinage and, apart from this instance, it is only found as the third letter of the mint-name DEVITVN on dies of barbarous workmanship. It was clear therefore that the ——VAN ON—— coin revealed a completely new reverse reading and that it was of Welsh origin but that one could only guess at which of the three possible mints it might have been struck.

The obverse die seemed to be of normal workmanship in which respect it was comparable with the two Rhuddlan coins in the B.M. (B.M.C. nos. 869/70) but not comparable with the Cardiff and "Devitun" pieces all of which are of barbarous "local" work of much the same crude character.

For the time being Rhuddlan seemed to be ruled out since there was no die link with either of the B.M. obverses—these, which are figured in B.N.J. 4, Pl. VIII, nos. I and 2, both read REX I whereas this coin clearly reads REX only.

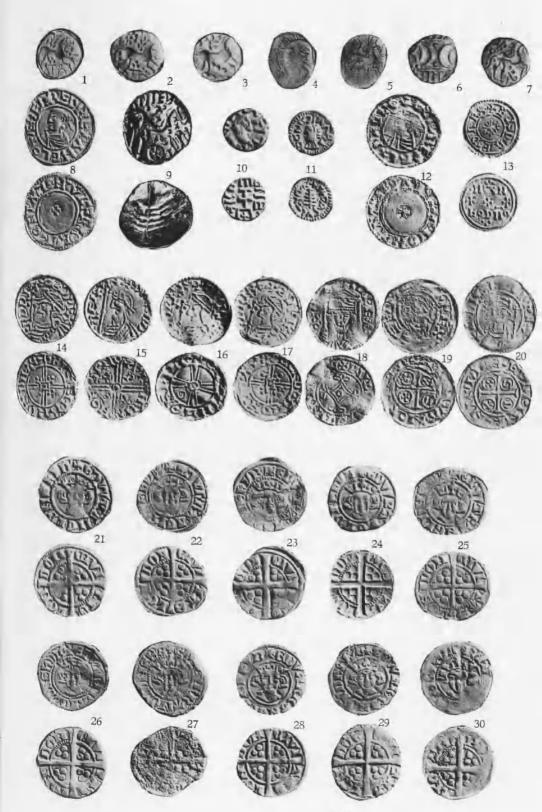
Although from different dies, the two B.M. obverses are remarkably close to each other and are of quite normal and regular workmanship.

Of course Brooke is right in saying that the coins of Rhuddlan are not of barbarous work (N.K. footnote to Introduction, p. cxxxviii) but I think he should have drawn attention to the fact that the reverse die of the two B.M. coins $(B.M.C.\ 869/70)$ is of slightly irregular work.

Three features prove a departure from the standardized normal workmanship which is so characteristic of the type, viz. the peculiar form of the letter R, the mis-spelling of PAXS as DAXS and the use of

the letter form V for U.

Although Rhuddlan seemed to be ruled out, it can now be shown that the ——VAN ON—— coin is in fact a product of that mint for it proves to be from the same obverse die as the unique Rhuddlan



MISCELLANEA AND EXHIBITS (1)

coin (P1. XIV, 20) which formed Lot 979 at the Lockett sale in June 1955. This latter coin is from the same reverse die as B.M.C. nos. 869/70 + ELFPINE ON RVDILI but is from a different and unpublished

obverse die—and one reading REX only.

It is perhaps significant to record that Elfwine's die was used with at least three obverse dies and it is certainly of interest to record the appearance of a second moneyer at the Rhuddlan mint at this period. I know of only one other instance of a "new" Paxs type moneyer having come to light since the publication of *Norman Kings* in 1916.

Now that a die link has been established, I think it is quite possible to enlarge on the ——VAN ON—— reading of the Lawrence Sale

Catalogue to:

TICAMONEADITI

The initial cross is probably at about 2 o'clock. The only letter of PAXS which is not mis-struck is the X but the arrangement seems to have been thus:

The name of the moneyer must remain quite uncertain for the present. I rule out as a possibility the IVAN found on Anglo-Saxon coins, since the spacing is strongly indicative of a 5- (or 6-) letter name. The letter before the V has the appearance of N but this could be deceptive. This would seem to be the earlier striking of the two coins; in fact I think it possible that this is the earliest Rhuddlan of the four which are now known and that its letter forms were copied by the die engravers of the crude pieces struck at Cardiff and "Devitun".

Although the number of published specimens of the Rhuddlan mint is now doubled I do not think much, if any, further light is added to our present meagre knowledge of the background of the Welsh coinage of this period. But two interesting possibilities emerge. The reverse die of one of the three Cardiff coins in the B.M. (B.M.C. no. 583) is a perfectly regular die (in which respect it stands alone in the Welsh series) which has been partially defaced and altered. Was this done with the intention of superimposing a Cardiff reading or was forgery the sole objective? Brooke reads the inscription as:

*--IINONCIURDI

but does not note that this is a regular die which has been intention-

ally altered.

This is surprising considering the superlative quality of Brooke's work in this particular field (see *Num. Chron.*, 4th ser., vol. xi and *Norman Kings*, pp. cxlix to cli). Unfortunately the die in its unaltered state does not seem to exist; at any rate it cannot be identified from any readings in *B.M.C.* Following the usual precedent in operations of this kind there is no attempt to tamper with the unimportant letters ——AN ON——. Could this possibly be a Rhuddlan die of the same moneyer as the —IVAN coin?

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This is against the run of the epigraphical evidence which points so strongly to the Rhuddlan dies (or at any rate certainly the reverse dies) having been engraved "locally" but the coincidence of the —AN name seems well worth mentioning. Another interesting conjecture is as to whether the name —IVAN could possibly be the inspiration of the inscription on the reverse of that much discussed coin the "Lewellyn of Wales" (Carlyon-Britton coll., lot no. 1329) on which Brooke's final verdict is that it is a blundered William II type 2 struck at Rhuddlan. Does the reading of:

*HRVEOVONRVBCO

have some vague affinity with the inscription on the "Paxs" coin? I fear these speculative possibilities must remain unresolved for the present.

The three Rhuddlan obverse dies cannot be faulted but the evidence seems to point to the two reverse dies at any rate having been engraved "locally". I cannot find an obverse die-link with either of the obvious English mints of Chester or Shrewsbury and it may be of significance to note that the coins of these two mints seem to be struck from per-

fectly normal "London" dies.

There is, however, one striking exception to this, viz. the well-known B.M.C. no. 938, the "Shrewsbury" coin with a barbarous reverse die intended to read +GODESBRAND ON SE which is from the same obverse die as the "Devitun" coin B.M.C. no. 883. This die link was first noticed and published by Carlyon-Britton in B.N.J. ii, and Brooke originally accepted the former's opinion that this implied a die movement. There is no doubt, however, that Brooke subsequently changed his views on this and came to the conclusion that the "Shrewsbury" coin with its barbarous work on both sides was probably an irregular product of the "Devitun" mint (see N.K., pp. cxxxix and clxxx). As such it is presumably a subtle piece of downright forgery.

It is clear that Brooke considered the Rhuddlan coins to be an official issue but his final verdict on the barbarous emissions of "Devitun" and Cardiff was that they are better regarded as in the light of siege pieces (English Coins, p. 80). This note takes the matter very little further but I should like to feel that it may be helpful as a starting point for more exhaustive research on this fascinating group of Norman coins, both from the angle of the historical background and the validity of the existing attributions to St. Davids and Cardiff.

F. ELMORE JONES

Since this note was written a second specimen of the Cardiff coin B.M.C. 583 has appeared and is now in Commander R. P. Mack's collection. I am much indebted to Comdr. Mack for permission to refer to his coin in this footnote since it adds much to Brooke's reading of the

moneyer's name from the B.M. specimen.

It is now pretty certain that the moneyer's name (the latter part of which is unaltered on the die) is -- ILLIN NOT--ILLN. The first letter is fairly effectively erased; the second, only partially tampered with, looks very much like I-. It is clear therefore that there is no possible connexion between this name and -- VAN and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the name originally engraved on this regular style reverse die was SPEIN (Swegn or Swein) with the third and fourth letters transposed. This name was often blundered throughout the Norman period. Erasure of the original mint name is very effectively done and it would be

pure speculation to suggest how BRICSTO has been altered to read something else but elements of such lettering seem to be visible and the interesting possibility emerges that this was a *Bristol* reverse die bearing Swein's name (slightly blundered) which was sent (? by sea) for use at Cardiff.

As regards other altered reversedies, e.g. the London/"Exeter" and London/"Canterbury" alterations so fully discussed by Brooke in the Introduction to B.M.C., it is assumed that

the underlying motive must have been connected with forgery.

Is that also applicable here or was the die actually sent from an English mint to a Welsh one?

It is significant to note that Bristol of all the regular PAXS type mints is the only one to have used "local" obverse dies of unofficial workmanship alongside perfectly normal "London" dies and these have an affinity with the barbarous products of Cardiff and Devitun. At least two such are known (see B.N.J. vi, pl. XIII, nos. 11 and 13) but these are not nearly so crude as B.M.C. 583 and the degree of barbarity of this latter seems definitely to link it with the same workshop as was responsible for the Cardiff and Devitun "irregulars". It is equally significant to note that both specimens of the "Spien" coin are of good weight and fine metal.

It is to be hoped that this reverse die in its unaltered state, or this obverse die with another reverse, will one day put in an appearance to shed a clearer light on the interesting possibilities which now emerge from the extended reading of this puzzling piece.

A NEW IRREGULAR PENNY OF STEPHEN

RECENTLY there was shown at the British Museum through the good offices of Mr. A. Warhurst, Curator of the Northampton Museum, an unusual medieval penny found at Shire Lodge Farm, Corby:



The coin weighs 15.9 grains and the die-axis is 120°. The metal is apparently silver, but gives an impression of debasement. The obverse type is a naturalistic, facing, crowned and bearded portrait, the face being unusually large so as to fill the whole field. There are traces of drapery below the chin, and a diminutive right-hand holds a tiny fleur-de-lis sceptre. The crown approximates to that on coins of Henry I, Class XIV but is coarser, and the pellets and fleurs are smaller. The effect is generally striking. Only the initial cross and the first two letters of the king's name are legible:

t on T

but there can be little doubt but that the legend originally read STIEFNE R(EX) in full.

The reverse is exactly that of Class XV of Henry I, and those letters of the legend that are legible are clear beyond dispute:—

+ A L F M M O R T

The fourth letter of the moneyer's name appears to be R or P but the real difficulty is to complete the mint-name. One's first thought is for a new mint, but the find-spot suggests blundered (O) N NORT (Northampton) though the absence of colon stops in Type XV would be exceptional. Since, however, the types are irregular, both individually and in combination, judgement should perhaps be reserved to a later date, and for the present it seems sufficient simply to record the existence of what appears to be a new irregular coin of Stephen, and to invite comment from numismatists and historians alike.

R. H. M. Dolley

A PRE-TREATY EDWARD III GROAT, LAWRENCE TYPE G, WITH A NEW REVERSE

THE obverse of this groat is of the usual type G.

The reverse shows reverse-barred N's, and annulets in the first and

second quarters, of differing types.

That in the first quarter, under DON—if it indeed can be called an annulet—is larger than normal, and takes the form of three short curved bars between the pellets.

That in the second quarter, under CIVI, is of normal size and form

(Pl. XV, 1).

The coin is in the writer's collection.



E. C. LINTON

A NINETEENTH CENTURY SCOTTISH HOARD OF EDWARD PENCE 807 coins—deposit c. 1345?

Through the kindness of Dr. J. H. Tasker of Sheffield, the present writer has had the privilege of examining and recording a large collection of Edwardian pence that must obviously represent part if not the whole of a major hoard. Inquiries have established that the collection was in the possession of a distinguished Scots family at the beginning of this century, but it has not been possible to identify the coins with any of the recorded nineteenth-century finds, although one would hesitate to rule out the possibility that they are in fact to be associated with a hoard already known to numismatic science. However, the fact that the find is of "pre-Fox vintage" itself is sufficient to warrant publication with the coins arranged in accordance with the Fox classification, and it is to be hoped that students of metrology may find it useful to have a record of a long run of weights.

The principal interest of the hoard lies in its inclusion of a small number of "florin" pence of Edward III. While not unprecedented, their presence is welcome, if only because the parallel absence of pence from the years 1327–35 provides confirmation of the view that the latter were struck in very small numbers and are extremely rare. One hastens to add that the "florin" pence cannot be intruders—although with the 807 coins there was a worn James II second coinage groat—

as the majority of them are distinguished by a brownish patination which is a feature of a number of coins in the hoard.

Of the coins 797 are English pence, and the 793 which are amenable to the Fox classification may be briefly summarized as follows:

	Bristol	Bury St. Edmunds	Canterbury	Chester	Durham	Exeter	Kingston upon Hull	Lincoln	London	Newcastle	York King Archbishop	Total
Enwine I	7	F				7	I	7	I	~		
Fox I II III IV V VI VII VIII IX X X/VIII X/IX IX/X			9 26 18 146	 	1	 			7 12 53 36 7 1 8 57 204 1	 I I 	2 I I	7 15 69 62 7 1 2 8 79 358 1 14
EDWARD II FOX XI XII XIII XIV XV		I	29 9 16 24		4	 		:::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::	43 8 3 20	:: :: ::	:: :: ::	77 17 20 46
Edward III "Florin"	2		 279	 I		_I	.:	2	7 482		4	7 793

It will be seen that the relative proportions of the Fox classes by no means follow the same pattern as in the Boyton and Bootham finds, and there can be little doubt that a good many more finds will have to be recorded in the same detail before we can begin to collate the coins and the figures for bullion coined. Even so, we are justified in remarking two periods at least of intensive coinage, one c. 1280-5 and the other c. 1300-10.

The more notable coins in the find are illustrated on the accompanying plate (PI. XIV, 21–30). The X/VIII mule is perhaps the most important, but the affinities of some of the other coins to the Scots and Berwick series do seem worthy of remark. It is perhaps surprising that a Scots find should contain so few Scots coins, but it must be remembered that we do not know to what extent the hoard may have been picked over before reaching its present owner. Generally speaking the coins have the appearance of having seen considerable circulation, and in fairness to the English moneyers it should be pointed out

that an unusually high proportion of the light-weight coins have the appearance of having been clipped. It only remains for the writer to express his thanks to Mr. Elmore Jones and to Mr. Ian Stewart for their assistance in sorting and classifying several hundreds of the coins, and to Mrs. J. S. Strudwick and Mr. H. S. A. Copinger for weighing virtually the whole hoard.

England

BERWICK

Blunt Class IIIa 24·I IIIb 21.5

> IVc 24·I IIIa/IV 21.4

BRISTOL

Fox Class III Early S. Late S. 2I.I

BURY ST. EDMUNDS

Fox Class Xc 24.5, 22.6, 19.9

> XIb 22.5 XIV 20.0

CANTERBURY

Fox Class III Early S. 21.7, 21.4, 16.8

Late S. 21.6, 21.5, 21.1, 19.8, 18.5, 19.2

IVa-c 23.4, 22.5, 21.5, 21.3 (4), 21.1, 20.9 (2), 20.7, 20.6, 20.3, 20.1, 19.9, 18.6, 16.1

IVd23.8, 23.2, 20.7, 19.1, 16.9

IVe 22.1, 21.6, 20.5 (2)

VIIa 21.6

IXa 21.5, 21.4

IXb 22.7 (corroded), 22.1 (2), 21.6, 21.5 (2), 21.4, 21.3, 21.1, 21.0, 20.9, 20.7, 20.6, 20.1, 13.9 (chipped)

IXa/b 22.0

Xa 22.2, 21.5, 21.4 (2), 17.7

Xb 22.3, 22.1, 21.8 (2), 21.6, 21.5, 21.3, 21.0 (2), 20.5 (2), 18.3

Xb var. 20.5

Xc-23.9, 23.5 (2), 23.4, 23.0, 22.9, 22.8 (2), 22.7 (2), 22.6 (2), 22.5 (3), 22.4 (2), 22.3 (2), 22.2 (5), 22.1 (5), 22.0 (7), 21.9 (3), 21.8 (4), 21.7 (2), 21.6 (3), 21.5 (11), 21.4 (4), 21.3 (4), 21.2 (6), 21.1 (2), 21·0 (4), 20·9 (8), 20·8 (4), 20·7 (3), 20·6 (4), 20·4, 20·3 (4), 20·1, 20·0 (4), 19·9, 19·8, 19·6, 19·3 (2), 19·0 (2), 18·3 (2), 18·2, 18·0 (2), 17·9, 17·8, 17·4, 17·0 (2), 16·8, 16·1 (chipped), 14.9 (chipped)

IXb/X 23.0, 22.6, 22.3, 22.2 (2), 22.1, 22.0 (3), 21.9 (2), 21.8 (2), 21.6, XI21.2 (2), 21.0 (2), 20.9, 20.8, 20.7 (2), 20.6 (2), 20.5, 20.0, 18.7, 18.6 (chipped)

XIc 17:5

 $_{\rm IIIX}$ 22.6, 22.3, 22.2, 22.0, 21.7 (2), 21.5, 21.0, 19.8

23.2, 22.8, 22.0, 21.9, 21.8, 21.7 (2), 21.3, 21.2, 20.9, 20.8, 18.7, XIV 18·3, 16·8 (chipped), 16·0 (chipped), 12·5 (chipped)

XV 23.8, 23.1, 22.9, 22.6, 22.5, 22.4, 21.8, 21.4, 21.3 (2), 21.2 (2), 20.2, 20.1 (2), 19.2 XVc 22.3 (2), 22.2, 22.1, 22.0, 21.1, 20.8, 20.0

CHESTER

Fox Class IXb 20.9

DURHAM

Bishop de Insula Fox Class II 20:0

Bishop Bek

Fox Class IXb 21.8, 21.0

Xc- 20·8, 18·1, 19·9, 15·7

XI 20·0

Bishop Kellawe

Fox Class XI 25.8, 18.7, 18.5

Bishop Beaumont

Fox Class XV 21.9, 21.0

EXETER

Fox Class IXb 21.8

LINCOLN

Fox Class III Early S. 21.8, 20.5

LONDON

Fox Class Ia 21.5

III

Ic 20.9, 20.8, 20.4, 18.3

Id 18.2, 18.1

Id 22.2, 22.0, 21.6, 21.5 (2), 20.7, 20.5, 20.0, 19.6, 18.1, 17.3,

II·3 (broken)

21.0, 27.0, 20.5 (3), 20.4, 20.3, 20.2, 20.0, 19.8 (2), 19.7, 19.5, 18.8 (chipped), 17.7 (chipped), 17.2, 17.0, 16.8, 16.3,

15.7, 15.6, 15.5

Late S. 23.0, 22.8, 21.7, 21.5, 21.4, 21.1 (2), 20.7 (3), 20.5,

Early S. 22.3, 22.0 (2), 21.7 (2), 21.5, 21.3, 21.2 (2), 21.1 (2),

19.9, 19.8, 18.8 (chipped), 17.1, 15.3

Mule Late S./Early S. 22.3, 22.1, 21.8, 21.4

IVa-c 22·0, 21·8, 21·7, 21·5, 21·4 (3), 21·3, 20·9, 20·7 (3), 20·5, 20·4 (chipped), 20·3, 20·1 (2), 19·4 (chipped), 19·3, 19·0, 18·7,

18.6, 18.5 (2), 18.4, 18.3 (2), 17.5, 16.4

IVd 21.5 (2), 19.3, 19.0, 18.4, 18.0

IVe 17.4

V 21.6 (2), 21.3, 20.7, 20.4, 20.0, 19.6

VI 19.5 VII 19.0

VIII 22.8, 22.2, 21.8, 21.5, 21.0, 20.8, 19.7, 13.5 (chipped)

IXa var. (W) 21.2 (Pl. XIV, 21)

IXb 23.0, 22.5, 22.2, 22.1, 22.0, 21.8, 21.7, 21.6 (2), 21.5 (6), 21.4,

21·3 (3), 21·0 (3), 20·9 (3), 20·8 (2), 20·7, 20·6 (2), 20·5 (2), 20·4, 20·3, 20·2 (2), 20·1, 20·0 (2), 19·8, 19·3 (2), 19·2, 18·4,

15.1 (chipped), 14.7

IXa/b 19.8 (chipped)

Xa 22.5 (chipped), 22.0, 20.2, 19.2, 14.6

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Xh
                         22.5, 22.0 (3), 21.8 (2), 21.7, 21.5, 20.9, 20.8, 20.5, 10.5, 10.2
                            18.5. 14.2
              Xb
                         var. (EDWR'R) 23.1 (Pl. XIV, 22), 22.0
              Xc-
                         24.0 (corroded), 23.3 (corroded), 23.1, 23.0 (2), 22.9, 22.8 (2).
                           22.7 (4), 22.6 (2), 22.5 (7), 22.4 (3), 22.3 (4), 22.2, 22.1 (0).
                           22.0 (9), 21.9 (2), 21.8 (4), 21.7 (7), 21.6 (6), 21.5 (6), 21.4 (8).
                           21.3 (11), 21.2 (5), 21.1 (5), 21.0 (5), 20.9 (5), 20.8 (9),
                           20.7 (2), 20.6 (5), 20.5 (5), 20.4 (3), 20.3 (3), 20.2, 20.0 (2),
                           19.8 (2), 19.5 (2), 19.4, 19.3 (3), 19.2, 19.0 (3-1 chipped),
                           18.9, 18.8, 18.7, 18.6, 18.4 (2), 18.3 (3), 18.0, 17.9 (2), 17.8,
                           17.7, 17.4, 17.1, 16.8, 16.0, 15.8 (chipped), 15.7 (chipped).
                           15.4 (chipped), 15.0 (chipped), 14.8 (chipped), 14.3 (chipped),
                           II.7 (chipped)
             Xc
                         var. (a) with Scots lettering 10.0 (P1, XIV, 23)
                              (b) reading EDWR 16.6 (Pl. XIV, 24)
                              (c) slipped striking 20.0
                              (d) unusual bust 19.5 (P1. XIV, 25)
             Xa/VIII
                         21.2 (Pl. XIV, 26)
             Xa/IX
                         21.9, 21.3, 21.1, 20.9, 20.6, 19.9, 19.6
                         22.2, 21.8 (3), 21.7, 10.6, 10.0
             Xb/IXb
             XIa
                         22.8, 22.7, 21.8, 21.7 (2), 21.2, 20.9, 20.8, 20.7, 20.6, 10.5,
                           10.2, 13.2
             XIa
                         var. (open E) 16.5 (Pl. XIV, 27)
             XIb
                         22.9, 22.5 (2), 22.4, 22.2, 21.7, 21.5 (2), 21.3 (2), 21.0 (2),
                           20.6 (2), 20.3, 20.0, 19.8, 19.3, 19.2, 18.6, 18.4, 18.2, 15.4
             XIa/b
                         22.5, 21.5
             XIb/a
                         22.3, 20.5, 18.4
             XIc
                         20.5
             IIIX
                         23.0, 22.8, 22.3, 21.7 (3), 20.8, 18.3
             XIV
                         22.4, 21.2, 17.5
             XVa-b
                         22.0 (2), 22.8, 22.7, 22.4, 21.7 (2), 21.1, 20.4, 10.1 (chipped)
                         22.2, 22.0, 21.7 (chipped), 21.6, 21.1, 20.6, 18.2, 18.0 (chipped)
             XVc
             XVc
                         var. (reading EDV) 22.5 (Pl. XIV, 28)
             XVc
                        var. (pellet stops) 20.7 (Pl. XIV, 29)
             FLORIN
                         21.6, 21.1, 21.0, 20.6, 20.5 (2), 19.4
HALFPENCE 1335-1343 issue 10.0, 9.2
NEWCASTLE
  Fox Class III
                        Early S. 20.9
             Xc-
                        18.2
             IXb/X
                        21.9, 19.8
Royal Mint
  Fox Class II
                        23.0, 22.8
             TTT
                        20.0
Archbishop de Wickwaine
  Fox Class III
                        20.4
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TRELAND

Dublin

York

Allen Class A var. (pellet at beginning of legend) 22.4 C 21.9

D 18.0

SCOTLAND Alexander III Sterling

Burns Fig. 142 21.9 172 20.3

Flanders Count Robert de Bethune

ALOST

As Chautard p. 9, no. 14, but stops as no. 12. 20.3 (Pl. XIV, 30)

CONTINENTAL?

Imitations of London Pence 19.7, 16.6

R. H. M. DOLLEY

DODFORD (NORTHANTS) TREASURE TROVE

In July 1955 a woman lifting potatoes in the kitchen garden of the Porch House, Dodford near Weedon, came across a small gold coin. This has since been identified as a Burgundian imitation of an English quarter-noble of the type struck in Flanders for Philip the Bold between 1388 and his death in 1404. The coin was submitted to the local museum, and the coroner informed. At the ensuing inquest, a verdict of treasure trove was returned, and the finder has received the full market value of the coin, which has been acquired for the National Collection where this particular denomination was not hitherto repre-

sented (P1. XV, 2).

This is perhaps the first occasion on which the Burgundian quarternoble imitation has been recorded with an English find-spot, though Mr. J. D. A. Thompson kindly points out that the noble imitation occurred in the Westbury hoard. Even on the Continent it is by no means a common coin—Mile. Jacqueline Lallemand informs me that there are only two specimens in the coin cabinet at Brussels. Unfortunately the Dodford specimen has been heavily though neatly clipped, so that as much as a third of some of the letters in the legends is missing. It is beyond doubt this clipping that explains the low weight, only 23.5 gr., for the evidence of other coins is that the standard was rigorously maintained. Two nobles in the British Museum, one ex Banks, weigh 119.4 and 117.0 gr., and a specimen of the half-noble-from the Eeckeren hoard-weighs 59.5 gr. A manuscript note of Dr. George Brooke's records an assay of a third noble which was found to be 0.969 fine, which is no bad approximation to a theoretical standard of "xxiii caras et iii guars d'aloy". Apart from this clipping the coin is exceedingly well preserved, and shows little trace of wear. In consequence one is reluctant to date its concealment much after the last decade of the fourteenth century.

The obverse type approximates very closely to that of the quarter-

noble of Richard II, the Burgundian arms being substituted for those of the English king. The legend runs:

+ Phs:dei:6:dvx:bvr6:i:aom:futn

The reverse is even more closely modelled on that of the English coin, the legend being identical and the only significant criterion being the replacement of the R, lis, or pellet in the centre of the field by a P. Generally the coin corresponds very closely to that illustrated by Deschamps de Pas (*Revue Numismatique*, 1861, pl. VIII, 17), but we may note a variant in the obverse legend. Such is the standard of execution, that one cannot but endorse the comment made by Deschamps de Pas upon the noble, "c'est l'imitation parfaite".

R. H. M. DOLLEY

WREKENTON (GATESHEAD) GOLD FIND

In July 1954 whilst digging a hole as part of the preparations for a new radio mast near Ravensworth Golf Course, Wrekenton, Gateshead-on-Tyne, a builders' labourer unearthed two gold nobles of Henry VI, and at the inquest held on 11 February 1955, the find was agreed by the coroner's jury to have been "accidentally lost" and not to be treasure trove.

The coins had been found at a depth of some four feet below the present surface, and practically on the supposed site of the Roman road across Gateshead Fell to the bridge across the River Tyne into Newcastle. This road had undoubtedly been used in medieval times, as had been proved by the discovery in 1941 of a Tudor type horseshoe some 500 yards south of the find-spot of the coins.

The jury in presenting their verdict stated that there was not sufficient evidence to prove the coins had been hidden, and being on the site of the road they had probably been lost by a traveller.

The coins are described as follows:

- 1. Henry VI. Rosette-mascle issue. London mint.
 - Obv. henria odi obra or nexamble of sword arm (no mascle on obv.).

 * ንን ት ንን ት on side of ship.
 - Rev. *Inα' *πντ' *τππηςιαης *Par > madivm *ιμμοπν *ιβπτ Die axis ↓. Wt. 107.75 gr.
- 2. Henry VI. Annulet issue. London mint.

 - Rev. Indanvi-transiens-per-medium-illiorv-ibat Annulet in first spandrel of tressure. Die axis . Wt. 107.75 gr.

J. H. Corbitt

AN UNPUBLISHED "MULE" OF THE "PATTERN" TOURNAI GROAT OF HENRY VIII

So long ago as 1922, in volume xvi of our Journal, the writer published the "true" coin of the "pattern" Tournai groat¹ having on obverse the mint-mark Portcullis crowned (an open crown) struck over τ crowned (an arched or closed crown) and on reverse the decorative trefoils in the forks of the cross and mint-mark Portcullis crowned (Pl. XV, 3). This coin still appears to be unique. A few examples of the "mule" with obverse of "pattern" type and reverse of the ordinary

type are known (Pl. XV, 4).

The new "mule" has the obverse of the ordinary type with mint-mark Portcullis crowned, but with reverse of the "pattern" type with the decorative trefoils in the forks of the cross and mint-mark, Portcullis crowned (Pl. XV, 5). This also appears to be, at present, unique. It is interesting to note that this new coin is struck from a different reverse die to the first coin. There is a saltire stop after POSVI. It may tend to confirm the suggestion that at least two reverse dies were prepared for each obverse die? All three coins illustrated are in the writer's collection.

RAYMOND CARLYON-BRITTON

A NOTE ON THE YORK SIXPENCES OF CHARLES I AND AN UNPUBLISHED SHILLING OF THE SAME MINT AND REIGN

YORK SIXPENCES

- No. I. As Hawkins No. I; Ruding xxi. 7; Snelling x. II. Without C and R crowned at sides of shield, but my specimen has a feature apparently not previously noticed. Namely, under the ball and cross surmounting the arches of the crown over the shield on the reverse and over the central cross of the crown band, what appears to be B. Can this be meant for a concealed B or N.B. in monogram, for Nicholas Briot? The stops on this coin are lozenges throughout (Pl. XV, 6).
- No. 2. As Hawkins No. 2; Ruding xxi. 8; Snelling x. 12. This has c and R crowned at sides of shield, and has lozenge stops throughout (Pl. XV, 7).
- No. 3. As No. 2 but on the reverse a bezant as stop before and after AVSPICE, other stops lozenges (Pl. XV, 8).
- No. 4. As No. 2 but on obverse, a lozenge at beginning and end of legend, other stops *pellets*. On reverse, a bezant as stop before and after AVSPICE, other stops lozenges (Pl. XV, 9).

Nos. 1, 3, and 4 appear to be unpublished variants.

YORK SHILLING

Obverse. Much like Hawkins No. 1, Ruding xxi. 4, but there is no B.N.J. xvi, p. 119, and cf. B.N.J. xxvi, p. 189 and Pl. XIII. 5.

stop before CAROLVS, the bust differs slightly and there is rather more hair shown under the crown at the back of the king's head.

Reverse. The legend is differently spaced, so: CHRIS/TO·AVSP/ICE·RE/GNO (all others of Hawkins Nos. I and 2 that I have seen read CHRIST/O·AVSPI/CE·REG/NO). Over the shield between EB and OD there is decoration, so: ir. and at either side of the shield, where the cross emerges, there is :—. In the forks of the cross are single pellets (PI. XV, 10) and not what I call, for want of a better name, "sprigs" as on Hawkins No. I (PI. XV, 11) and the bezants on a long stalk that occur on Hawkins No. 2 (PI. XV, 12).

All the above coins are in the writer's collection.

RAYMOND CARLYON-BRITTON

¹ The punch for these bezants, which are "hatched", appears to be the same as that used for the bezant stops before and after AVSPICE on the sixpences Nos. 3 and 4, above.



MISCELLANEA AND EXHIBITS (2)



REVIEWS

The Mint Towns of England and Wales. Spink & Sons, Ltd. 5s.

This new map is a most useful companion to existing publications and will doubtless become of use not only to young students but also to hardened specialists, searchers into its uncertainties, and those who have considerable knowledge of the early coinage of this country. It may also be a means of provoking interest in mint names and places where little or none had been before, and also create a demand for further works of its kind.

Looking at it therefore with a beginner's eye, let it be noticed at once that the map is large and clear, giving a black and white drawing of the coastline of England and Wales with a small portion of Scotland and Ireland. Upon this, apart from the names of the mints with their localities marked by bold dots, only rivers and English boundaries are shown. Questions of production can be answered by reference to a list at the top of the map where the mints are grouped by counties together with a key to their periods of known activity. An early glance challenges investigation which in its turn gives rise to such straightforward yet significant questions as (a) why are such a large proportion of these mints of the Saxon and Norman periods? (b) why are some of these places of undoubted importance while others are little known or even now practically non-existent? and (c) if there were so many mints, why were they not more widely dispersed instead of being clustered so obviously in the south?

To the critical eye of the enthusiast the map has little interest beyond the fourteenth century, and a student of the later hammered or the milled English series will surely not want to check the locality of Bristol or Birmingham for instance, or be particularly interested in their earlier neighbouring mints. The map will, however, appeal strongly to the considerable bulk of persons who limit their studies to the long and fascinating period of history when the silver penny held its own as the sole piece of currency in these islands. They form almost a class unto themselves, collect with remarkable avidity, become partial to certain localities, and even devote a life's interest to the pennies of a particular neighbourhood. The map is made for this, and upon either side of it an inconsistency is noticeable when the compilers remember, for example, the Stuart at Exeter but forget the

Ancient British at Colchester.

Broadly speaking, this map shows the significance of places which acquired the right to strike their own coins about a thousand years ago, and its study is bound to give rise to questions relating to that time. How, for instance, could it be shown where the numismatic evidence is super-abundant and where it is so scarce as to hang upon the existence of a single coin? How difficult will it be, and what are the possibilities for the doubtful to be clearly established and the question marks removed? What are the chances of new mints other

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than Bridgnorth and Newport (Salop) being added and existing mints such as Gothabyrig (Essex) deducted? And will it ever be possible to find a place upon the map for coins which still appear to spell nonsense to the modern reader?

Apart from the publishers we should certainly feel grateful to Mr. Elmore Jones for the benefit of his great knowledge, to Mr. Dolley for his very up to date and painstaking work, and to Mr.

Linecar for his draughtsmanship.

No doubt the popularity of this map, together with some healthy criticism of its shortcomings, will give some indication of the scope that exists for a series.

G. V. D.

The Art of Collecting Coins. A Practical Guide to Numismatics. By L. S. Forrer, Arco Publishers Ltd., London, 1955. 15s.

This is a remarkably good example of a general work on numismatics. Mr. Forrer, besides having acquired considerable experience in the vagaries of collectors (an attractive but unpredictable race!), has been brought up in a first-class school for the scientific study of numismatics; no one who had the pleasure of knowing his father can doubt that. The book covers a wide range of subjects from ancient Greek coins to jettons and paper money, and Mr. Forrer has contrived to write interestingly about all of them. He is well versed in pure numismatics and understands the importance of coin-evidence to historians, but is mainly concerned to initiate his readers into the technical and practical side of his subject. In this part of the book, which I regard as the most valuable, he gives a great deal of information about the technique of striking (and casting) coins through the ages, advice about how to arrange and keep them, how to distinguish forgeries and electrotypes (a most interesting chapter) and how to make plaster casts and photograph coins.

The photographic reproduction of coins is a much discussed question, but it is increasingly evident that direct photography—if properly done—is the right answer. Mr. Forrer prefers to illustrate coins from plaster casts, but keeps an open mind; his own plates, while not perfect, are very well selected and of good quality. They reflect clearly his extensive knowledge of European coins. Much useful material is included in the appendixes, one of which contains a list of numismatic terms and names, the other a select but comprehensive bibliography. This is the sort of book which I, for one, find convenient for answering difficult questions at short notice.

J. D. A. T.

Coins, by Howard W. A. Linecar, Ernest Benn Limited, 1955, 15s.

Mr. Linecar's book provides the beginner in collecting with much helpful information to encourage him to turn from the uncritical amassing of miscellaneous old coins to reasoned collecting. In this respect the first three chapters are particularly useful. Of the chapters on English coins those dealing with the milled series show a greater

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familiarity with the subject than do those on hammered coins. In this book there is much to praise and little to criticize, but if another edition is called for, the halfpennies credited to Richard III in the appendix (p. 163) should be given to him in the text as well (p. 82). The sentence (p. 81) beginning, "The study of mint marks or privy marks as some of them are called" is misleading as it stands. On page 110 the name of Rawlins might have been mentioned in speaking of the Oxford crown for which he engraved the dies. It is perhaps time to suggest that the names of Hawkins and Kenyon be omitted from lists of reliable books of reference. Surely beginners should not be encouraged to buy these outmoded and expensive books when an upto-date Brooke's English Coins is available. In the copy under review some of the plates are too faintly printed to be distinct, but the inclusion of the twelve-sided threepenny piece of Edward VIII was a happy idea.

E. J. W.

Ett par västfinska silverdepåfynd från 1000 = talet. By Helmer Salmo. Finskt Museum, 1954. Pp. 14–27.

Assisted as regards a number of important Kufic coins by Miss Beatrice Granberg, Dr. Salmo has published two recent finds from western Finland which inter alia contain respectively 86 and II Anglo-Saxon coins. The larger of the two finds is interesting because, while 85 of the coins are of Æthelræd II, the single coin of Cnut is of his second and not his first substantive type, i.e. Hild. G and not Hild. E. A number of pieces appear to be unrecorded. The smaller hoard is unusual because it consists entirely of Hand and Crux coins of Æthelræd II. It leaves little room for doubt but that Hild. B2 is later than Hild. B1, and the complete absence of Hild. B3 is equally suggestive. Important for the student of imitations is a twelfth piece with very unusual legends, and the only complaint that can be levelled against Dr. Salmo's extremely competent handling of the English material is that he has not illustrated more of the coins.

R. H. M. D.

The Church of St. Bertelin at Stafford: Excavation Report. Edited by Adrian Oswald, F.S.A. Published by the City of Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, 1955. 4s. 6d.

This is the first research report to be published by the Birmingham Museum and it is to be hoped will prove to be the precursor of many more. From a numismatic point of view the main interest lies in the discovery of an Anglo-Saxon cut farthing which Mr. Dolley is able to show convincingly is a London coin of the *Crux* type of Æthelred II. This was found in a stratum above a large wooden cross, the most important find in the excavations, and is evidence for an Anglo-Saxon dating for the cross of before or about A.D. 1000. A number of sixteenth- to seventeenth-century jettons were also found and are fully recorded.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY 1955

PRESIDENTS OF THE SOCIETY

1903-8	P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
1909	W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.
1910-14	P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
1915-19	LIEUTCOL. H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.
1920-1	FREDERICK A. WALTERS, F.S.A.
1922	J. SANFORD SALTUS—till 22 June
1922	GRANT R. FRANCIS—from 28 June
1923-5	GRANT R. FRANCIS
1926-7	MAJOR W. J. FREER, V.D., D.L., F.S.A.
1928	MAJOR P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.—till
	20 February
1928	LIEUTCOL. H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.—from 22 February
1929-32	LIEUTCOL. H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
1933-7	V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.
1938–45	H. W. TAFFS, M.B.E.
1946–50	CHRISTOPHER E. BLUNT, O.B.E., F.S.A.
1951-4	EDGAR J. WINSTANLEY
1955	HORACE H. KING, M.A.

THE JOHN SANFORD SALTUS GOLD MEDAL

This medal is awarded by ballot of all the members triennially "to the Member of the Society whose paper or papers appearing in the Society's publications shall receive the highest number of votes from the Members, as being in their opinion the best in the interest of numismatic science".

The medal was founded by the late John Sanford Saltus, Officer de la Legion d'Honneur, of New York, a vice-President of the Society, by the gift of £200 in the year 1910; and so that the triennial periods should be computed from the inauguration of the Society, the Rules provided that the medal should be awarded in the years 1910 and 1911, and thenceforward triennially.

Medallists

1910 P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
1911 MISS HELEN FARQUHAR
1914 W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.
1917 L. A. LAWRENCE, F.S.A.
1920 LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
1923 H. ALEXANDER PARSONS

- 1926 GRANT R. FRANCIS, F.S.A.
- 1929 J. S. SHIRLEY-FOX, R.B.A.
- 1932 CHARLES WINTER
- 1935 RAYMOND CARLYON-BRITTON
- 1938 WILLIAM C. WELLS
- 1941 CUTHBERT A. WHITTON, B.A.
- 1944 Not awarded
- 1947 R. CYRIL LOCKETT, J.P., F.S.A.
- 1950 CHRISTOPHER E. BLUNT, O.B.E., F.S.A.
- 1953 DEREK F. ALLEN, B.A., F.S.A.

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL 1955

President: HORACE H. KING, M.A.

Vice-Presidents: A. E. BAGNALL; C. E. BLUNT, O.B.E., F.S.A.; F. ELMORE JONES; SIR JOHN HANHAM, BART., D.L., M.A.; H. W. TAFFS, M.B.E.; E. J. WINSTANLEY

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Council: D. F. ALLEN, B.A., F.S.A.; R. D. BERESFORD-JONES, M.A.; E. BURSTAL, M.A., M.D.; P. GRIERSON, M.A., F.S.A.; COL. E. C. LINTON, R.A.M.C. (ret.); D. MANGAKIS; S. E. RIGOLD, M.A.; D. F. SPINK; C. H. V. SUTHERLAND, M.A., D.LITT.; J. WEIBEL; F. D. WHITTING, G.M., M.A.; MAJOR W. J. C. YOUDE

ORDINARY MEETING

26 JANUARY 1955

MR. H. H. KING, President, in the Chair

Resignations

LT.-COL. G. S. M. BURTON and MR. J. B. KAY.

Elections

MR. F. BROOKS, MUS. BAC., L.R.A.M., 27 Playfields Drive, Parkstone, Dorset.

MR. G. E. L. CARTER, M.A., Pine Hollow, Budleigh Salterton, Devon. MR. J. F. LOFFET, Poolhead Farm, Tamworth-in-Arden, Nr. Birmingham, Warwicks.

THE DIRECTOR OF THE UNIVERSITETS MYNTKABINETT, Oslo.

Exhibitions

By MR. ALBERT BALDWIN:

Five choice Ancient British coins from the Lockett Collection.

By commander R. P. MACK:

Fifteen Ancient British coins in illustration of the paper.

B 5442

Paper

MR. D. F. ALLEN read an informal paper, illustrated at the end by slides, in the course of which he suggested that perhaps too much attention had been paid to the element of copying in Ancient British coins and too little to the meaning of the designs. He argued that the coins could be used to throw light on a number of archaeological problems such as the appearance of the Ancient Britons, their dress, arms and armour, tactics, domestic animals, crops, industries, music, jewellery, furniture, and religion. At times the evidence of the coins might be in conflict with popular conceptions; for example, the speaker claimed that there was no Ancient British coin to provide conclusive evidence for body painting or long moustaches, and it was necessary to consider the coins very carefully in relation to other archaeological survivals.

A long discussion followed, in the course of which the following took part: Mr. Brailsford from the British Museum, Mr. Albert Baldwin, Mr. Blunt, Mr. Liddell, Mr. Mangakis, Mr. Rigold, and Mr. Shortt, all of whom paid tribute to the speaker's mastery of

his subject.

ORDINARY MEETING

23 FEBRUARY 1955

MR. H. H. KING, President, in the Chair

Resignation

MR. P. H. SELLWOOD.

Elections

MR. J. H. CORBITT, Black Gate Museum, Newcastle-on-Tyne. MR. H. EGAN, PH.D., 49 Medway Gardens, Wembley, Middlesex.

Exhibitions

The evening was devoted to exhibitions primarily of a medallic nature, and the exhibitors spoke on an unusually wide range of exhibits—

By MR. R. MERRIFIELD, of the Guildhall Museum:

One obverse and two reverse dies for the shilling of James I, i.m. grapes.

By MR. J. F. LOFFET:

The collar, star, badge, and sash of a Grand Commander of the Indian Empire conferred upon Sir George Faudel Phillips, Lord Mayor of London 1896/7, together with original documents anent it.

By MR. O. F. PARSONS:

Four plates and two counters engraved by Simon Van de Passe, with portraits of James I and Anne of Denmark and Prince Charles; three cliché medalets from the end of the first quarter of the seventeenth century; and two early casts in brass of the

obverses of the 'Great Seals' for England and Scotland executed for Cromwell by Simon.

By DR. J. P. C. KENT, on behalf of the DIRECTOR OF THE LEEDS CITY MUSEUMS:

A piedfort tin version of the Crown of the Rose believed to be a contemporary tooled-up cast from a genuine piece and possibly intended as a weight.

By MR. J. M. ASHBY:

A sixpence of Philip and Mary dated 1554 and reading DEVS on the reverse; and a first issue halfpenny of William III, probably of 1697, reading GVLIEMVS.

By MR. D. F. SPINK:

Nine Stuart medals of unusual rarity and/or quality.

By MR. R. H. M. DOLLEY:

Plaster casts of a short cross penny of Rhuddlan communicated by M. Lafaurie and stated to occur in a recent French find to be dated by the English coins not later than 1205; and a typescript copy of the dissertation of Mrs. U. M. Ericson on the subject of the names of the English moneyers occurring in the great Igelösa hoard from Skåne.

ORDINARY MEETING

16 MARCH 1955

MR. H. H. KING, President, in the Chair

Elections

MR. N. C. BALLINGAL, c/o Maclaine, Watson & Co., P.O. Box 2001, Djakarta, Indonesia.

MR. A. E. OSBORNE, 6 Portland Street, Warsop, Notts.

MR. V. F. REES, 25 Campden Street, London, W. 8.

MR. R. H. BARKER (Junior Member), I Coniston Road, Whitton Park, Twickenham, Middlesex.

Death

The death was announced of MR. P. G. WATERFIELD.

Exhibitions

By MR. P. F. PURVEY:

An unpublished variety struck in tin of the Penzance 2s. token issued by Samuel Higgs & Son, from the same obverse as Davis 27 but from an unpublished reverse.

By MR. ELMORE JONES:

Pennies of Edward the Confessor, Brooke Type I and 4, struck at Wilton and Salisbury respectively by the moneyer Wineman, a cast of a Br. I penny of Wilton by the moneyer Ælfstan (B.M.C., 1325) and a Br. I/5 mule from the same obverse die but by the moneyer Ælfwine (B.M.C. 1327). These are the subject of a note in the present number.

By MR. PETER SEABY:

Four continental imitations, of good weight and purity, of the sovereign of George V with dates 1912, 1916, 1917, and 1919; seven medalets of John Wilkes, including one struck on a George II halfpenny; six medalets illustrative of the "Hanover Jack" and its prototypes.

By MR. C. S. S. LYON:

Thirteen Northumbrian stycas, including seven of the moneyer Monne struck from obverses of Eanred, Æthelred II, Redwulf, and an archbishop Eanbald all with the same reverse die; two stycas of Eanred from the same obverse die but by the moneyers Monne and Wintred, together with one of Æthelred II from the same reverse as the Wintred; and three more stycas of Eanred by the moneyers Fordred, Gadutels, and Odilo but from a single obverse die.

Paper

MR. R. STUART KINSEY read a paper discussing with extreme thoroughness the status of the Anglo-Saxon moneyer in the context of the Anglo-Saxon laws. It is hoped to print this paper in the next number.

A long and extremely valuable discussion of the paper followed in which the following took part: Messrs. King, Blunt, Doubleday, Elmore Jones, Albert Baldwin, Peter Seaby, Carter, Dolley, and Rigold.

ORDINARY MEETING

27 APRIL 1955

MR. H. H. KING, President, in the Chair

Resignation

MR. J. HANKINSON

Elections

MR. W. B. M. WYLEY, 73 Kenilworth Avenue, Coventry.
MR. E. V. BUXTON, 48 Denton Avenue, East Rockaway, Long Island,
N.Y., U.S.A.

THE DIRECTOR, THE ROYAL SCOTTISH MUSEUM, Edinburgh 1.

Exhibitions

By MR. R. H. M. DOLLEY:

Electrotypes, casts and photographs in illustration of his paper.

By MR. IAN STEWART:

Short cross pennies of Shrewsbury and Durham; a new variety of a Henry VII angel, i.m. anchor vertical/anchor right, P of PER over inverted anchor; halfpence and farthings of Edward III; a penny of William I, type III, in base metal and from an altered reverse die perhaps reading originally +PVLFPINEONLYNDI;

Henry VII profile half-groats with keys, i.m. martlet; a Stamford penny of Æthelræd II Brooke I (true first type) reading +PVLFGARM-OSTAM and with an annulet erased on the reverse die.

By MR. PETER SEABY:

A short cross penny of Shrewsbury (Cl. IV, Ive); a Henry V groat from irregular dies (weight 48 grains); a fourteenth century (?) Boy Bishop lead token from Bury St. Edmunds; an unpublished penny of Eadred, Brooke Type I, of the moneyer Heorferth, reading: ••/HEOR/+++/FERÐM•••

By MR. ELMORE JONES:

A penny of Æthelræd II, B.M.C. IIa, reading +AEÐESTAN M-O NIPÄN, apparently Newport, an unpublished mint for the reign; four die-linked short cross pennies of the Shrewsbury mint (moneyers Ive and Reinald).

By MR. A. E. BAGNALL:

A cut halfpenny of Anlaf, raven type, moneyer Æthelferth; a London penny of Alfred with obverse legend continuous above bust; a rare Worcester penny of Edward the Confessor of B.M.C. Type XIV; a penny of Matilda and a York penny of Eustace Fitzjohn; a Scarborough shilling and sixpence of Charles I; a gold half-guinea token of Sheffield of 1812 and two 40s. tokens of Reading of the same year in gold and silver: a penny of Wiglaf, moneyer "Œllhun", from the Dorking hoard and the Ryan collection.

Exhibited on behalf of MR. H. SCHNEIDER:

A cast of a "pure" Trefoil Noble of Henry VI of the Trefoil Issue, 1438-43 (Pl. XV. 13).

Obv. h/ENRIC:DI:GRA:REX:ANGU'(:?)Z(:?) RRANC' DS' hIB:

Trefoil to left of shield: ship ornaments, lion-lis-lion-lis. The saltire stops before and after Z are somewhat doubtful.

Rev. In'C:AVTO'...TRANSIENS.PER...MEDIV'ILLIO'IBAT

Mint mark lis. There seem to be traces of a pellet before the word PER.

The only other "pure" Trefoil Noble of Henry VI was recorded by the late Mr. C. A. Whitton in Part II of his paper "The Heavy Coinage of Henry VI". This coin is listed as London Noble 32 on page 26 of the reprint (B.N.J. xxiii, p. 230) and illustrated on Pl. IV, 6. On the obverse this coin, which is in the British Museum, has the saltire stops somewhat differently arranged and the ship ornaments are: lion-lis-lion-lis-lion. On the reverse it reads InC, otherwise it has the same features.

The exhibited cast reveals therefore the existence of a new obverse

and a new reverse die.

Papers

MR. R. H. M. DOLLEY read three short notes. In the first he attributed a coin of Æthelræd II, Hild. B. I, reading +HILDEMOMEÐ, to the abbatial mint of Peterborough, an unpublished Anglo-Saxon mint. In the second he showed that there were a number of obverse die-links between the mints of "Hamtun", "Hamwic", and Winchester, and argued that coins of "Hamtun" must be divided between Northampton and Southampton instead of being forced into one or the other. In the third he argued that documentary evidence concerning the Shrewsbury Mint, published as long ago as 1929, was completely at variance with the accepted short cross chronology. In the speaker's opinion the evidence of the Pipe Rolls was conclusive, and Types II–IV inclusive are virtually without chronological significance. The first of these notes was printed in the last number of the Journal.

In the discussion that followed, Messrs. King, Baldwin, Blunt, Rigold, Elmore Jones, Doubleday, Seaby, and Stewart took part.

ORDINARY MEETING

25 MAY 1955

MR. H. H. KING, President, in the Chair

Death

The President announced the death of SIR JOHN HANHAM, a Vice-President of the Society.

Elections

PROFESSOR MICHAEL GRANT, O.B.E., P.R.N.S., 9 Merchiston Avenue, Edinburgh

MR. G. C. HAINES, F.S.A., 31 Larpent Avenue, Putney, London, S.W. 15.

MR. P. D. KROLIK, The Lansdowne Club, Berkeley Square, London, W. 1.

MR. W. H. PITCHFORK, Thurnholmes, Owston Ferry, Doncaster.

MR. H. DE S. SHORTT, M.A., F.S.A., The Museum, Anne Street, Salisbury.

MR. P. G. SMITH, 23 Upper Grosvenor Street, London, W. I.

MR. F. PARKES WEBER, M.D., F.S.A., 68 Harley House, Regents Park, London, N.W. 1.

MR. E. WODAK, P.O. Box 539, Singapore.

Exhibitions

DR. J. P. C. KENT exhibited a number of mounted casts and, by the courtesy of MESSRS. A. H. BALDWIN, some unpublished coins in illustration of his paper.

Paper

DR. J. P. C. KENT read a paper "Some Prolegomena to James I".

The speaker discussed problems that had arisen in the course of his recent work on a projected British Museum Catalogue of the gold and silver coinage of James I. He stressed the small output of standard gold as evidenced by the reuse of dies in as many as nine successive privy marks, and gave new reasons for dividing the unmarked pence between the Second and Third Coinages. He concluded his paper with a consideration of seventeenth-century mechanical coining methods and their relationship to the farthing tokens.

In a very full and appreciative discussion that followed, Messrs. Albert Baldwin, Peck, Liddell, Rigold, and Dolley took part.

ORDINARY MEETING

22 JUNE 1955

MR. H. H. KING, President, in the Chair

Elections

MR. W. E. CURRAN, 83 Barkly Street, St. Kilda, Melbourne, Australia.

MR. J. HUNT DEACON, c/o National Gallery, Adelaide, South Australia.

MR. J. H. DOGGART, 82 Portland Place, London, W. I.

MR. J. DOUGLAS FERGUSON, Rock Island, Quebec, Canada.

MR. K. V. HEWITT, 44 Feenan Highway, Tilbury, Essex.

THE DIRECTOR, CITY AND COUNTY MUSEUM, Lincoln.

Exhibitions

By MR. BLUNT:

An "offering penny" of Archbishop Æthered from the same reverse

die as the Æthelwulf penny below.

On behalf of an anonymous member: A penny of Æthelwulf from the same reverse die as the above and the same obverse die as the well-known Æthelbald/Æthelwulf forgeries.

By MR. J. D. A. THOMPSON:

A modern forgery of a penny of Offa with runic reverse legend, perhaps a cast from the forgery illustrated by Lawrence, B.N.J. ii (1905), pl. I, 3.

By MR. FRED BALDWIN:

Forgeries of pennies of Ecgbeorht, B.M.C. i, by moneyers Swene and Tideman with the reverse die altered; pennies of Alfred, B.M.C. i, by the moneyers Oeamer and Osric, again from altered dies; a forgery of a penny of Offa; a forgery of a penny of Eadwig, portrait type, by the moneyer Alred from the same reverse die altered and the same obverse die as the Athulf forgery in B.M.;

forger's dies for an Æthered penny and a forger's obverse die for a penny of Stephen and Matilda.

By MR. ALBERT BALDWIN:

An electrotype of a penny of Harold II and a striking in copper of Cricklade penny, made for the late Mr. L. A. Lawrence.

By MR. DAVID SPINK:

A number of electrotypes and casts of English coins.

By MR. GROVER:

A penny of Cnut (Brooke 3) from an altered reverse die (Wynsige, London?) and of very light weight and unusual fabric. Possibly one of the two surviving examples of an Anglo-Saxon plated contemporary forgery.

By MR. MANGAKIS:

Forgeries of a St. Martin penny, a penny of Eadmund and a York cut halfpenny of Stephen.

By MR. WHITTINGHAM:

A contemporary forgery of a Charles I shilling, m.m. triangle, from known dies but apparently struck on a piece of engraved silver plate with clear traces of an incised female figure.

By MR. DOLLEY:

Plaster-casts of a contemporary plated forgery of a Winchester penny of Æthelræd II in the British Museum, found in Herts.

Paper

MR. BLUNT read a paper by MR. J. D. A. THOMPSON and himself on some modern forgeries of Anglo-Saxon coins. This paper is printed in the present number. Mr. J. D. A. Thompson and Mr. Dolley added notes on various aspects of forgery, and there ensued a particularly interesting discussion in which many members took part.

ORDINARY MEETING

28 SEPTEMBER 1955

MR. H. H. KING, President, in the Chair

Deaths

The President announced the death of MR. H. W. TAFFS, a former President of the Society, and of MR. E. H. LEE.

Election

MR. JOHN GARTNER, 15 Guildford Lane, Melbourne, C1, Victoria, Australia.

Exhibitions

By MR. ELMORE JONES:

Five early pennies of Edward the Confessor:

I. B.M.C. type I (Brooke 2) +HVNNX ON MEXLMI (Malmesbury).

- 2. Same type +BRIHTPINE ON ME⊼ (ditto).
- 3. B.M.C. type 2 (Brooke 3) +CILD ON BEDEP (Bedwin), unusual bust.
- 4. Same type /ELPINE ON CR (Cricklade). (Similar bust to n. 3.)
- 5. Same type +PULSTAN ON POR (Warminster), pellet in rev. field; jewelled helmet.

Mr. Elmore Jones read the following note about his exhibition: The two coins of B.M.C. type I (Brooke type 2) may be a pointer to the chronology of these early types. Both seem to be unique. If, as is quite probable, Malmesbury was a one-moneyer mint at that particular period these two coins definitely support the case for putting B.M.C. type 4 as the first substantive issue of the reign. The moneyer of one (HUNNA) is known under Canute, Harold I, Harthacnut and from one other coin of Edward the Confessor—a B.M.C. type 4. The moneyer of the second coin (BRIHTWINE) is known throughout all Edward's later types, Harold II and the early types of William I. In the absence of further evidence it seems reasonable to infer that BRIHTWINE succeeded HUNNA whilst type I was current and therefore that type 4 precedes type I. The three coins of B.M.C. type 2 (Brooke type 3) have no particular significance apart from the great rarity of the mints, but nos. 3 and 4 (the Bedwin and the Cricklade) have a bust which is omitted from Mr. Seaby's excellent little drawings in the August Bulletin—a bust which is very similar to his figure C which I take to be that of B.M.C. 3 (Brooke type I) or is it B.M.C. 4?! No. 5 has a row of beading on the helmet which I do not remember having seen elsewhere. I know of no other specimen from this reverse die which very clearly reads POR for Warminster—the B.M. specimen from the same obverse die is from a home-made reverse die in which the P is formed as a D. Hence its earlier attribution to Dorchester. This local reverse die also reproduces the large-ish pellet in one quarter but in a different

Paper

quarter to that of mine.

MR. P. J. SEABY read a paper on "The Sequence of Types, 1030-1050" which is printed in this number of the *Journal*. A long discussion followed, in which Mr. King, Mr. Albert Baldwin, Mr. Elmore Jones, and others took part.

ORDINARY MEETING

26 OCTOBER 1955

MR. H. H. KING, President, in the Chair

Elections

MR. W. J. POTTER, 30 Esmond Road, London, W. 4.
MR. F. F. WAINWRIGHT, PH.D., F.S.A., University College, Dundee.

THE LIBRARIAN, The University, Leeds.

MR. I. A. STEAD (Junior Member), 30 Malvern Avenue, Boroughbridge Road, York.

Exhibitions

By Mr. A. H. F. BALDWIN:

Eight Oxford unites and three half-unites in illustration of the paper.

By MR. D. G. LIDDELL:

A silver gilt badge of the Earl of Essex, mentioned in *Mercurius Aulicus* as found on a dead Roundhead and mentioned by Mr. Beresford Jones in an earlier paper.

By MR. P. SEABY:

Two "pyramid" pennies of Edward the Confessor by the Chester moneyers Ælfsig and Leofnoth with remarkable obverse dies; a William the Lion Third Coinage Roxburgh penny of Hue Walter; and a freak striking of a groat of William IV.

Paper

MR. BERESFORD JONES read a paper on the unites and half-unites of the Oxford Mint under Charles I, suggesting the sequence of striking of each date and relating the coins both to the triple unites and to the history of the time. Many lantern slides added to the value of the paper which it is hoped to publish in an early number of the *Journal*. Mr. King, Mr. Baldwin, and Mr. Liddell voiced the appreciation of members generally.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

30 NOVEMBER 1955

MR. H. H. KING, President, in the Chair

Elections

DR. ROBERT CALDERWOOD, M.O.H., Palmer Road, Singapore. MR. J. PORTEOUS, Long Cottage, Castle Camps, Cambridgeshire.

Exhibitions

By Mr. A. E. BAGNALL:

A remarkable series of crowns of James I, and a copper pattern of the crown of James VIII of Scotland.

By MR. PETER SEABY:

A penny of Aarhus with the name of Harthacnut but apparently copying a York penny of Edward the Confessor (Hauberg 44).

THE PRESIDENT then delivered his Annual Address.

MR. WINSTANLEY moved a vote of thanks to the President, and this was seconded by MR. WEIBEL, and passed unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT announced the result of the ballot for the officers of the Society for 1956:

President: H. H. King, Esq., M.A.

Vice-Presidents: A. E. Bagnall, Esq.; C. E. Blunt, Esq., O.B.E., F.S.A.;

E. J. Winstanley, Esq., L.D.S. Director: G. V. Doubleday, Esq.,

Treasurer: J. M. Ashby, Esq., M.A.

Librarian: W. Forster, Esq.,

Secretary: R. H. M. Dolley, Esq., B.A., F.S.A.

Council: D. F. Allen, Esq., B.A., F.S.A.; R. D. Beresford-Jones, Esq., M.A.; P. Grierson, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.; J. P. C. Kent, Esq., B.A., Ph.D.; Col. E. C. Linton, R.A.M.C. (retd.); D. Mangakis, Esq.; W. Palmer, Esq., B.Sc.; C. Wilson Peck, Esq., F.P.S.; S. E. Rigold, Esq., M.A.; C. H. V. Sutherland, Esq., M.A., D.Litt., F.M.A.; P. D. Whitting, Esq., G.M., B.A.; Major W. J. C. Youde.

ADDRESS BY HORACE H. KING

PRESIDENT OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Delivered at the Anniversary Meeting, 30 November 1955

Tonight the fifty-second year of the Society's existence comes to an end with the roll of members longer than it has been for many a year. Our numbers are 272—190 ordinary members, 10 junior members, and 72 institutional members—and it is hoped to reach the 300 mark very shortly. We have added approximately 30 names a year to our list during the last two years. This is good, but what is not so healthy is that the majority of new names are put forward by a select few of our members. Let each one of us endeavour to get a new member in the coming year.

Twelve of our new members this year were the direct result of the letters sent by the Royal and British Numismatic Societies to each other's members. This was not quite as many as was hoped but it was fully worth the trouble and expense. We had the pleasure of welcoming into the Society Professor Michael Grant, the President

of the Royal.

We have lost by death three members and by resignation three. Among the losses by death are two that we shall all particularly miss, Sir John Hanham and Mr. H. W. Taffs, both vice-Presidents of the Society and the latter a founder-member and ex-President. Neither contributed to our *Journal* but both exhibited at our meetings, Mr. Taffs particularly bringing very interesting and varied exhibits. I attended his funeral, both as representing the Society and as an old friend.

Our librarian Mr. Forster tells me that he has been unable to devote much time to the library recently but that it will not take him long to finish the catalogue: indeed he would have finished it by now but that he found he was so much ahead of the Royal. We can with

confidence leave it to him to complete the work.

The papers read at our meetings have been of interest to students of the Ancient British, Anglo-Saxon, and Stuart periods and we have of recent years had papers on the Norman, Plantagenet, and Tudor periods, but nothing has been read dealing with the milled series. Similarly the *Journal* has dealt with all periods of English coinage, and some Scottish, in the last year or two but, except for a paper on early nineteenth-century tokens in the number just about to be published, nothing has appeared on any subject after 1662 but a paper in the last number on a contemporary forgery of a William III crown. I do not count Mr. J. D. A. Thompson's exceedingly interesting papers in the 1952 number as they are not on the subject of the coinage itself but of its use and misuse. Cannot this ignoring of a most interesting series be ended? Surely we have amongst our members

some who have made a study of it and who could give us the result of their researches.

We opened the year with a paper by Mr. D. F. Allen which appropriately dealt with the earliest of our British coinages, the Ancient British series, studying aspects of life in pre-Roman Britain, clothes, arms, agriculture, as illustrated by the coins. In April Mr. Dolley read three short papers, one of which established, from a coin in one of the hoards in the Royal collection in Stockholm, a new Anglo-Saxon mint, Medeshamstede which later became Peterborough. Mr. Dolley in the later Anglo-Saxon and Mr. Elmore Jones in the later Norman series have, in the last few years, added three to our list of English mints and the former tells me that he has another new mint for us for the New Year, due also to his study on the spot of the Swedish hoards. However, he has kept the score even by proving that the coin on which Dunwich relied for its acceptance as a mint is really of London. In September Mr. Peter Seaby treated of the Sequence of Types between about 1030 and 1050, suggesting that the Cnut arm-and-sceptre type, B.M.C. xvii, was not issued till six or seven years after Cnut's death and that the PACX type was Edward the Confessor's first type. Though some members accepted Mr. Seaby's suggestions, others were in favour of waiting, in view of the contradictory evidence, for further research. In October Mr. Beresford-Jones continued his review of the Oxford coinage of the Civil War by dealing with the unites and half-unites.

Mr. Dolley has continued this year his work in Sweden on behalf of the British Museum on the wealth of material represented by the Anglo-Saxon hoards so frequently dug up there. We wish him success in the continuance of his already invaluable work which, I understand,

is likely to be continued for several years.

The Secretary wrote at the end of October on behalf of the Society to congratulate Mr. Georg Galster on his completion of thirty-five years as Keeper of the Royal Danish collection, during which time he has always been most gracious and helpful both to those who were lucky enough, as I was, to visit the Copenhagen Museum and to those whose contact with him was only by correspondence.

We congratulate Dr. Walker on being appointed Foreign Corre-

spondent of the Swedish Academy of Historical Sciences.

A meeting was held on 13 October of the Sylloge Committee at which Sir Frank Stenton was asked and agreed to act as Chairman of the Committee. The Committee consists of representatives of the two numismatic societies and it was agreed to ask the British Academy, the Society of Antiquaries, the Royal Historical Society, and the English Place-name Society to nominate members. This is now being done. Initially emphasis will be placed on the early series, Ancient British and Anglo-Saxon, because it is felt that these have most to offer to the historian and archaeologist. The Committee's plans are taking shape and the Hunterian, Fitzwilliam, and certain West Country museums have been approached with a view to their being

the subjects for the first publications of the Sylloge. Basic principles of format, illustration, and text have been decided on and, once publication starts, a regular series of volumes may be expected.

This year's Congress took place at Chester on II June under the auspices of the Merseyside and Lancashire Numismatic Societies. The attendance was not what it might have been owing to the railway strike but, considering that, it was remarkably good. I regret that I myself was prevented from being present. The Congress was held at the Grosvenor Museum where a room was given up to the exhibition.

After Dr. Sutherland had opened the proceedings and the Mayor of Chester had welcomed the delegates and declared the Congress open, Mr. Graham Webster, lately Curator of the Grosvenor Museum, read the first paper, on the finding of the Anglo-Saxon Chester Hoard of 1950. Mr. Dolley then followed with a paper on the Chester mint. Prof. F. C. Thompson gave an illustrated talk on "The Microscope and Numismatics" and Alderman H. Hird brought the Congress to a close with a talk on Commemorative Medals which was illustrated with lantern slides.

The 1956 Congress will be held at York on 9 June under the auspices

of the Yorkshire Numismatic Society.

The British Association of Numismatic Societies has had a year largely of consolidation. Of the twenty-eight societies known to exist in the British Isles twenty-one are now affiliated to the Association. They have built up a considerable library which includes slides and film-negatives. They have also formed a sub-committee charged with recording coin-material in museums, which should be a very valuable work. There are a number of rare, in some cases unique, coins tucked away in provincial museums which very seldom come under the eye of anyone capable of appreciating their value, not merely in money, though that is considerable, but much more as numismatic evidence.

The sale of the Lockett collection, one of the finest, if not the finest, that has ever been got together by a private individual, has commenced this year with the dispersal of the greater part of the English up to Edward III and a part of the Greek. The prices fetched in the English series were high enough to surprise most people but they were even outdone by the Greek. It will be a source of gratification to most of us to learn that the British Museum acquired 166 coins from the English sale, showing that the Keeper of Coins is fully alive to the importance of English, as well as Greek and Roman, coins. These included the Baldred of Kent, the Sihtric (Gale), the Beorhtric of Wessex, the unique penny of Eanred of Wessex from the Trewiddle hoard and the Æthelred II Agnus Dei penny of Derby from the Hilton-Price and Carlyon-Britton collections.

The Ashmolean and Fitzwilliam Museums also acquired some 60 and 30 coins respectively. Among others the former added to their cabinets the silver sceatta or penny of Beonna, the penny of Earl Sihtric from the Cuerdale hoard, and the York penny of Regnald. The Fitzwilliam Museum gained the Ecgberht of Kent penny found

at Stamford Hill, the second penny of Cynethryth and the penny of

York with the standing figures of Stephen and Matilda.

During the year the Ashmolean Museum also received the Passmore gift, including Ancient British, a penny of Baldred of Kent and a selection of Cricklade pennies from Æthelred II to Edward the Confessor.

It is regrettable that the *Journal* is not out by the Annual Meeting but the preparation of the list of members and the index, which only occur every third year, and the second of which cannot be started on till all the rest is nearly ready for press, has delayed publication. It should be in your hands, however, before the end of the year.

In conclusion let me say how I have appreciated the support and encouragement of the Officers and Council in an office which, living as I do in the country, I find it very difficult to fill adequately. The help of the Secretary, Director, and Mr. Blunt and Mr. Winstanley has been invaluable and without it I could not have carried on.

THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

EXPENDITURE AND INCOME ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 OCTOBER 1954 EXPENDITURE INCOME

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BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31 OCTOBER 1954

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WE beg to report to the Members that we have obtained all the information and explanations we have required. No credit has been taken for subscriptions in arrear. We have examined the above Balance Sheet with the books and vouchers of the Society and are of opinion that subject to the above remark the same is properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Society's affairs, according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us, and as shown by the books of the Society.

GILBERTS, HALLETT, & EGLINGTON, Chartered Accountants.
51 Coleman Street, London, E.C. 2

6 May 1955

A REAPPRAISAL OF

THE SCEATTA AND STYCA COINAGE OF NORTHUMBRIA

By c. s. s. Lyon

Introduction

The year 866 brought tragedy to the Saxon kingdom of Northumbria. In this year [says the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle] the host went from East Anglia over the mouth of the Humber to York in Northumbria; and there was great dissension of the people among themselves; and they had repudiated their king Osberht and accepted Ælla, a king not of royal birth; and it was late in the year when they set about making war against the host, nevertheless they gathered great levies and went to attack the host at York and stormed the city, and some of them got inside; and immense slaughter was made of the Northumbrians there, some inside, some outside, and both the kings were slain, and the remnant made peace with the host.¹

This decisive battle was fought in March 867.

With this account of the Danish conquest the *Chronicle* breaks a silence of sixty years concerning the affairs of Northumbria, apart from a brief mention of the submission of the Northumbrians to Ecgberht of Wessex in 829. Other sources of information are scanty, chief among them being Symeon of Durham and Roger of Wendover, chroniclers writing in Norman times but who evidently had access to northern annals which have not survived.

In such a period as this numismatic evidence may be of cardinal importance to the historian, and it so happens that in the vast hoards of so-called "stycas" deposited in the middle of the ninth century, there is a wealth of material which is rivalled only by the Scandinavian finds of pennies of Æthelræd II deposited 150 years later. It is the primary aim of this paper to discuss the evidence which these hoards provide, and to put forward on the basis of this evidence a new classification of the styca series.³

SCEATTAS

Before considering the styca hoards it would be as well to outline very briefly the earlier numismatic history of Northumbria. The first recognizable coinage of the kings of Northumbria and archbishops of York appears to have grown out of the ordinary sceatta coinage. It is essentially a silver or base silver coinage and seems to have begun in the reign of Eadberht, who died in 758. The coins, which for convenience will be referred to as sceattas to distinguish them from the copper stycas, are neat in style and execution and have on the obverse a latinized form of a king's name—usually EDTBER-

¹ Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (A) trans. Garmonsway.

² Symeon of Durham, *Historia Regum*. Roger of Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*.

³ The present classification is based primarily on Creeke, "The Regal Sceatta and Styca Series of Northumbria" (B.N.J. 1904), and "The Sceatta and Styca Coinage of the Early Archbishops of York" (B.N.J. 1905) as modified by Parsons, "The Coins of Æthelred I of Northumbria" (B.N.J. 1913).

Entyr—around a central cross, sometimes with an intervening circle of pellets. The reverse design is a quadruped walking to left or to right, which is very reminiscent of some of the animal type uninscribed sceattas (P1. XVIII, 1-3). The similarities have been noted by previous writers¹ and it has also been suggested that the presence on uninscribed sceattas of the triquetra which is so prominent a feature of many of the regal Northumbrian sceattas (and is found also, for example, on viking coins of York in the early tenth century) indicates that some of the uninscribed sceattas are of northern origin.²

Eadberht's brother, Ecgberht, Archbishop of York, also had the right of coinage as is shown by sceattas in their joint names. Here again the derivation from the uninscribed series is apparent (P1. XVIII, 8, 9) and one wonders whether the uninscribed sceattas depicting a standing figure holding a long cross in either hand were issued under

episcopal authority.

Although Eadberht's coins are far from common (no hoard containing them is cited by J. D. A. Thompson)3 the number that survive is far greater than in the case of his successors. This lack of material makes any attempt to draw conclusions about the duration of the series very hazardous. Sceattas are known of Alhred, Æthelred I, and Ælfwald I with the quadruped reverse, but they are progressively cruder in style (P1. XVIII, 4-6), and of Archbishop Ecgberht coupled with Alhred (P1. XVIII, 10, 11). Lord Grantley attributed one of these latter coins to Æthelwald Moll but the illustration suggests that, of the two possibilities, Alhred is the more likely.4

It is probable that the last of the sceattas bearing the quadruped design on the reverse were struck in Ælfwald I's reign, i.e. not long after 780. This is suggested by the existence of one or two sceattas of Ælfwald reading CVDBEVRT on the reverse, which must be later in date than the quadruped coins (P1. XVIII, 7). Lord Grantley saw a connexion between the reverse legend and St. Cuthbert, 5 but it seems more probable that it is a moneyer's name. Another coin in his collection may have been issued in Æthelred I's second reign but as its provenance is not recorded this cannot be confirmed at present.

Mr. Ian Stewart has suggested that coins bearing the name AEDIL-RED, sometimes with a monogram of Rex, struck by the moneyer Ceolbald, were issued by Æthelred I and not, as hitherto assumed, by Æthelred II. One or two of these coins were found in the Hexham hoard which raises some doubt as to the correctness of this attribution. since no other coins before the reign of Eanred were found there, but on the other hand a disproportionate number of Ceolbald coins were found during the Whitby excavations some thirty years ago and their

5 Grantley, "St. Cuthbert's Pennies", B.N.J. 1911.

e.g. P. V. Hill, "The Animal, 'Anglo-Merovingian' and Miscellaneous Series of Anglo-

Saxon Sceattas", B.N.J. 1952.

² Evans, "On a Small Hoard of Saxon Sceattas found near Cambridge", N.C. 1894.

³ J. D. A. Thompson, An Inventory of British Coin Hoards.

⁴ "F. D.", "On the Northumbrian Skeattas", N.C. 1841. Grantley, "On a Unique Styca of Alchred of Northumbria and Archbishop Ecgberth", N.C. 1893.

attribution to Æthelred II would raise difficulties at least as great, bearing in mind their complete absence from the York and Bolton Percy finds. The Æthelred/Ceolbald coins may therefore be assigned tentatively to the second reign of Æthelred I (P1. XVIII, 12).

There are coins of similar style reading AEDILRED on one side and EANBALD (retrograde) on the other which were regarded by Parsons as belonging to Archbishop Eanbald II, Æthelred being the moneyer. Parsons based his argument on information that one such coin was found at Ulleskelf with eight coins of Archbishop Eanbald. No reference is given, and so far as can be ascertained the great hoard of stycas found at Ulleskelf (Bolton Percy) contained only a handful of coins of Archbishop Eanbald. It seems more probable that this group of coins should be bracketed with the Æthelred/Ceolbald group. Either Eanbald was a moneyer contemporary with Ceolbald, or these coins were struck under the auspices of Æthelred I

and Archbishop Eanbald I.²

The inscribed silver sceatta coinage of Northumbria, which began in about 750, appears to have come to an end in Æthelred I's second reign and probably not much later than 790. In the absence of substantial hoards our knowledge of this coinage is inevitably incomplete and many problems remain to be solved. Among these problems is the classification of two groups of coins—the base metal coins found in Heworth Churchyard in 1813 reading ECGFRIÐ REX on the obverse and the sceatta-like coins with a very crude quadruped on the reverse and reading ALDERIDVS on the obverse (Pl. XVIII, 13, 14). These groups have been assigned to the seventh-century kings Ecgfrith and Aldfrith of Northumbria, but on grounds of style both attributions raise serious doubts and the use of the title "Rex" on Northumbrian coins is otherwise confined to the styca series some 150 years later than Ecgfrith's reign. Furthermore, Bede makes no reference to any Northumbrian coinage. So far no satisfactory home has been found for the Heworth coins (all of which are from the same dies) in the Northumbrian series. The Aldfrith sceattas are so crude in style as to be certainly later than sceattas of Eadberht. Mr. Dolley has pointed out that there was a king of Lindsey called Ealdfrith who is mentioned in a charter of Offa dating from about 790 and the possibility that sceattas were struck in Lindsey as well as in Northumbria should be borne in mind. The coins of Aldfrith are rare; there are two in the British Museum and two more were found in the Whitby excavations.

The cessation of the silver sceatta coinage before the close of the eighth century may have been due to several factors. Doubtless one of these was the chaos which prevailed in Northumbria at the time (Lindisfarne was sacked by the Vikings in 793) and also the ascendancy of Mercia may have resulted in the cutting off of supplies of Welsh silver. The fact is that no trace remains of any coinage from that time

Parsons, "The Coins of Archbishop Eanbald II of York", B.N.J. 1916.

² Fairless ("Stycas found at York", N.C. 1845) states that one of these coins was found at Hexham.

230 A Reappraisal of the Sceatta and Styca Coinage of Northumbria until towards the end of Eanred's long reign, some thirty-five or forty years later.

STYCAS—HOARD EVIDENCE

The name "stycas" is traditionally given to the predominantly copper coins which form the next phase in the Northumbrian series. There is little doubt that this was not the name by which the coins were known at the time of their currency—"styca" is used in the Lindisfarne Gospels to denote the widow's mite—but for want of a

better name it will be used in this paper.

We have seen that in the absence of substantial deposits a true assessment of the eighth-century sceatta coinage is difficult if not impossible. With the styca series the position is very different, because in the space of ten years towards the middle of the last century, three vast hoards of stycas were unearthed in what used to be Northumbria, each hoard containing several thousand coins. The first to be found and the first to have been deposited was unearthed in 1833 in Hexham churchyard, Northumberland, when the sexton and his assistant were digging a grave and came upon a brass jar containing some 8,000 stycas. Adamson, writing in Archaeologia, gives a very full description of the find and his account includes nearly 1,000 illustrations. The other two major hoards were discovered at St. Leonard's Place, York, in 1842, and at Ulleskelf, Bolton Percy (not far from York) in 1846, the York hoard appearing to be the largest of the three and containing about 10,000 coins. It is significant that no silver pennies were found with any of these hoards and in fact there is no reason to suppose that stycas and pennies have ever been found together under conditions suggesting that they were deposited at the same time.²

These and other hoards have resulted in the styca being the commonest—and least respected—of all Anglo-Saxon coins. A substantial proportion of the Hexham coins is in the British Museum collection, and several thousand of the York and Bolton Percy coins are housed in the museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society in York. This being so, it is incredible that an analytical approach has not been used to solve the problems the styca series presents, because the greater the material available, the easier the classification of a series becomes. Much has been written about stycas, both in the *Journal* and in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, nearly all of it more than fifty years ago, but many of the papers have been based on insufficient evidence and have created more problems than they have solved. Numismatics must be regarded as a science as much as an art, and in this question of a scientific approach has much to learn from

archaeology.

¹ Archaeologia, vols. xxv and xxvi, reprinted in Archaeologia Æliana, vol. iii, Part II

^{` 2} Maxwell (P.S.A.S., vol. xlvii, p. 12) describes coins found at Talnotrie, Kirkcudbrightshire in 1912 comprising both stycas and pennies, but his account does not state that they came from a single hoard.

Examination of coins from the Hexham hoard shows that it contained stycas of three kings-Eanred, Æthelred II, and Redwulfand two archbishops—Eanbald and Wigmund—together with a group of blundered coins. The York and Bolton Percy hoards contained coins of the same kings and archbishops, and in addition coins of Osberht and Archbishop Wulfhere and an entirely new series of blundered coins. To carry the work a stage farther detailed analysis of samples of the various hoards is necessary. The Adamson illustrations have been taken as a fair sample of the Hexham hoard: that they are a fair sample appears to be borne out by the distribution between moneyers of the stycas from Hexham in the British Museum collection, based on provenances supplied by Mrs. J. S. Martin.¹ The only detailed records of the York and Bolton Percy hoards that it has been felt possible to rely upon are contained in a catalogue made by C. Wellbeloved a century ago of parcels secured by him for the Yorkshire Museum: this is a monumental work, classifying the coins according to obverse and reverse legends and types, and the manuscript has been made available by kind permission of Mr. G. F. Willmot, Keeper of the Yorkshire Museum. The results of the analysis are shown in Table I.

It is evident at once that the Hexham hoard was buried either during the reign of Redwulf or during the second reign of Æthelred II, since it contains no coins of Osberht or Archbishop Wulfhere.² Furthermore, the Hexham coins of Æthelred included only 2 or 3 per cent. of the moneyer Eardwulf whereas at York and Bolton Percy the proportion was nearly 25 per cent. Since Eardwulf did not coin for Redwulf and since he is concerned in reverse die-links between Æthelred and Osberht, it is clear that Eardwulf was a second-reign moneyer of Æthelred and we would not be far wrong if we dated the deposition of the Hexham hoard to the beginning of the second reign c. 845. The York and Bolton Percy hoards, on the other hand, must have been buried some ten years later, but in view of the relatively small proportion of coins of Osberht and Archbishop Wulfhere and the closeness of their die-linking, a date much earlier than the disaster of 867 is indicated.

In the case of the Hexham coins a clear distinction can be made between official issues and the blundered series. With the later hoards this is unfortunately not so. The second-reign coinage of Æthelred which seems to have been almost entirely in the hands of the one moneyer Eardwulf, can be traced through to what must be the end of the reign, when reverse die-links with Osberht occur through the moneyers Eanwulf, Eardwulf, Ethelhelm, Monne, and Wulfred. In some cases the reverse dies concerned in these links, and the obverse dies of Æthelred, then undergo repeated modification and can be shown to give rise to the second series of blundered or derivative coins. We thus have the position that there is a series of coins bearing in

Recently published in B.N.J. 1955.
 The coin ascribed by Adamson to Ælla is in fact one of the blundered series.

more or less intelligible form the name of Æthelred and that of one of his moneyers (or of one of the earlier styca moneyers, e.g. Eadwini), which is later in date than official coins of Osberht. It is not easy to distinguish coins of this derivative series from written descriptions, and for this reason the figures given in Table I for the later moneyers of Æthelred must be regarded as approximate.

It is hoped to examine this derivative coinage in detail at a later date, but it should be mentioned at this stage that it includes nearly all the problem coins of the styca series that have in the past been attributed to Æthelred I, Eardwulf, "Hoaud", Ælfwald II, Ælla, and Beonna.¹ All these coins are conspicuous by their complete absence from the Hexham hoard,² and the majority fit into a complex chain of die-links which stems from coins of Æthelred II, moneyer Eardwulf and one branch of which includes many of the known obverse dies of

Osberht.³ Part of this chain is illustrated in Pl. XIX.

The attribution of coins to these kings was due solely to considering individual coins or (in the case of Parsons) individual die-links, out of context. It is a pity that Fairless, who drew attention over a century ago to the extensive die-linking between moneyers and who found that "on strict examination of the coins, this system runs through the whole series, to a greater or less extent",4 did not have access to the York hoard, and that no other writer followed up his work on dielinking. It was doubtless the wrong attribution of coins from the late derivative series that led Sir Frank Stenton to state that "Northumbrian tradition, best preserved by Symeon of Durham, interpolated the two years' reign of a certain Ælfwald between Eardwulf's expulsion and Eanred's succession. There is some evidence from coins for the existence of a Northumbrian king named Ælfwald at approximately this time. But although a king of this name may have been recognized in Northumbria on Eardwulf's flight, his power must have ended with Eardwulf's restoration, which is placed under 808 by the contemporary Frankish annals."5

The later hoards are remarkable for the almost total absence of

¹ e.g. Ellis, "Styca of Huth", N.J. 1838.

Lindsay, "Coins of Huath King of Northumberland", N.J. 1838. Evans, "Remarks on Rare and Unpublished Coins", N.C. 1853.

Rashleigh, "Remarks on the Coins of the Anglo-Saxon and Danish Kings of Northumberland", N.C. 1869.

Heywood, "Coinage of Elfwald II", N.C. 1887. Heywood, "Notes on Northumbrian Stycas inscribed HOAVD RE+", N.C. 1890. Grantley, "On the North-Humbrian Coinage of A.D. 758-808", N.C. 1897. Creeke, "Unpublished Stycas of Ælfwald I and Æthelred I", N.C. 1902. Parsons, "The Coins of Æthelred I of Northumbria", B.N.J. 1913.

² The few stycas attributed by Adamson to the reign of Eardwulf were in fact struck in Eanred's reign from reverse dies of the moneyers Wulfheard and Herreth. Also, stycas attributed to Eanred and Æthelred reigning jointly can be shown by means of die-links to have been struck by Æthelred's moneyer Eanred some time after the beginning of the reign.

3 This chain does not as yet include the "Hoaud" coins. For a discussion on coins of this "king" see I. H. Stewart, "Ex-King Hoaud", Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin, April 1956.

4 Fairless, "Stycas found at York", N.C. 1845.

⁵ Sir Frank Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, 2nd edn., p. 95.

coins of Archbishop Eanbald. Only a handful were found at York whereas at Hexham they represented over one-third of the episcopal coins. Examination of the coins of Eanred in the two hoards shows that the moneyers Cunwulf, Daegberht, Eadwini, Eadwulf, Ethelweard, Herreth, Hwaetred, Tidwini, Wilheah, and Wulfheard accounted for nearly half of the stycas of Eanred found at Hexham, but at York and Bolton Percy the proportion was barely 5 per cent.; these moneyers coined stycas with, apparently, a higher silver content than the others, and Cunwulf, Eadwulf, and Ethelweard also coined for Archbishop Eanbald. There are two possible reasons for the insignificant representation of stycas of Archbishop Eanbald and what may be called the Group A moneyers of Eanred at York and Bolton Percy as compared with Hexham:

- either (a) being made of finer metal, they were melted down during the later stages of the coinage,
 - or (b) they were struck at a mint other than York.

The first explanation appears to be the more likely, since no such anomaly occurs in the following reign. It can therefore be assumed that the stycas of the Group A moneyers, and those of Archbishop Eanbald, are the earliest of the series. It remains to determine the period of Eanred's long reign during which they were struck.

If we designate the other moneyers of Eanred as Group B moneyers and consider the coins of these moneyers and the coins of Æthelred II and Redwulf illustrated by Adamson, the following approximate

relationship emerges:

Giving as late a date as possible to the deposition of the Hexham hoard (say 846) and as early a date as possible to Æthelred's accession (say 840) the coins of Æthelred and Redwulf cover a period of at the most six years. If the rate of striking coins remained fairly constant for the period in question (and the number of moneyers suggests that it did), Redwulf's coinage cannot have lasted more than six months, which bears out Roger of Wendover's statement that Æthelred was restored in the same year that he was deposed (844). Similarly, the coinage of Eanred's Group B moneyers cannot have lasted more than two or three years—in other words it dates from 837 at the earliest—and the extent of the die-linking confirms this deduction. The entire coinage of Archbishop Wigmund dates from the same period (837–46) since the same types and moneyers occur in the later hoards as are found at Hexham.

The proportions derived from the Hexham hoard are substantially reproduced at York and Bolton Percy, though in these hoards the proportion of coins of Redwulf is if anything lower than at Hexham.

The Group A stycas of Eanred, and the stycas of Archbishop Eanbald,

are thus the only coins that can be dated earlier than 837.

According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Archbishop Eanbald II was elected to succeed a predecessor of the same name in 796. The date of his death is not recorded but Simeon of Durham in his letter "de Archiepiscopis Eboraci", as quoted by Adamson, says that it was during the reign of Eanred. He appears to have been succeeded by one Wulfsige, who is known by one or two surviving letters. He was in turn succeeded by Wigmund in 837.2 If indeed the Eanbald whose stycas were found in such quantity at Hexham was the same Eanbald II, it is hard to explain the complete absence of coins of Wulfsige from all styca hoards. Unless there was a third Eanbald who immediately preceded Wigmund, then either Wulfsige's episcopate was very brief or there was a gap in the coinage between the Group A and Group B moneyers of Eanred. It is impossible to give a precise answer at present from numismatic evidence, but it would seem reasonable to date the early styca coinage to the period 830 to 835 and the death of Archbishop Eanbald towards the end of that period. One of Eanbald's moneyers—Ethelweard—coined also for Wigmund, and a comparison of styles suggests that the latest coins of the former and the earliest of the latter were struck within a fairly short time.

There is a reverse die-link between obverse dies of Eanred, Æthelred, Redwulf, and Archbishop Eanbald, the moneyer being Monne (Pl. XVIII, 27-30). The first three coins are genuine enough, die-duplicates occurring among coins which are indisputably from one of the major hoards, and the obverse die of Eanred is so rusty as to have apparently been re-used at the beginning or end of Redwulf's reign-no doubt there was some confusion over the frequent change of ruler. The coin of Archbishop Eanbald, on the other hand, may well be a modern forgery, made from casts of different coins: the obverse die is known as a typical die used by the moneyer Eadwulf, and Creeke³ makes no

mention of coins of Eanbald by the moneyer Monne.

It remains to discuss the coins in the York and Bolton Percy hoards that have no parallel in the Hexham hoard. Table I shows clearly the small proportion of coins of Osberht that these late hoards contained —perhaps a quarter or a third of the number of post-Hexham stycas of Æthelred. The latter coinage may have lasted for three years, ceasing with Æthelred's death in 848 or 849, and the indications are that Osberht's coinage must have ceased very soon after 850. It must be conceded that the rate of coining was much lower in Æthelred's second reign than it had been previously—this is proved by the hoard evidence and the fact that only one moneyer was in full production—but even so, the closeness of the die-linking in Osberht's reign limits

³ Creeke, "The Sceatta and Styca Coinage of the Early Archbishops of York", B.N.J.

1905.

¹ Miss D. Whitelock, English Historical Documents, vol. i, p. 806.
² Symeon of Durham (De Archiepiscopis Eboraci) states that Wigmund's episcopate lasted 16 years and that he died in 854. Roger of Wendover gives 854 as the date of his death but states that he succeeded at York in 831.

the period of his coinage. The moneyer Winiberht is an exception to the die-linking rule and his coins are probably the latest that survive of Osberht.

Why, then, are there stycas of Archbishop Wulfhere, who succeeded Wigmund in 854 according to the chroniclers? These stycas are all by the moneyer Wulfred and are distinctly neater in style than the coins of Osberht—in fact they are similar in many ways to the late coins of Æthelred. There is furthermore a reverse die-link between obverse dies of Æthelred, Osberht, and Archbishop Wulfhere, all the coins involved having lain unrecorded in the trays at the Yorkshire Museum since the middle of the last century, so that there is no doubt about their authenticity (PI. XIX, 1-3). The Æthelred die is one of those which, with associated reverse dies, underwent considerable modification in the derivative series, and it is unlikely that this die-link could be dated as late as five years after Æthelred's death. Here the numismatic evidence is in conflict with the scanty documentary evidence and it is to be hoped that historians will note this fact and attempt to find a solution to this and other problems connected with the end of the styca coinage. What, for example, is the explanation of the derivative coinage in the name of Æthelred, which closes the series? Why did the styca coinage cease so long before the Danish conquest of Northumbria?

To sum up, therefore, it appears that the styca coinage began late in the reign of Eanred and the episcopate of Eanbald II, probably not before 830. It may have languished somewhat at the time of Eanbald's death since no coins are known of his successor, but any interval in the coinage must have been short and so must Wulfsige's episcopate. Coining on a large scale occurred in the last two or three years of Eanred's reign and continued throughout Æthelred's first reign and Redwulf's brief tenancy of the throne; during this period too all Wigmund's episcopal coins were issued. The coinage, which had been of a relatively high standard during this time, degenerated after Æthelred's restoration and fell into confusion at about the time of Osberht's accession. The coinage of Archbishop Wulfhere appears on numismatic grounds to be contemporary with the latest coinage of Æthelred, and not, as one would expect from documentary evidence, at least five years later. The latest date for the end of the styca coinage would seem to be 855, though if there were any flaw in the

be put back to, say, 850 or 851.

Dies and Die-Links

accepted dating of Wulfhere's succession at York this date might well

Much of the research which was undertaken in the preparation of this paper took the form of a search for obverse and reverse die-links.

I Symeon of Durham and Roger of Wendover both give this date. Symeon, however, as quoted by D. Whitelock, says that in "the sixth year after the birth of King Alfred, in the reign of King Osbert over the Northumbrians, Wulfhere received the pallium and was confirmed in the archbishopric of York". Is it possible that he was appointed to the See of York at an earlier date?

It was discovered at an early stage that the die-linking was prodigious and in view of the relatively concentrated material available and the evidently limited length of the coinage it was decided to attempt to record as many die varieties as possible and to check systematically for die-links. This was done by taking rubbings of every new variety. As the method adopted may be of use in other fields it is proposed to describe it in some detail.

The rubbings were made on foolscap typing paper of the kind normally used for carbon copies. This paper had a rectangular pattern of sixty $\frac{3}{4}$ -in. circles printed from a stencil, ten circles to a horizontal line and six to a vertical column, the paper being gripped at the narrow end and bound in a loose-leaf folder. The top line on each page was used for rubbings of obverses struck from the various dies used by a given moneyer in a particular reign and rubbings illustrating the reverse dies associated with each obverse die were made one under the other in the same column as the obverse die. The obverse dies were numbered and the associated reverse dies lettered, so that a coin from the fifth obverse die recorded for the moneyer Monne in Redwulf's reign, and the second reverse die found associated with that obverse die, would be designated Redwulf/Monne 5b. A reverse die-link was indicated by showing a cross-reference beside each reverse rubbing; for example, if the same reverse die as that just mentioned happened to be used with obverse die number 7 and was the third to be recorded in association with that die, the reference 7c would be shown beside the 5b rubbing, and vice versa. A similar method of indicating obverse die-links between moneyers was adopted.

It was essential to be able to take rubbings at high speed and the most satisfactory combination of speed with clarity was obtained by the following process. The coin is placed on some soft material such as tissue paper (which prevents it moving while the rubbing is being taken) with the sheet of paper on which the rubbing is to be made resting on top of the coin, with the appropriate circle in position over the coin. A small piece of carbon paper is placed face downwards on the paper and the impression of the coin is made by rubbing a rounded, blunt object, such as the wrong end of a ball point pen, over the plain side of the carbon paper. By this process a visual impression of the coin can be made in a few seconds, an impression sufficiently clear and detailed to be adequate for the purpose of checking for die-links. (One way of doing this is to hold up two rubbings to the light, one behind the other: if there is a die-link, the two should blend as one.) Using this method it was, for example, possible to record in a comparatively short time a large proportion of the stycas at the Yorkshire Museum and study them at leisure in London. A considerable amount of work has yet to be done, however, before all available varieties are recorded.

The very close die-linking persists throughout the series, and complex chains of die-links frequently involving several moneyers and more than one reign can be built up. As an indication of the extent of this die-linking, it is worth recording the number of reverse dies

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which have so far been noted as having been used in more than one reign:

Eanred-Æthelred.					12
Æthelred-Redwulf		4.			14
Æthelred-Osberht					1Ġ
Eanred-Æthelred-W:	igmund	1.			I
Æthelred-Osberht-W	ulfhere	е.			I
Eanred-Æthelred-Re	dwulf-	-Eanl	oald		I

As a further example, an analysis of about 200 stycas of Redwulf shows the following results:

Number of moneyers . . . 12

Number of obverse dies . . . 26 (20 exclusive to one moneyer)

(6 shared between two or more moneyers)

Number of reverse dies . . . 49 (15 of which were also used in Æthelred's reign)

Total number of varieties . . . 69

The extent of the die-linking between moneyers is such that most, if not all, the regal stycas must have been struck at the same mint, which can only have been York: Table IV shows the number of dielinks between moneyers of Æthelred II that have been noted up to the time of writing (February 1957). Die-linking between the regal and archiepiscopal series is very rare and even if the archbishop did not have his own mint, he seems to have had his own moneyers. We would not be far wrong if we estimated the strength of the mint at its peak from 840 to 845 at a maximum of ten moneyers for the king and two for the archbishop. Of the king's moneyers during Æthelred II's first reign, four coined on a vast scale (Eanred, Fordred, Leofthegn, and Monne A) and the remainder on a much smaller scale, suggesting that the moneyers were not all of equal status. For the most part each moneyer had his own obverse dies though he almost certainly did not cut them himself. (There is, in fact, stylistic evidence from the coins to suggest that die-engravers were employed to cut both obverse and reverse dies for a group of moneyers.) A moneyer normally had access to a number of obverse and reverse dies at any one time and could ring the changes, hence the very close die-linking. Table III, which is based on all varieties recorded so far of the moneyer Monne A in the reign of Æthelred II and Redwulf, shows this effect clearly.

A point of interest, since it is perhaps unexpected, is that at the time when the styca coinage was in a flourishing state—i.e. from c. 837 to c. 847—regularity of die-axis is the rule rather than the exception, thus suggesting that square-faced dies were used. Except among the blundered series the coins are seldom found struck off-centre, so that some form of collar may have been incorporated, though the existence of coins struck from pairs of obverse dies or pairs of reverse dies casts

doubt on this.

Æthelred II's moneyer Leofthegn deserves special mention in view of the highly individualistic coins he struck. It should be said at once that there is no reason to believe that he worked at a different mint from the other moneyers (see Table IV), but he was evidently a man

of some artistic ability who took a pride in his work. He must have modelled some of his designs on the silver pennies current in the other kingdoms, and his reversion to the quadruped type of the sceattas on a single reverse die shows a respect for tradition—even the triquetra is included.

CONCLUSION

It is hoped to include in a future paper a more detailed study of die-varieties by reign and moneyer. Research is also necessary into variations in weight and chemical composition of the styca during the period of its issue, as this may well lend support to the theories advanced above.

No mention has been made of the gold solidus of Archbishop Wigmund as this has been felt to be outside the scope of the paper. That an attempt was made in Eanred's reign to introduce a penny coinage into Northumbria has been contended on many occasions on the evidence of a penny of a king of that name found at Trewhiddle, but Mr. C. E. Blunt's recent research on the coins in the Trewhiddle hoard shows that this coin cannot be dated earlier than 850—some ten years after the death of Eanred of Northumbria.

Finally, my thanks are due to many who have helped me in the research which has gone into the preparation of this paper, both by their advice and by their readiness to make their collections of stycas available to me. In particular I would like to thank Mr. Dolley and the staff of the British Museum, and Mr. G. F. Willmot of the Yorkshire Museum, for without their co-operation my task would have been

impossible.

ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATE XVIII

Sceattas

- 1, 2, 3. Eadberht (British Museum, B.M.C. 4, 7, 11).
- 4, 5. Alhred (British Museum, B.M.C. 13, 15).
- 6. Ælfwald I (British Museum, B.M.C. 16).
- Ælfwald I, moneyer Cuthberht (Yorkshire Museum).
 Eadberht and Archbishop Ecgberht (British Museum)
- Eadberht and Archbishop Ecgberht (British Museum).
 Eadberht and Archbishop Ecgberht (Whitby excavations).
- 10, 11. Alhred and Archbishop Ecgberht (British Museum).
- 12. Æthelred I (or II?), moneyer Ceolbald (British Museum, B.M.C. 285).
- 13. Ecgfrith, attribution uncertain (British Museum, B.M.C. 1). The authenticity of these coins, all of which are from the same dies, is not beyond question.
- 14. Aldfrith (of Lindsey?), attribution uncertain (British Museum, B.M.C. 3).

Stycas

- 15, 16, 17. Eanred, moneyers Fordred, "Gadutels", and Odilo, all from the same obverse die (C.S.S. Lyon).
- 18, 19, 20. Æthelred II (first reign), moneyers Leofthegn, Monne and Odilo, all from the same obverse die (18 and 19, C. S. S. Lyon; 20, British Museum, B.M.C. 577).

21, 22, 23. Eanred, Æthelred II (first reign), and Archbishop Wigmund, moneyer "Erwinne" (probably Wintred in blundered form, a common occurrence for this moneyer), all from the same reverse die (21, C. S. S. Lyon; 22 and 23, British Museum, B.M.C. 380 and 772).

Æthelred II (first reign) and Redwulf, moneyer Alghere, both from the 24, 25.

same reverse die (C. S. S. Lyon).

Æthelred II (first reign), moneyer Leofthegn (British Museum, B.M.C. 26.

31.

Eanred, Æthelred II (first reign), Redwulf, and Archbishop Eanbald II, 27-30. moneyer Monne, all from the same reverse die (C.S.S. Lyon). For a discussion of this die-link, see text.

Archbishop Eanbald II, moneyer Eadwulf, from the same obverse die as

no. 30 (British Museum, B.M.C. 682).

Eanred and Æthelred II (first reign), moneyer Monne (C. S. S. Lyon). The 32, 33. reverse die has clearly been altered; less obviously, the obverse die has been recut as can be seen from ghost lettering and cross.

PLATE XIX

This Plate illustrates the late derivative series and shows how it can be die-linked to regular coins of the second reign of Æthelred II and to coins of Osberht and of Archbishop Wulfhere. The chain of die-links, of which the coins shown in the Plate form part, is very extensive and includes many of the known dies of the reigns mentioned as well as of the late derivative series.

Lines on the Plate indicate die-links, and an arrowed line shows an altered die. It is not possible to represent all die-links by this method on a two-dimensional Plate, and pairs of letters (e.g. A, A) and letters with suffixes (e.g. C1, C2) are also used to

show die-links and altered dies respectively.

The coins illustrated are from the following collections:

British Museum (B.M.C. 808, 17 and 810).

Fitzwilliam Museum.

Lingford (by permission of Messrs. A. H. Baldwin & Sons). 3, 7, 20.

4, 5, 13, 31. C. S. S. Lyon.

All others Yorkshire Museum.

I, 2, 3. Æthelred II (second reign), Osberht, and Archbishop Wulfhere, moneyer

Wulfred, all from the same reverse die.

Showing the transition from a styca of Æthelred II (second reign), moneyer 4-8. Eardwulf, to one with completely blundered legends. Note the modification of reverse die 4 to give the die used for 5, 6 and 7, and the alteration of obverse die 5 to produce die 6 (attributed by Creeke to Ælfwald I).

g-I2. Another chain of die-links emanating from a pair of regular dies of Æthelred. Note the successive modification of the original reverse die; Parsons based his paper on Æthelred I (B.N. J. 1913) on die-links involving the modified

die.

13-16. This chain links a styca of Æthelred, moneyer Ethelhelm, with one of Archbishop Wulfhere (no. 16), moneyer Eardwulf. The Eardwulf die appears to be derivative.

17-21. A chain stemming from the same obverse die as the last. No. 21 has previously been attributed to Beonna or Beorn on the strength of the blundered reverse

reading.

22-33. This chain begins with regular coins of Æthelred and Osberht, moneyer Eardwulf, having a common reverse (22, 23). Subsequently a blundered series develops. Previous attributions include:

> 25. Ælla (from the reverse reading).

30, 31. Eardwulf. Æthelred I.

29, 33. Ælfwald II (29 is double-struck).

Table I Analysis of Samples from the Major Styca Hoards, Showing the Distribution of the Coins by Reign and Moneyer

Four samples have been used in compiling this table. Two of these are from the Hexham hoard—the first comprising the coins illustrated by Adamson in Archaeologia Eliana, vol. iii, Part II (1840), the second being the stycas in B.M.C. with Hexham provenance. There is a sample from the York hoard of 1842 and one from the Bolton Percy hoard, both samples being in the form of parcels purchased for the Yorkshire Philosophical Society by C. Wellbeloved and catalogued by him. The catalogue is kept at the Yorkshire Museum.

					Ear	nred			Æthe	lred II			Red	wulf			Osb	erht		A	b⊅. E	Canba	ld	A	b⊅. V	Vigmi	ınd	Al	bp. И	Vulfh	ere
	Moi	ieyer		Hexham (Adamson)	Hexiam (B.M.C.)	York	Botton Percy	Hexham (Adamson	Hexham (B.M.C.)	York	Bolton Percy	Hexham (Adamson)	Hixiam (B.M.C.)	York	Botton Percy	Hexham (Adamson)	Hevham (B.M.C.)	Yrk	Botton Percy	Hexham (Adamson)	Hexham (B.M.C.)	Ywk	Botton Percy	Hexham (Adamson)	Hexham (B.M.C.)	York	Botton Percy	Hexham (Adamson)	Hex tam (B.M.C)	Ywk	Bolton Percy
"Aldates"				5	2	15	8																								
Alghere								15	II	47	55	3	I	3	2																
Brother				33	17	46	46	14	5	35	21	5	2	7	II																
Ceolbald								2	1																						
Coenred								I	I	5	I	2	2	IO	4									22	14	81	102				
Cunemund								8	4	5	7																				
Cunwulf				30	23	_	2													8	4	I	_								
Cuthberht												4	2	7	7																
Cuthheard				3	2	-		1		_	-																				
Daegberht				20	12	I	1																								
Eadwini				37	24	11	2																								
Eadwulf				2		_														38	25	I	I								
Eanred								65	47	186	173	2	2	_	2																
Eanwulf								_	1?	_						_		24	30												
Eardwulf								9	7	c. 260	C. 200					_	-	_	2									-	_	_	
Ethelhelm										I							_	8	8					9	10	27	28				
Ethelweard				I	2	-	_	_	_	-	1									11	9	_	_	27	18	6r	54				
Folcnoth				12	12	12	1																								
Fordred				25	23	81	67	55	35	125	74	8	6	8	2																
"Gadutels"	٠.			13	9	13	21																								
Herreth				22	13	4	6																								
Hunlaf.								I	1	I	-	1	I	_	_									20	17	61	4 I				
Hwaetnoth	-	•	٠							• •		4	3	2	3								• •								
Hwactred			•	3	3	_	_																								

Total .			322	206	ვინ	309	396	272	1,065	902	37	24	53	40	_	_	61	83	57	38	2	I	80	бз	233	228	—	_	23	21
	 				_												<u> </u>	<u> </u>					_							
Miscellaneous			7	4.	1	1	3	2	(see n	otes)	_		I			-	4	9	—	—	_	_	2	4	3	3	-	_		
Wulfsixt .																_	2	5												
Wulfsig .							4	4	7	5																				
Wulfred "B"							_	_	9	17					_		_	1									-	_	23	21
Wulfred "A"			7	5	3	5	16	14	34	19																			• •	
Wulfheard .			25	15	_	5																					• •			
Wintred .			10	7	18	10	21	17	21	21																				
Winiberht .															********	_	12	II									٠.		• •	
Wilheah .			9	7		1																						• •		• •
Wendelberht.							11	9	38	26	3	I	_	2			• •	• •				• •					• •	• •	• •	• •
Tidwulf .							-	-		_																		• •	• •	• •
Tidwini .			. 5	2	-	-																٠.								• •
"Thadigils".			4	4	_	1													٠.									٠.		
Odilo		,	6	3	2	3	3	1	I	2	—.	-	_																	
Monne "B".							<u> </u>		11	8					_	_	II	17												
Monne "A".	•	•	43	17	99	129	71	53	196	173	5	4	15	7																
Leofthegn .							96	59	83	99	٠.	• •	-:	• •	• •	• •		• •			• •		• • •	::	• •	• •	1 ::		• •	

Notes:

1. Blundered and derivative coins have been excluded from this table, as have illegible coins. The difficulty of distinguishing between genuine coins of the moneyer Eardwulf and the coins of the late derivative series (see text) accounts for the number of coins shown against this moneyer's name being approximate only.

2. The forms "Aldates", "Gadutels", and "Thadigils" may be variations in the spelling of a single moneyer's name. The correct form is uncertain.

3. Coins formerly attributed to moneyers Alfheard, Eardwulf, and Heardwulf in Eanred's reign have been grouped under the moneyer Wulfheard.

anred's reign have been grouped under the moneyer Wulfheard.

4. Coins of the moneyer Coolbald can possibly be assigned to Æthelred I (see text).

5. The British Museum coin of Æthelred II, moneyer Eanwulf (B.M.C. 383) appears to have a Hexham provenance. This is puzzling, to say the least, since this coin ought to date from towards the end of Æthelred's second reign.

6. The moneyer Monne ceased coining early in the second reign of Æthelred II and did not resume until the very end of the reign. There may, in fact, have been two

moneyers of this name. The suffixes "A" and "B" have been added to distinguish the separate issues.

7. Similarly the moneyer Wulfred did not coin during Redwulf's reign and suffixes "A" and "B" have been added to distinguish pre-844 and post-844 coins of this moneyer.

8. The heading "Miscellaneous" includes coins struck from two obverse dies (coins from two reverse dies being included under the appropriate moneyer unless the dies are by different moneyers), and coins struck from regular obverse dies and blundered reverse dies. No entry has been shown against Æthelred II for the two later hoards because of the difficulty of distinguishing coins of this group from the derivative series.

9. The list of moneyers included in this table is thought to be exhaustive. Other names have been published but whenever it has been possible to investigate such a case it has been found that a coin has been misread. Where no coins of a moneyer known for the reign in question were found in a sample, a dash has been shown in the table.

Table II

Kings of Northumbria and Archbishops of York from 737 to 867

,	in the state of th	J J 101
King	s	Archbishops
737	Eadberht	734 Ecgberht
<i>7</i> 58	Oswulf	
75 9	Æthelwald Moll	
765	Alhred	767 Æthelberht
// !	Æthelred I	
111	Ælfwald I	780 Eanbald I
788	Osred	
789	Æthelred I (restored)	
796	Eardwulf	796 Eanbald II
	Eanred	796 Eanbald II ? Wulfsige
	Æthelred II	837(?) Wigmund
844	Redwulf	
844	Æthelred II (restored)	0 (2)
849	Osberht	854(?) Wulfhere
867	Osberht and Ælla slain	7 (2)
		d. 900(?)

Notes: (a) The dates of accession of the kings up to and including Eanred are based on Sir Frank Stenton's Anglo-Saxon England.

- (b) There is a possibility that a second Ælfwald seized the throne for a short time towards the end of Eardwulf's reign (see text).
- (c) Other dates are based primarily on Symeon of Durham and Roger of Wendover.

Table III

Analysis of Die-varieties of Monne A During the Reigns of

Æthelred II and Redwulf

reverse dies	of occurrence	No. of obverse dies	Frequency of
Æthelred	Redwulf	per reverse die	occurrence
18	6	I	74
	6	2	36
8	I	3	7
6	_	4	4
6	_	5	1
I	_	0	I
I	_	Total no. of reverse dies	123
I			ļ
_	_	No. used in Æthelred's	15-18-77-1-1
I	_	reign	119
I	_	No. used in Redwulf's	
_		reign	II
I	_	No. used in both reigns	7
		No. of varieties	
55	13	Æthelred II	173
15	4	Redwull	2I 194
	######################################	18 6 11 6 8 1 6 — 6 — 1 — 1 — 1 — 1 — 1 — 1 — 1 — 1 — 1 — 1	### ### ### ### #### #################

¹ At least three-quarters of these obverse dies are linked together in one extensive diechain with several other moneyers.

TABLE IV

Die-links Between Moneyers in the Reign of Æthelred II

Moneyer	A ghэre	Brother	Coenred	Cunemund	Cuthheard	Eanred	Eanwuif	Eardwulf	Ethelhalm	Ethelweard	Fordred	Hunlaf	Leofthegn	Monne A	Monne B	Odilo	T:dwulf	Wendelbernt	Wintred	Wulfred A	Wulfred B	Wulfsig	Number of obverse dies shared	Total Number of obverse dies used
Alghere		$\mathbf{I} + \frac{1}{4}$								1	1		1										2	8
Brother	$1 + \frac{1}{4}$									1	1+1		1	2					I				6	11
Coenred				1 6				I			Ĭ		1	1		16				1			2	2
Cunemund			16								1		1 6	1		1 6				1.			T	5
Cuthheard																				6			_	3
Eanred											$1 + \frac{1}{2}$	I	4	1				2	I	2			11	42
Eanwulf								$\mathbf{I} + \frac{1}{2}$							$2+\frac{1}{2}$								4	6
Eardwulf			I				$1 + \frac{1}{2}$		$1 + \frac{1}{2}$		$\frac{1}{2} \dashv -\frac{1}{3}$				$1+\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{5}$					$6+\frac{1}{2}+\frac{1}{3}$		14	77
Ethelhelm								$1 + \frac{1}{2}$													1		2	3
Ethelweard	4	1/4									1		1										T	ī
Fordred	1 4	$1 + \frac{1}{4}$	16	16		$1 + \frac{1}{2}$		$\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{3}$		1			$2+\frac{1}{4}+\frac{1}{6}$	3+1		$\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{6}$				$\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{4}$	1	2	14	49
Hunlaf						I										41316				2 1 (T	T)
Leofthegn	1/4	1	16	<u>1</u> .		4				1	2+1+1			1 1		$\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{6}$				1			y	46
Monne A	• •	2	16	16		1					3+6		$\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{6}$			$1+\frac{1}{2}+\frac{1}{6}$			2	$4+\frac{1}{6}+\frac{1}{6}$			15	55
Monne B							$2 + \frac{1}{2}$	$1 + \frac{1}{2}$			•••					1				11210	1		-5 5	0
Odilo			$\frac{1}{6}$	16				$\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{3}$			$\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{6}$		$\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{6}$	$1 + \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{6}$	1					1	$\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{3}$		6	6
Tidwulf																					2 1 3		_	2
Wendelberlit						2																	2	13
Wintred		I				I								2									- A	14
Wulfred A			16	16		2					$\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{2}$	٠	1	$4+\frac{1}{2}+\frac{1}{6}$		1							7	14
Wulfred B								$6+\frac{1}{2}+\frac{1}{3}$	1		1 0				1	$\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{3}$							0	13
Wulfsig											. 2					2 3							2	3

Notes: (a) In explanation of the Table, Brother shares one obverse die with Alghere, another with Fordred, two with Monne A and one with Wintred. Each of these links involves only one other moneyer and is denoted by 1. Brother shares another obverse die with four other moneyers, Alghere, Ethelweard, Fordred, and Leofthegn, a figure of \(\frac{1}{4} \) being entered against each moneyer. The total for the line is thus the number of obverse dies of Brother that are shared with other moneyers.

(b) The Table is based on material collected up to February 1957 and is subject to revision at a later date. It shows 40 die-links between two moneyers, 7 between three moneyers and one each between four, five, and seven moneyers. The total number of obverse dies recorded to date is 316, of which about 70% are pre-Hexham in date.

A NEW TYPE AND MONEYER FOR EADBEARHT "PRAEN"

By R. H. M. DOLLEY

Through the kindness of the coin's present owner, Mr. W. Laing of Letchworth, it is possible to record in these pages an unpublished Kentish penny which is of more than ordinary importance for the serious student of what we may call the first penny coinage. The coin in question (PI. XXV, 9) is without formal provenance, and was found by the present owner in a box of miscellaneous coins and medals which had been purchased locally for a nominal sum. Of the other pieces not one would seem to have been medieval nor even antique, and, the Kentish penny apart, the collection could be described as without

significance.

Fewer than a dozen coins of Eadbearht "Praen" have been recorded, and it may be as well to begin this note with a "miniature corpus" of those known to the writer. All have as their obverse type the name of the king written in three lines across the obverse field, and it is perhaps worth remarking that he is styled EADBEARHT REX. There is no ethnic, and the name "Praen" by which he is usually distinguished today is also conspicuous by its absence. In this connexion we may note the evidence for the identification of this rather shadowy pretender of unhappy fate and memory. In the Chronicle he is called first "Eadbearht, whose other name was Praen" but later, and perhaps significantly, he is simply "Praen". In Symeon of Durham he is called "Eadbearht", but without mention of the "Praen". In the letter of Pope Leo III he is quite anonymous, but referred to as "an apostate cleric". The suggestion has been made that he was a member of the old Kentish house who had been relegated to a monastery, and it has been argued that "Praen" is a nick-name "Pin", but neither suggestion seems altogether happy.2 On the other hand, the coins are valuable evidence for his official style, while their affinities with the late Kentish issues of Offa provide welcome corroboration of the fact that there was a major rising in Kent which was suppressed by Coenwulf.

The miniature corpus that follows is believed to be complete, and it is interesting to note that two of the coins, both in public collections, had never been illustrated, while two more, also in public collections, have been illustrated only by line-engravings. In part this is doubtless due to the fact that the coins of this period are so fragile, but it also emphasizes the urgent need for the new *Sylloge*. It is perhaps significant that no coin of Eadbearht appears to have been known in the

² Cf. Oman, The Coinage of England, p. 23. In this connexion we may note that Florence of Worcester had claimed that Eadbearht was a brother of Æthelberht II of Kent.

¹ Cf. D. Whitelock, English Historical Documents, i, pp. 167–8, 249, and 794. In William of Malmesbury we find "Edilbertus idemque Pren" and "Edbrithus cognomine Pren", and in Florence of Worcester "Eadberhtus qui et Pren"; cf. Searle, Anglo-Saxon Bishops, Kings and Nobles, p. 266.

seventeenth century, but that four at least had been discovered before the end of the eighteenth century. More than ever before one begins to feel that in the eighteenth century there must have been discovered a major hoard deposited in the first years of the ninth century.

Although Eadbearht's coins can be arranged under types, it is more convenient here to arrange them under moneyers, and it will be noticed that the names Ethelmod and Ethelnoth are here clearly distinguished. In his classic paper on Offa, the late R. C. Lockett ran them together as "Ethelnod", an unhappy compromise. In English Coins G. C. Brooke distinguished them, but until recently no distinction was drawn in the British Museum trays. In fact the names are quite separate, both deuterothemes being exceedingly common throughout the Saxon period. On the coins of Offa, moreover, a clear and quite consistent distinction is invariably made between M and N, and between \triangleright and \triangleright .

BABBA

I. Obv. EXAD. BEARH P. REX.

British Museum 1846 (ex Gerrard and found at Hellesdon, Norwich). 20-4 gr., die-axis 90°, B.M.C. A/S i, p. 67, no. 2.

This coin appears never to have been illustrated, probably because it has been sheared almost in two. Pending a photographic reproduction in the appropriate part of the *British Museum Sylloge*, the opportunity is taken here of illustrating it from a line-drawing most carefully executed by Mrs. J. S. Strudwick:



A. E. Bagnall collection (ex Ryan 585, ex Grantley 879, ex Evans from the Delgany hoard, cf. J. Evans, N.C. 1882, p. 62, no. 2).

17.3 gr. (chipped), die-axis 90°.

The coin is illustrated in the following sale-catalogues, Ryan, pl. i; Grantley, pl. vi.

3. Obv. From the same die as the preceding coin, Rev. From the same die as the preceding coin.
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (ex Trinity College, ex Beaupre Bell [1741]).
18.4 gr., die-axis 90°.

The coin appears to be illustrated and described for the first time in the Fitzwilliam Sylloge, no. 429.

ETHELMOD

4. Obv. ...EAD. BEARH ... REX

British Museum 1893 (Franks Gift ex Middle Temple hoard).

20·9 gr., die-axis 180°. Cf. G. C. Brooke, N.C. 1923, p. 243; H. A. Grueber, ibid. 1894, p. 42.

The coin is illustrated by Brooke in his paper (pl. xi) and in English Coins, pl. iii.

R. P. Mack collection (ex Ryan 586, ex Grantley 880. In the latter catalogue it is described as found at Maidstone, but comparison of the Ryan and Rashleigh plates establishes that the true pedigree is ex Ryan 586, ex Grantley 880, ex Rashleigh 81, purchased in Copenhagen, 1869).

16.0 gr. (chipped), die-axis 180°.

The coin is illustrated in the following sale-catalogues, Ryan, pl. i; Rashleigh, pl. ii.

C. E. Blunt collection (ex Lockett 325, ex Drabble 342, ex Bruun 36, ex Bascom 13, ex Astronomer 78, ex Montagu 285, ex Marsham 50 presumably from the Delgany hoard no. 1 (vide supra, Babba, no. 2).

18.5 gr. (chipped), die-axis 270°.

The coin is illustrated in the following sale-catalogues: Lockett, pl. vi; Drabble, pl. xi.

British Museum 1915 (ex Evans collection, ex Rolfe and found near Sandwich. Cf. Brooke, N.C. 1923, p. 243).

18.5 gr., die-axis 90°.

The coin has been illustrated by Brooke in his paper (pl. xi) and by C. E. Blunt, B.N.J. 1952, Pl. vii. The reverse legend is cited by Evans in his Delgany paper, p. 71.

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (ex Bodleian Library 1755, ex Ballard Bequest). 18·5 gr. (broken), die-axis 90°.

The coin is illustrated in Ruding (pl. 26) by a careful line-engraving executed under the direction of Taylor Combe.

ETHELNOTH

9. Obv. ...E.A.D... BE.ARH ... REX.

W. Laing collection (the coin under discussion). 20.8 gr. (very slightly chipped), die-axis 180°.

The coin is illustrated on Pl. XXV, 9.

IAENBERHT

Rev. .IXEN•|BER:HT•| ÷-C+→;

British Museum 1802 (ex Tyssen collection). 22·3 gr., die-axis 270°, B.M.C. A/S i, p. 67, no. 3.

The coin has been illustrated in the $British\ Museum\ Catalogue$, pl. xi and in Grueber's Handbook, pl. ii.

TIDHEAH

Hunter collection, Glasgow 17. 19.6 gr., die-axis 90°.

The coin is illustrated in Ruding (pl. 3) by a careful line-engraving executed under the direction of Taylor Combe.

In the compilation of a check-list of this kind the writer is obviously indebted to the fortunate possessors of the coins in question, and in particular he would acknowledge the kindness of the private collectors who have allowed their coins to be published in this form. He would also like to take this opportunity once again of expressing his appreciation of the kindness of Mr. C. E. Blunt who placed at his disposal his own very full notes on Eadbearht's coins, and took the liveliest interest in this paper which might well be considered to trespass unpardonably on a field which Mr. Blunt has made peculiarly his own.

That the eleven coins listed above should be from ten different pairs of dies may suggest that Eadbearht coined on a fairly considerable scale, and this confirms the hint given by the historical sources that his "revolt" was no ephemeral insurrection but a broadly based rejection of Mercian domination. Already it will have been noticed that Ethelnoth is a new moneyer for the reign, and the following "break-down" of the Eadbearht coins into "Offa types" makes it clear that Mr. Laing's coin adds a new type for the reign as well. The references are to the late Mr. R. C. Lockett's paper on Offa in the Numismatic Chronicle for 1920 and to Brooke's English Coins.

As Offa Last Coinage
$$\begin{cases} \text{Brooke, variety } (f) & \text{nos. 1, 2, 3 (Babba*†), 4, 5, 6, 7,} \\ \text{Lockett, group } (e) & \text{8 (Ethelmod*†), 10 (Iaenberht).} \end{cases}$$
As Offa Last Coinage
$$\begin{cases} \text{Brooke, variety } (e) & \text{no. 11 (Tidheah).} \\ \text{Lockett, group } (f) & \text{no. 9 (Ethelnoth*).} \end{cases}$$
As Offa Last Coinage
$$\begin{cases} \text{Brooke, variety } (d) & \text{no. 9 (Ethelnoth*).} \end{cases}$$

*A moneyer of Offa.

†A moneyer of Coenwulf.

The preceding table throws into relief the close connexion between the latest issues of Offa and the coinage of Eadbearht, a connexion that has often been noticed before, but until the appearance of Mr. Laing's coin arguments based on style, prosopography, and metrology lacked the final corroboration of their validity that could be supplied only by a die-link. This was despite the fact that Babba had been quite a prolific moneyer of Offa, while even the less-productive Ethelmod had struck the very type that he was to pour out in such apparent profusion for the Kentish rebel. For the serious student, then, the primary importance of the new penny of Ethelnoth is not that it provides a new type and moneyer for the reign but that it has proved to be from a reverse die which had been used with an Offa obverse. Comparison with a penny of Offa (PI. XXV, 8) in the National Collection (Barnett Bequest 299, ex Bruun 20, ex Sotheby, June 1903, 327) establishes that the reverse die of the Eadbearht coin is a recut version

of that employed to strike the Offa.

As Mr. Blunt has demonstrated so conclusively in the last number of the Journal, die identities in the early penny series are notably rare, and more often than not they are to be associated with modern forgery. We are bound therefore to examine with special care both the new Eadbearht and the Offa, but fortunately there is no reason whatever to suspect that either is the work of a fabricator. Both coins have been handled by more than one expert, and the possibility that one or both could be cast has never even occurred to the handler. That one is cast from the other seems absolutely precluded by the inconsistent damages, not to mention the minor discrepancies due to recutting which are also a most welcome guarantee that the Eadbearht is not cast from a finer specimen (now lost) of the Offa. Indeed, if any piece in the early Saxon series is struck it is the Eadbearht which secures instinctive acceptance despite a very natural and proper first reaction, shared by the owner, that the discovery of such a coin in such circumstances was "too good to be true". In this connexion it may be remarked that the present writer believes he has found another die-link between an impeccable Coenwulf (B.M. Acq. 93) and a no less impeccable Ceolwulf now in the British Museum (Lockett 391). (Pl. XXV, 10, 11.)

The possibility remains that the two coins could both be struck forgeries, but this scarcely seems feasible when we recall that the Offa, the less valuable of the two, appeared in the sale-room at the beginning of this century, while the Eadbearht has only recently found its way, quite by chance and for a purely nominal sum, to an owner sensible of its rarity. The style of the two coins is impeccable, and it seems improbable, to say the least, that a forger who had produced so brilliant a version of an Offa obverse could have had the restraint not to utter further examples, not to mention the temptation to employ it in another combination. Careful scrutiny of the Offa die,

¹ Mr. Laing has very kindly obtained for me a note of the density of his coin. The figure of 10·5741 approximates closely to what we might expect of a silver coin of the period.

moreover, establishes that it had received considerable wear before the Barnett coin was struck, and that it was on this account that it had to be recut before it was used for the Eadbearht. It is hard to believe that a nineteenth-century forger would have sat wearing out one of his products—and destroying all but the last of the coins so produced—and then put a lot more trouble into recutting what he had wantonly spoiled. Incidentally one might have expected him to produce the rarity first, and then to alter the die, whereas there is no room for doubt but that the actual order of striking was that which history would lead us to expect, namely that the Offa was struck before the Eadbearht. Nor is it unfair to suggest that a forger of the calibre that we have to envisage could have produced a far more spectacular and just as convincing rarity if he had chosen a type of Coenwulf instead of merely adding a third to the Offa types employed by

Eadbearht's moneyers.¹

It is perhaps worthy of remark in passing that not one of Eadbearht's moneyers would appear to have struck for Cuthred, but the obvious inference is certainly to be rejected. While certain moneyers such as Iaenberht and Tidheah do appear to have been Eadbearht's creatures —they have yet to be found striking for another ruler—Babba and Ethelmod on the other hand seem to have been successful in compounding any technical treason, for they both strike for Coenwulf coins of the tribrach issue which cannot well have been introduced before c. 800. Probably all that may legitimately be inferred from the failure of Eadbearht's moneyers to strike for Cuthred is that a certain period elapsed between the downfall of the former and the latter's being in a position to strike a permissive coinage. Numismatists have recognized this interregnum, and an attempt has been made to fill it by intercalating the mysterious Eadwald.² The present writer, however, is convinced on stylistic grounds that Eadwald's coins were not struck at Canterbury, and the Richborough provenance of one of Eadwald's coins seems indeed a slender argument on which to base a Kentish dominion. Of the eleven coins of Eadbearht known to the present writer, three only have an unequivocal English find-spot, and two are from north of the Thames. If, too, we assume that Eadwald was a contemporary of Eadbearht, there might be a very cogent and obvious—reason why the two kings should have been in close touch one with the other, and in this context the Norwich provenance of one of the coins of Eadbearht could prove as significant as the Richborough provenance of the Eadwald.

¹ The Letchworth provenance is perhaps in favour of the authenticity of the new Eadbearht. Mr. C. E. Blunt has kindly informed me that the Letchworth Museum has photographs of two other coins of the same period; one of Offa, found near Hitchin in 1911, the other of Ecgbeorht found at Codicote, near Welwyn, on 16 Jan. 1926.

² Cf. Brooke, *English Coins*, p. 16.

THE COINS OF THE SUSSEX MINTS

PART II: HASTINGS AND STEYNING

By horace H. King

A GOOD deal of new information has come to light on the Steyning mint since the author's article in the *Journal* in 1941 (vol. xxiv, p. 1). Firstly, a number of coins have been added including a Harthacnut, *B.M.C.* Ia, of Frithiwine and no less than four of Edward the Confessor, *B.M.C.* I. These latter are important, for none were known to the author in 1941 and being all of Frithiwine they reinforce strongly the author's doubts as to the correctness of Mr. Peter Seaby's rearrangement of the first four types of Edward the Confessor. They support the claim that Steyning was a one-moneyer mint and once that is granted Mr. Seaby's rearrangement becomes almost impossible.

Secondly, the author must plead guilty to publishing a coin which does not exist. Edward the Confessor, B.M.C. xi, PVLFRIC ONN $\omega T/E$, no. 24 in "The Steyning Mint", is of Hastings, PVLFRIC ON HE ωTI . The error was due to a misreading by the Duke of Argyll and was not discovered till his collection came on the market. The

Hastings specimen was then found to be the same.

Thirdly, the Cnut, B.M.C. xvi, +ECRIE ONN STEC, is left out as, of whatever mint it may be, it is improbable that it is of Steyning.

It was proposed to include "Sithesteburh" as it seems certain that it was in Sussex, whether it was Cissbury or not. It is omitted, however, as Mr. Elmore Jones and Mr. Dolley have given at p. 277 in this number a full account of the mint and its coins.

My thanks are due again to the British Museum for their kindness

in arranging for the casts and photographs for the plates.

To the list of abbreviations given in Part I at p. 60 must be added

Ashm. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Fitzw. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

HASTINGS	Moneyer	Location or Authority
AETHELRED II		
Type $B.M.C.$ IId: Hild. B2		
I. +ÆÐELRD REX ANGX +PVLFSTAN MTÆS	Wulfstan	Stockholm (Inv. 23040)
Type B.M.C. III: Hild. C		
2. +ÆÐELRÆD REX ANJLŒ +ÆLFRED MO HÆST	Ælfred	Hild. 1223 (P1. XX, 1)
2a. Unascertained +/ELPINE M ⁻ O H/ESD	Ælwine (? Ælfwine)	Bruun sale, 1925, 135

¹ See Mr. Peter Seaby's "The Sequence of Anglo-Saxon Coin Types, 1030-1050" at p. 111 in this volume.

230	1110 0011	is of the Suss	CN 141 17103
Type R M C	IVa: Hild. D	Moneyer	Location or Authority
3. +ÆÐELRÆI +LEV⊼ ΜΩΩ	REX TNGLO	Leva (? Lyefea)	Hild. 1231
4. +ÆÐELRÆÍ +LYVΛ ΜΩΟ	O REX AGLO	Leva (? Lyefea)	Hild. 1233
5. As no. 3 As no. 4		,,	B.M. (P1. XX, 2), Hild. 1234
6. As no. 4 As no. 3		,,	Hastings
6a. + */EĐELR/ +LYIΛ•ΜΩΘ		,,	Stockholm (Inv. 16200)
Type B.M.C. 7. +/EÐELR/EI +E T •DSIG M	REX TNG	Eadsige	Hild. 1225
8. As no. 7 +EDXICE M-	H/EZTIN	,,	Brighton, Hild. 1229
g. +/EÐELRÆ		,,	H.H.K. (ex A. H. Baldwin coll.) (P1. XX, 3), Hild. 1230
10. +/EÐELR/ED +EDZIGE Mú		,,	Brighton
II. +/EÐELR/ED +LIEFΛ ΜΩ		Lyefea	Copenhagen
12. +/EÐELR/ED +LYEFE⊼ M		,,	Hild. 1232
I3. +/EÐELR/ED +LYEFEX M		,,	Copenhagen
14. As no. 7 As no. 13		,,	Visby
Type $B.M.C.$ (late iss			
15. +EDEL·R/ED +AL·FPERD	REX KNELO.	Ælfwerd	Hild. 1224
16. +/EÐELRED +/ELFPERD Two pellets in	M'ON H/EZ.	,,	Stockholm (Sigsarve hoard)
17. +.ÆÐELRÆI +EADSIGE O	D REX XNGLO	Eadsige	Hild. 1226
18. +/EDELR/ED +EADSIGE O	REX TNGL.	,,	Hild. 1227 (Pl. XX, 4)
19. As no. 18 As no. 18 Two pellets in	field of rev.	,,	Stockholm
20. As no. 18 +EADXIGE O		"	Visby
Cnut			
Type $B.M.C.$ V	ANGLOR	Ælfweard	B.M.
+/ELFPERD 22. +INVT REX	ANILORV	"	Hild. 1091
+/ELFPEARD	MIN HEZI		

1100000	o of the Emost	231
	Moneyer	Location or Authority
23. +ENVT REX ANGLORVMM As no. 22	Ælfweard	Hild. 1092
24. +CNVT REX ANGL +/ELFPERD ON H/ESTI	,,	Hild. 1094
25. +ENV- REX ΛΝΓΙΟ: +ÆL·····ΘΝ ΗÆS	,,	Helsinki
26. +ENTIT REX.ANGL. +EL.FPE.RD M IES	,,	Hild. rrro
27. As no. 23 XELFPEARD MO HEZT	,,	Visby (Gandarve hoard, 1952), (Pl. XX, 5)
28. Unascertained +ELFPERD ONN HÆST	"	Parsons sale, 1929, 156
29. +ENVT_REX ANGLO	Ælsige	Bergen
+[/E]SIE O. H/EZTII		THE TWO IS NOT THE REAL PROPERTY.
30. As no. 29 +ÆLSIE ON HÆSTII	1)	Copenhagen
31. +ENVT REXXNGLO: +/ELSIE OC NINESTH	,,	Leningrad
32. As no. 21 +/ELSIC ON H/ESTIN	,,	Stockholm (Inv. 16295)
33. +ENVT REX TNGLOR: +BRIHTNOÐ ON./EST	Brihtnoth	Hild. rro8
34. +ENVT REX ANGL. +ELST.: M.: I-ES.	Elst	Hild. IIII
35. +ENV•T R•EX ANGLOR +LE:OFP•NE © HAE	Leofwine	Pitt-Rivers Museum, Farnham, Dorset
Type B.M.C. XIV: Hild. G		11 5-3 H, MO, 100 3 9 2 - 13 C 4
36. +ENVT REX XN +ÆGELSIGE ON HÆS	Ægelsige	Hild. 1087
37. +ENVT R·EEX: +ÆGELSIGE ON HÆS•	,,	Bruun coll., Frederiksborg (Copenhagen)
38. +ENVT REX ANG +ÆLSIGE ON HÆSTIN	Ægelsige? Ælsige?	Hild. 1104
39. +ENVT REX ANI +ÆLSIGE ON HÆSTINI:	,,	Bruun coll., Frederiksborg (Copenhagen)
40. +ENVT REXTNG +ÆLFPERD ON HÆSTINI	Ælfwerd	H.H.K. (ex Parsons sale, 1929, 166), Leningrad (Pl. XX, 6)
4I. +ENVT REX Λ :	,,	Oslo University
As no. 40 42. +CNVT RECEX +/ELFPERD ON H/ESTI	,,	H.H.K. (ex C-B. sale, 1913, 546 and Lockett sale, 1955, 735), Brighton, Hild. 1097
43. As no. 41 +/ELFPERD ON H/EST	,,	H.H.K.
44. +CNVT RECX XN	,,	B.M.C. 235, Hild. 1095
+/ELFPERD ON H/ES 45. +ENVT REEX AN	,,	Brighton
+/ELFPERD ON H/E 46. +ENVT REX AN		Copenhagen
As no. 45	,,	L surradon
10		

25	2 I ne Corr	is of the Susse	ex Mints
		Moneyer	Location or Authority
468	a. +CNVT RECX : +ÆL∙PERD ⊙N HÆSTI	Ælfwerd	Stockholm (Inv. 23040)
47.	+ENV.T REX AND +BR•IHTNOÐ: ON HÆ.	Brihtnoth	Hild. 1109, Copenhagen
48.	+CNVT: RECX XN +ETSIGE ON HÆSTI•NGX•	Etsige	H.H.K., Brighton, Hild. 1113, Leningrad
49.	+CNVT RECX A +ETSIGE ⊙N HÆSTIN	,,	Hild. 1112, Copenhagen, Bergen, Visby
50.	+CNV. T REX .X. +·E·X·DSIIE ONH/ES:	,,	Copenhagen
	Type B.M.C. XVI: Hild. H +CNVT RECX ⊼•••	Ædnoth	Hild. 1086
	+ÆADNOÐ ON HÆS•		
	+CNVT RECX +ÆLFRD ON HÆSTII:	Ælfweard	Hild. 1088
53.	+CNV:T RECX +ÆLFPARD ON HÆST	,,	B.M., Hild. 1089
53a	. As no. 52 +∕ELFPARD ON H∕E∑	"	Stockholm (Inv. 23040)
54.	As no. 52 +ÆL•FPEARD ONHÆS	"	Ashm., Hild. 1093
55.	ENVT REEX: +ÆLFPERD ON HÆS.	,,	Brighton, Hild. 1102
56.	+CNVT TR·ECX.I +./EL·FPER·D: ON H/E·S	,,	B.M., H.H.K. (Pl. XX, 7), Hild. 1101, Leningrad
57.	As no. 56 ¹ +ÆL•FPERD ON HÆ•••	,,	H.H.K.
58.	As no. 52 As no. 57	"	Hild. 1099
59.	+ENV·T REX: +BRID ON HÆS·STING:	Brid	Hild. 1105, Copenhagen
60.	As no. 59 +BRID ON HÆSTING•	,,	Hild. 1107, Copenhagen
6 1 .	+CNV: •T RECX +BRID ON HÆSTING:	,,	B.M.C. 236, Brighton
62.	As no. 59 +BRID ON HÆSTIN	,,	Hild. 1106
63.	+CNVT •REC•X: +BRID ON H/ESTII	,,	H.H.K. (ex Lockett sale, 1955, 743), Copenhagen
64	+CNVT RECX +PVLNOÐ ON HÆSTI	Wulfnoth	Copenhagen
	Type B.M.C. XVII: Hild. I ²		
	+CNVT RECX AN +/ELFPARD ON H/ESN•	Ælfward	Hild. 1090
66.	+ENVT REEX	Leofwine	Hild. III4

+LEOFPINE ON HÆST

¹ Same obv. die. ² It seems probable that this type was issued at the beginning of the reign of Edward the Confessor but as it is not certain it is put here. See Mr. Peter Seaby's "The Sequence of Anglo-Saxon Coin Types, 1030-1050" at p. 111 in this volume.

	Moneyer	Location or Authority
67. +CNVT REX AND +LEOFPINE ONN HÆSTI:	Leofwine	Hild. 1115 (PI. XX, 8)
Harold I		
Type B.M.C. I: Hild. A		
68. +HAROLD REX +ÆL•FPERD ON HÆST	Ælfwerd	B.M.C. 40
69. +HAROLL.D REX +BRID ON HÆSTINE	Brid	H.H.K. (ex Lockett sale, 1955, 753) (Pl. XX, 9), Hild. 272
70. +HAROLD REXA +CINEPNI ON HÆSTNE	Cinewine	Hild. 274
7I. +HAROLD RE +EDPENE ON HÆST	Edwine	Hild. 275
Type B.M.C. Vc: Hild. B		
72. +HAROLD REC +/ELFPE•R ON H/E•	Ælfwerd	B.M., Hild. 268
73. +HAROLD REX +ÆLFPERD ON HÆ•	"	Hild. 270
74. As no. 72 +/ELFPERD ONH/ES	,,	Hild. 271
75. +HAROLD REEX: +BRIDD O HÆSTIN	Brid	B.M., Hild. 273 (Pl. XX, 10)
76. +HAR.OLD REC +LIFING. ON: H/ES	Lifinc	Hild. 276
77. As no. 76 As no. 76 Var. trefoil of three pellets instead of fleur-de-lis on rev.	"	Hild. 277
78. +HAROLD REEX +LIFINE::ON:H/ES•	"	Helsinki
HARTHACNUT		
Type $B.M.C.$ Ia: Hild. Aa		
79. +HARDENVT RE +ALFR•ED ON HÆ•S•:	Alfred	Hild. 60, Copenhagen
80. As no. 79 +BRIDD ON HÆS•••	Brid	B.N.J. xi. 49
81. +HARÐAENVT RE As no. 80	,,	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (Pl. XX, 11)
EDWARD THE CONFESSOR ¹		
Type Brooke 1: B.M.C. III		
82. +AEDPNR DRE +BRID ONN H•HST		H.H.K.
83. +EDPHRD REX A As no. 82	,,	Hild. 207
84. +EDPNDR RDEX	,,	B.M.C. 495

¹ There is considerable doubt as to the order of the first four types of Edward's reign. See Mr. Peter Seaby's "The Sequence of Anglo-Saxon Coin Types, 1030–1050" at p. 111 of this volume. They are put here in the order given in Brooke's English Coins.

+BRID: ON HESTST:

-31	<i>j</i>	
	Moneyer	Location or Authority
85. +EDPNR•[D EX] +LEOFPINE ON ESTN:	Leofwine	B.M.
86. +EDPE DREX +LEOFPINE O H/ESTII	**	H.H.K. (ex Argyll coll.) (Pl. XX, 12)
87. Unascertained + LEOFPINE ON H/EST: A	**	Grantley sale, 1944, 1194
Type Brooke 2: B.M.C. I		
88. +EDPE• RD REX• +BRIDD ON H/ESTIN	Brid	H.H.K. (ex W. C. Wells coll.) (P1. XX, 13), Brighton
89. +EDPERD REX••• As no. 88	**	Hild. 208
90. +EDPE• RD REX +BRIDD ON H/ESTING	"	Hastings
91. +EDPNR• REC• +LEOFPINE ON ÆSTIC.•	Leofwine	Hild. 209
92. +EDP.C DPC.EA +LEOFPINE ON /ESTIC	,,	Stavanger
Type Brooke 3: B.M.C. II		
93. +EDPAR DRE +BRID ON H/ESTI	Brid	B.M.C. 494, H.H.K. (P1. XX , 14)
Type Brooke 4: B.M.C. IV		
94. +EDPER DREX	Brid	H.H.K. (ex H. A. Parsons sale,
+BRIDD ON H/E TIN: Var. no crescents at end of cross on rev.		1929, 195) (Pl. XX, 15)
95. Unascertained +BRIDD O H/ESTIN	,,	Bruun sale, 1925, 185
95a. +EDPARD RECX• +LE:FPIIINE O:NHX	Leofwine	Stockholm (Inv. 23040)
Type Brooke 5: B.M.C. V		
96. +EDPERD REX +BRID ON H/ESTING	Brid	H.H.K. (P1. XX, 16)
97. +EDPE: RD RE+: +BRID ON HE©TINPO:	,,	B.M.C. 496, H.H.K., Leningrad
98. +EDPNER• D RE +BRID ON HESTINPOR•	"	B.M.C. 497, H.H.K.
Pellet in 2nd quarter of rev.		
99. +EDDE RE +LEOFPINE ON H/ES	Leofwine	B.M.C. 498, Brighton
100. +EDPN → RD RE +LE⊙FPINE ⊙N H/ESTE	, ,,	B.M.C. 499, H.H.K. (ex Chancton hoard, Evans, C-B. and R. C-B. colls.)
IOI. +EDPE:: .RD.RE +LEOFPINE ON H/ESTICE	,,	B.M.C. 500, Brighton, H.H.K.
102. +EDPE: RD REX +LIFPINE ON HAωT:	,,	B.M.C. 501
Type Brooke 6: B.M.C. VII		
103. +EDPER• D REX +BRID: O:N H/E TIEN	Brid	B.M.C. 502, Brighton, H.H.K. (ex H. A. Parsons sale, 1929, 199)
		- 371

		Moneyer	Location or Authority
104.	+EDPE• RD REX +BRID ON H∕ESTINE: Sceptre ends in fleur-de- lis	Brid	B.M.C. 504
105.	+EDPE• RD REI +BRID ON H/ESTNC Sceptre ends in fleur-de-lis	,,	B.M.C. 505
106.	As no. 105 As no. 104	,,	B.M.
107.	+EDPER D RE. +BRID. ON H/E TIE Four pellets on inner circle on rev.	"	H.H.K.
108.	+EDPR• D RE• +DVINNE ON H/E σ TIE ¹ Sceptre ends in fleur-de-lis	Dunninc	B.M., Brighton, H.H.K.
109.	+EDPER D REX As no. 108 Sceptre ends in fleur-de-lis	,,	Brighton
110.	As no. 103 As no. 108 ¹ Pellet in third quarter of rev.	,,	B.M.C. 506, H.H.K. (Pl. XX, 17)
III.	+EDPE• D REX +DVINNC ON H/ESTIN Sceptre ends in fleur-de-lis	,,	B.M.C. 507, H.H.K. (ex W. C. Wells coll.)
II2.	+EDPRD REX +DVNNINC ON H/ESTIE Sceptre ends in fleur-de-lis	,,	S.A.C. i. 41
113.	Unascertained +PVLFRIC ON H/ESTI	Wulfric	Sedlescombe hoard (S.A.C. xxxiii. 8)
	Fype Brooke 7: B.M.C. IX EADPAPD X ANGLOF +BRID: ON H/E TIEN Four pellets on inner circle on rev.	Brid	B.M., Brighton, H.H.K. (ex E. H. Wheeler sale, 1930, 122) (Pl. XX, 18)
115.	EADPRD RIX ANGORV +BRI'D ON•H/E TIEN:	"	B.M.C. 510, Brighton (ex C-B. sale, 1918, 1802), H.H.K. (ex Francis sale, 1922, 86)
116.	EADPARD REX AUGL +BRID OU H/E-SĐIN:	,,	B.M.C. 508, Mr. T. H. Gardner
117.	Unascertained +BRID ON /ESTIEN	,,	Sedlescombe hoard (S.A.C. xxxiii. 8)
118.	EADPARD REX AUGLOV +DVUNIUE OUN H/ES•	Dunninc	B.M.C. 511, Brighton, H.H.K.
119.	EADPEARD REX ANGL. +PVLFRIC ON H/ESTING	Wulfric	Fitzw., Brighton, H.H.K. (ex Parsons sale, 1954, 200)
120.	EADPARD REX ANGLO +PVLFRIC ON H/ESTI	"	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

¹ Same rev. die.

250	The Con	ns of the sussi	5X 111 1105
-	Гуре Brooke 8: <i>B.M.C.</i> XI	Moneyer	Location or Authority
	+EADPAR RD RE +BRID: ON H/EωTI	Brid	B.M.C. 512, Brighton, H.H.K.
122.	As no. 121 +BRID: ON H/E\sqrt1	,,	H.H.K. (ex Argyll coll.)
123.	+EADRA:DD RE +BRND ON NEOSTIEN	**	B.M.C. 513
124.	+EADPA RD RE +BRND ON H∕E∽TIEN	,,	Brighton
125.	+EADPA: RD REX +DVNINE ON /EωTIN·:	Dunninc	B.M.C. 514, H.H.K. (ex R. C-B. coll.)
126.	+EADPAR RD RE +DVNINC ON H/EσT Pellet in 1st quarter of rev.	,,	B.M.C. 515, Brighton (ex Chancton find and Sir J. Evans coll.), H.H.K.
127.	+EIDPAR• RD RE +DVNINE ON H/E ω T: Pellet in 4th quarter of rev.	,,	Brighton, H.H.K. (ex Wheeler sale, 1930, 119)
128.	+EADPA· RD RE +DVNNING ON H/Es	,,	B.M.C. 516, Brighton
129.	As no. 121 +PVLFRIE ON H/ESTI	Wulfric	B.M.C. 517, Brighton, H.H.K. (P1. XX, 19)
130.	Unascertained +PVLFRIC ON H/EST	,,	Sedlescombe hoard (S.A.C. xxxiii. 8), Montagu sale, 1895, 844.
131.	As no. 121 +DIODRED ON H/E TI	Theodred	Brighton, H.H.K.
1	Type Brooke 9: B.M.C. XIII		
	+EADPARD REX ANG: +COLSPEGEN ON H/ES Four pellets on inner circle on rev.	Colswegen	B.M.C. 518, Brighton, H.H.K. (ex A. H. Baldwin coll.)
133.	•EADPARD REX +DVNNINE ON H/E	Dunninc	B.M.C. 519
134.	•EADPARD RE+• As no. 133	,,	Brighton, H.H.K. (ex Chancton hoard, Evans coll., C-B. sale, 1916, 1166 and R. C-B. coll.)
135.	•EADPARD RE+• +DVNNING ON HEST Bar in field of rev.	,,	B.M.C. 520, Mr. T. H. Gardner
136.	•EADPARD RE• ¹ +DVNNINC ON HEST Bar in field of rev.	"	Brighton, H.H.K. (ex Seddlescombe hoard, Evans coll., C-B. sale, 1918, 1811, and Wheeler sale, 1930, 102)
137.	+EADPARD REX AN. +DREODRED ON H/ES Two pellets in rev. field	Theodred	B.M.C. 521, H.H.K.
138.	•EADPARD RE +ĐREOĐRED ON H Two pellets in rev. field	,,	B.M.C. 522
139.	As no. 136 ¹ +ĐREODRED ON H	"	H.H.K. (PI. XX, 20)
	No pellets in field	Same alv. die.	

¹ Same otv. die.

The Com	s of the Susse	N 111 01103 25/
Type Brooke 10: B.M.C. XV	Moneyer	Location or Authority
140. EADPARD REX A +COLSPEGN ON HIE	Colswegen	H.H.K. (ex R. C-B. coll.) (Pl. XX, 21)
141. EADPARD REX +DEODRED ON HIE:	Theodred	H.H.K. (ex Parsons sale, 1929, 211)
HAROLD II		
Type $B.M.C.$ I		
142. +HAROLD REX TNG +EOLSPEGN ON H/E	Colswegen	C-B. sale, 1913, 658
143. +HXROLD REX XNG +DVNNINC ON H/E	Dunninc	C-B. sale, 1916, 1181
144. +HAROLD REX ANGLO +DEODRED ON ÆST	Theodred	B.M.C. 40, H.H.K. (P1. XX, 22)
WILLIAM I		
Type $B.M.C.$ I		
145. +PILLEMV REX I +COLSPEGEN ON /EI	Colswegen	B.M.C. 18, H.H.K. (ex Ready coll. and Drabble sale, 1939, 553)
146. +PILLEMIIS REX +DIINNIC ON ÆI	Dunninc	B.M.C. 19
147. As no. 146 +DV/NNIC ON ÆSTI	,,	B.M.C. 20, Brighton (ex S. Smith sale, 1895, 53 and O'Hagan sale, 1907, 401), H.H.K. (ex Haw sale, 1904, 5 and Morrieson sale, 1933, 50) (Pl. XX, 23)
148. As no. 146 +ĐIODRED ON ÆS	Theodred	B.M.C. 21, H.H.K. (ex Parsons sale, 1929, 219)
Type $B.M.C.$ II		
149. +PILLEM\/S • REX +DVNNING ON HIE • •	Dunninc	Hastings (P1. XX, 24)
Type $B.M.C.$ V		
150. +PILLEM REX /\N +DVNIC+ ON IESIN	Dunninc	B.M. (Pl. XX, 25); Yorkshire Museum, York
Type $B.M.C.$ VIII		
The quarter in which the we the reverse reading, the quarter is the property of the property o	arters being I	
		14
151. +PILLELM REXI +CIPINCC ON HIESTE (4)	Cipincc	B.M.C. 693, Brighton, H.H.K.
152. As no. 1511 +CIPINCE ON H/\ST (4)	,,	B.M.C. 695, H.H.K.
153. As no. 151 ¹ +CIPINCE ON H/\ST (1)	,,	H.H.K.
154. +PILLELMEX +DIINIC ON HIEST (2)	Dunninc	Brighton, H.H.K.
155. As no. 154 As no. 154 (4)	"	B.M.C. 696, Brighton
	Same obv. die	

¹ Same obv. die.

250	1110 0011	ie of the street	20 1/1 0/100
	A	Moneyer	Location or Authority
	As no. 154 +DIINIE ON HIESTI (2)	Dunninc	B.M.C. 697, Brighton, H.H.K.
157.	+PILLELM REX As no. 156 (3)	**	H.H.K.
158.	As no. 157 +DIINIE OON HIESTI (4)	,,	B.M.C. 698
159.	As no. 157 As no. 156 (2) Inner circle omitted on obv.	,,	H.H.K. (P1. XX, 26)
160.	As no. 157 +DIINIE ON HST/\NC (2)	,,	B.M.C. 699, Brighton, H.H.K. (ex Marshall sale, 1946, 42)
WILI	LIAM II		
16 1.	Type B.M.C. 1 +PILLELMRE +GODRIC ON HIESTI	Godric	H.H.K. (P1. XX, 27)
162.	Unascertained +GODRIE ON HIES	,,	Dudman sale, 1913, 288
	Type <i>B.M.C.</i> 2		
163.	+PILLELM RE +DORMAN ON HE	Dirman? Dorman?	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
164.	+PILLELMEX +DIINIC ON HSTINE	Dunninc	B.M.C. 88
165.	As no. 164 +DIINIE ON HIEST	,,	Mr. G. V. Doubleday
166.	+PILLEM REX +DNINC ON HIES	"	H.H.K. (ex Moon sale, 1901, 41, and Morrieson sale, 1933, 88)
167.	+PILLELM REXI +GODRIC ON HSTING	Godric	B.M.C. 89, H.H.K.
168.	As no. 1671 +GODRIE ON HIEST	,,	B.M.C. 91, H.H.K. (ex Lockett sale, 1955, 1009) (P1. XX, 28)
160	Type B.M.C. 3 +PILLELMRE	Dirman ?	B.M.C. 187, Fitzw., H.H.K. (ex
109.	+DIRM/\N ON HIEI Stars omitted on obv.	Dorman?	Wheeler sale, 1930, 158) (Pl. XX, 29)
170.	+PILLELML +GODRIC ON HIEST	Godric	B.M.C. 189
171.	+PILLELM RE +SPIRLIC ON HSIE	Sperlinc	B.M.C. 190
	Type <i>B.M.C.</i> 4		
172.	+ · · LLELMEI +DRM/N ON HSTI	Dirman ? Dorman ?	B.M.C. 236
173.	+PIL MRI +GODRIC ON [HIE]STIC	Godric	H.H.K. (ex Capt. Douglas and C-B colls.)
174.	+PILLELMRE +S[PE]RLINC ON HIETI	Sperlinc	B.M.C. 237
175.	+PILLEL +SPIRLIC ON HSTI	"	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Pl. XX, 30)

¹ Same obv. die.

	•	9,7
T 7.55	Moneyer	Location or Authority
Type <i>B.M.C.</i> 5		THE STATE OF LAND
176. +PILLELNRI	Dirman?	B,M,C, 263A
+DRM/\HT	Dorman?	DAG -C. (DI WELL OF)
177. +RILLELM RE	Godric	B.M.C. 264 (Pl. XXI, 31)
+GODRIE ON HSTI		
II and I		
HENRY I		
Type B.M.C. I	T. 3	DAG DI YET 40
178. +HN[RI]RE+H	Dirman?	B.M.C. 3 (P1. XXI, 32)
+DRMIIN ON HIEST	Dorman?	
Type $B.M.C.$ III		
179. +[H]ENRI RE+	Godric	B.M.C. 26 (Pl. XXI, 33)
+GODRIE ON HSTNE		
Type $B.M.C.$ VII		
180. +hENRI RE	Dunninc	H.H.K. (ex Sir Henry Ellis sale,
+DVNINE:ON:hA · ·		1869, 68; Allen sale, 1898,
		377; C-B. sale, 1916, 1339; Wheeler sale, 1930, 169) (Pl.
		XXI, 34)
181. +hENRI:RE•	Sperlinc	B.M.C. 40
+S[PERLIG ON hAS	Брогило	
182. + • ENRICY • • •	,,	Copenhagen
+oPERLIN[E]:ON:h · ·	"	
Type $B.M.C.$ X		
183. +hENRIEVS REX:	Boniface	H.H.K. (ex Marsham, Montagu
+BONIFACE ON hAS		and Dawnay colls. and
Pellets in angles of rev.		Lockett sale, 1955. 1063)
cross (Ruding, Supp. ii,		(P1. XXI, 35)
pl. ii. 6: this coin)		D.V.C.
184. +henric[V]s [R]ex: An:	Dunninc	B.M.C. 59
+D[V]NING: ON hAST.		HHV /or Parsons sale Tori
185. +henrievs r[e]X.	"	H.H.K. (ex Parsons sale, 1954,
+DVNNI[E O]N hAS.		243)
Type $B.M.C.$ XI	D .	D M C = (D1 VVI 24)
186. hE • • • RE	Dunninc	B.M.C. 74 (Pl. XXI, 36)
+D VN I·C O+N hASTI		
Type $B.M.C.$ XIV		70 M.C0 (D1 WWT 28)
187. +henrievs R:	Boniface	B.M.C. 128 (Pl. XXI, 37), Brighton, B.N.J. xix. 97
+BON[EF]ACE ON:hAST:		B.N.J. xix. 97
188. +henricvs R +bynef[ac]e:on:hast	,,	D.W.J. XIX. 9/
TBYREI [AE]E:OR:IIAST		
Stephen		
Type B.M.C. I	Rodbert	<i>B.N.J.</i> vii. 34
189. +STIEFNE: +RODBERT:ON:h	Roubert	211.19. 721.54
190. +STIEFNE RE:	Sawine	B.M.C. 34
+SAPINE:ON:hAST:	54,,220	· .
191. [+]\sigmaT[I]EFNE:	,,	H.H.K. (ex Lockett sale, 1955,
+SAPINE:[ON:h]AS		1097) (Pl. XXI, 38)
B 6185	S	

200	The Coin	s of the susse	N 111 01003
		Moneyer	Location or Authority
192.	+STIEFNE +···· NE:ON:hA:	Sawine	Brighton (ex Roth sale, 1918, 133)
	Type B.M.C. II +STIEFN• +ALDRED:ON:hXS +ST···NE +RODBERT:ON:hAS	Aldred Rodbert	Ashm., H.H.K. (ex Lockett sale, 1955, 1126) (Pl. XXI, 39) R.C.L. (not yet sold)
195.	Type B.M.C. VI +STIEFNE:• +ALDRED:ON[:h]AS	Aldred	H.H.K. (ex Webb sale, 1895, 67; O'Hagan sale, 1907, 422; S. M. Spink coll. and Lockett sale, 1955, 1136) (P1. XXI, 40)
196.	Type B.M.C. VII +STIEFNE +RODBERT:ON:h\(T\)S	Rodbert	H.H.K. (ex Bruun sale, 1925, 227 and A. H. Baldwin coll.) (Pl. XXI, 41)
	CTEVALAC		
Cnu	STEYNING		
ı.	`ype <i>B.M.C.</i> XIV: Hild. G +CNVT:RECX⊼ +PVDIX ON STÆNI C:	Widia Wudia	Hild. 3217, Copenhagen, Leningrad (ex Reichell coll., 1858) (P1. XXI, 42)
	+CNVT RECX⊼ +PVDII∙⊼ O∙N STÆNI	"	Copenhagen
	+CNVT REX⊼••• +P:VDII⊼ ON ST∕ENI	1)	Leningrad (ex Reichell coll., 1858)
за.	+CNVT:RECX A +PVDIA ON \$T/ENIG	,	Stockholm (Inv. 23040)
	+.•.CNVT REXA•.• +P.VDII•X O•N ST/ENI	>3	Stockholm
4a.	As no. 4 +P•VDIIA ON STÆNI	**	Stockholm (Inv. 8503)
Γ	Type B.M.C. XVI: Hild. H ¹		
5.	+CNV•T RECX: +FREÐEPINE ON STÆNI	Frithiwine	Ashm., H.H.K. (ex Drabble sale, 1939, 498)
	+CNVT RECX: Same die as no. 5	"	Hild. 3212a
7.	+CNVT •RECX +FRÐIPINE ⊙N ST∕E:	,,	B.M.C. 518, H.H.K. (Pl. XXI, 43)
	+CNV •T RECX• +FRIÐEPINE ON STÆ	,,	Copenhagen
	Same die as no. 8 +FRIÐII ON STENII	**	Copenhagen
IO.	+CNVT ∙ECX ⊼N +PIDIA ON ST∕ENII	Widia Wudia	Hild. 3215
	LENVIT DEE V. A.		TT'116

¹ It is improbable that B.M.C. 517, ECRIE ONN STEC, is of Steyning.

,,

Hild. 3216

II. +CNVT REC•X Λ:

+PIDIIX ON STÆNII

	Moneyer	Location or Authority
12. +CNVT •RECX +PIDNA ON ST/ENII	Wudia	B.M.C. 519
HAROLD I		
Type B.M.C. Vc: Hild. B 13. +HAROLD REC +FRIÐEPINE · O STE	Frithiwine	Hild. 860, Leningrad (Pl. XXI, 44)
14. +HAROLD RECX +FRIÐEPINE O STE	**	Hild, 861
HARTHACNUT		
Type B.M.C. Ia: Hild. Aa 15. +HARÐAENVT RE +FRIÐI ON STÆNIGE:	Frithiwine	B.M.C. 21
16. +HARĐAENVT RE +FRIÐI ON STENICE: Different dies from no. 15	23	H.H.K. (Pl. XXI, 45)
EDWARD THE CONFESSOR ¹		
Type Brooke 1: B.M.C. III 17. +EDPER:RD RE:X: +FRIÐEINE ON STEN	Frithiwine	H.H.K. (ex R. C-B. coll.) (P1. XXI, 46)
Type Brooke 2: B.M.C. I 18. +EPDERD REXA +F[RE]DIPINE ON STE	Frithiwine	Visby (Stora Sojdeby hoard, 1910) (PI. XXI, 47)
19. Same die as no. 18 +FRIĐEPINE ON ST/E	,,	Stockholm (Inv. 23228)
20. As no. 18 +FIÐEPIPINE ON STÆ	<i>n</i> .	Stockholm
Type Brooke 3: B.M.C. II 21. +EDPERD RE +PVLFRIC ON ST/E	Wulfric	H.H.K. (ex R. C-B. coll.) (PI. XXI, 48)
Type Brooke 4: B.M.C. IV 22. +EDPERD RELX. +FRIÐEPINE ON ST	Frithiwine	Hild. 682 (Pl. XXI, 49)
23. +EDPARD REX+ +PVLFRIC ON STE	Wulfric	Copenhagen
Type Brooke 5: B.M.C. V 24. +EDPE •RD REX +PVLFGET ON STÆN	Wulfget	B.M.C. 1205, Brighton, H.H.K.
25. +EDPNR• RD RE +PVLGET ON STENI•	"	B.M.C. 1206, Brighton, H.H.K., Hild. 666
26. +EAD •RD REX +PVLFRIC ON STENN:	Wulfric	H.H.K. (Pl. XXI, 50)
Type Brooke 6: B.M.C. VII 27. +EDPA D REX	Wulfric	B.M.C. 1207, Brighton, H.H.K.

¹ There is considerable doubt as to the order of the first four types of Edward's reign. See Mr. Peter Seaby's "The Sequence of Anglo-Saxon Coin Types, 1030–1050". They are put here in the order given in Brooke's *English Coins*.

+PVFERIC ON oT/E...

	3	
	Moneyer	Location or Authority
28. +EDREI D REX	Wulfric	B.M.C. 1208, H.H.K.
+PVLFRIC ON ST/E Sceptre ends in fleur-de-lis		
29. +EDPR• DER•		B.M.C. 1209, Brighton, H.H.K.
+PVLFRIC ON-ST/ENI	,,	,,
30. Unascertained	,,	Montagu sale, 1896 (2nd por-
+PVLFRIC ON ST/EN Sceptre ends in fleur-de-lis		tion), 145
Type Brooke 7: B.M.C. IX		
31. EADPARD REX AUGLO	,,	B.M.C. 1210, Brighton, H.H.K.
+PVLFRIC ONN ST/E		
32. EADPRD E:X ANGOR• +PVLFRIC ON • 50 T/EN:	, ,,	B.M.C. 1212, Brighton, H.H.K. (ex Chancton find, and Evans,
41 VEI KIE ON .0717EN.		C-B. and R. C-B. colls.)
33. Unascertained	,,	S.A.C. 1868, p. 220 (ex Chanc-
+PVLFRIC ON ST/EN		ton find)
34. Unascertained + PVLFRIC ON ST/E	,,	N.C. 1876, p. 364 (ex City hoard)
Type Brooke 8: B.M.C. XI		
35. EADPAR• RD REA	Diorman	B.M.C. 1213, Brighton, H.H.K.
+DIORMAN ON ST/ENIG	Dermon	
36. +DER• •ĦD REX Same die as no. 35	"	F.E.J. (Pl. XXI, 51)
Crude local obv. die		
Type Brooke 9: B.M.C. XIII		
37. EADPARD RE	Diorman	B.M.C. 1215 (Pl. XXI, 52),
+DERMON ONST/E 38. +EADRARARD REX A	Dermon	Brighton B.M.C. 1216, Brighton, H.H.K.
+DIORMAN ONST/E	,,	<i>B.M.</i> C. 1210, Brighton, 11.11.11.
Type Brooke 10: B.M.C. XV ¹		
39. EADPARD REXA	Dermon	B.M.C. 1217, Brighton, H.H.K.
+DERMON ON ST/EN		
HAROLD II		
Type $B.M.C.$ I		THE MODERNISHES
40. +HAROLD REX ANGLO +DERMON OM ST/ENI	Dermon	B.M.C. 84, H.H.K. (P1. XXI,53)
WILLIAM I		
Type B.M.C. II 41. +PILLEMVS REXAI	Dermon	B.M.C. 141 (Pl. XXI, 54)
+DERMON ON STIE	Definon	B.M.C. 141 (11. AA1, 54)
Type $B.M.C.$ V		
42. +PILLELM REX II	Dermon	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
+DRMIIN ON ONS		(P1. XXI, 55)
Type B.M.C. VI 43. +PILLELM REXI	Dermon	HHK (av Hankin sala 1000
+DRMIIN ON STENICN	Dermon	H.H.K. (ex Hankin sale, 1900, 409; Morrieson sale, 1933, 70)
		(PI. XXI, 56)
THE PART OF CORDINE	ONCTA	1 . 1 C. 1 . C 1

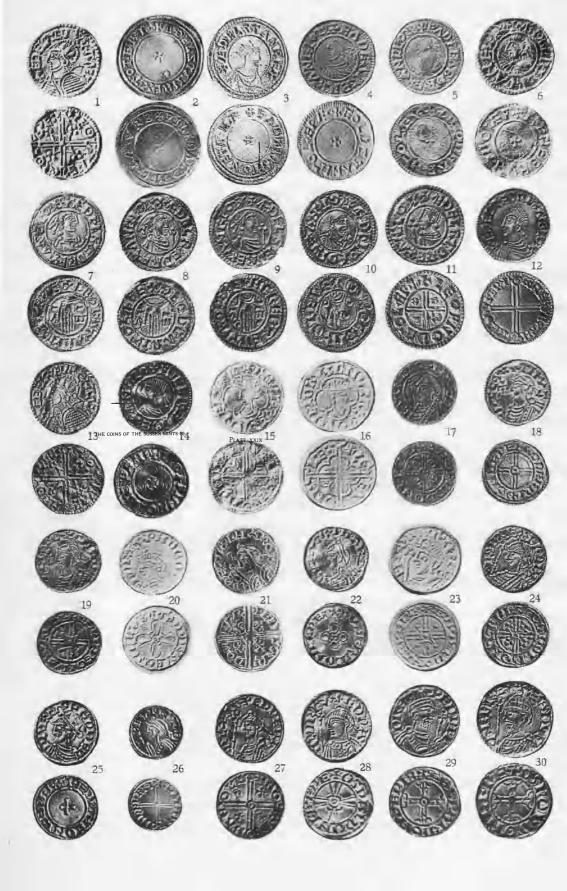
¹ B.M.C. 1218, GODPINE ON ST/E, is almost certainly of Stafford.

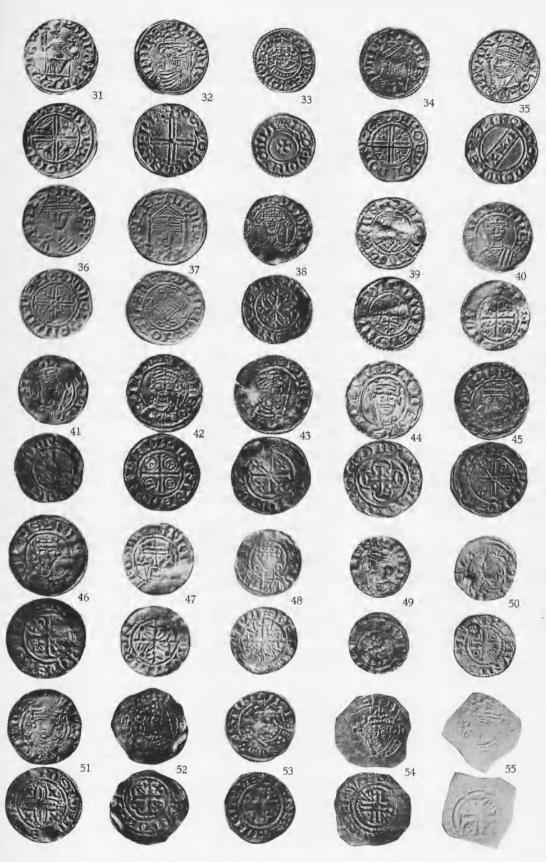
Moneyer Location or Authority

Type B.M.C. VIII

The quarter in which the word PAXS commences is shown by a number after the reverse reading, the quarters being 1 | 2

	reverse reading, the quarters	· -	
		3 4	
44.	+PILLELMREX +DIIRBERN ON STE (2)	Thurbern	B.M.C. 986, H.H.K. (ex Lawson sale, 1954, 189)
45.	+PILLELM REX Same die as no. 44	,,	H.H.K. (ex Lawson sale, 1954, 189) (Pl. XXI, 57)
46.	Same die as no. 45 +ĐIIRBEN ON STENC (4)	"	B.M.C. 987, H.H.K. (ex R. C-B. coll. and Lawson sale, 1954, 189)
47.	Same die as no. 45 +ĐIIRBRN ON STNI (3)	,,	B.M.C. 988, Brighton, H.H.K.
48.	+PILLELLMREX +DIIRBEN ON STEN1 (4)	,,	B.M.C. 990, Brighton (ex Rashleigh sale, 1909, 383), H.H.K.
49.	Same die as no. 48 +ĐIIRBEN ON STNIG (I)	13	B.M.C. 992, H.H.K.
50.	Same die as no. 48 +Đ\/RBEN ON STNI (I)	"	Brighton
51.	As no. 45 As no. 50 (1)	**	Oslo University
52.	Unascertained +DIIRBIGN ON STIII	,,	Tamworth hoard (<i>N.C.</i> 1877, p. 345)
Wi	LLIAM II		
53.	Type B.M.C. 2 +PILLELMREX +DIIRBRN ON STEN	Thurbern	B.M.C. 149
54.	As no. 53 +DIIRBRN ON STE	"	H.H.K. (P1. XXI, 58)
55.	Type B.M.C. 3 +PILLELMRE +LIFSI ON STEN	Lifsi	B.M.C. 223 (P1. XXI, 59)
56.	+PILLELMREII +DRBEN ON STEN	Thurbern	B.M.C. 224, H.H.K. (ex Grant- ley sale, 1944, 1270)
57.	Type B.M.C. 5 +PILLELM R +DIIRBRN ON S(T)N	Thurbern	H.H.K. (ex Morrieson sale, 1933, 93) (Pl. XXI, 60)





THE COINS OF THE SUSSEX MINTS (6)

A NOTE ON THE MINTS OF SUDBURY AND SOUTHWARK AT THE END OF THE REIGN OF ÆTHELRÆD II

By R. H. M. DOLLEY

In the course of the forthcoming publication of the great Igelösa hoard from Skåne, it is hoped to show that a majority of the coins of Æthelræd II which are attributed by B. E. Hildebrand—and indeed by every subsequent writer on late Saxon numismatics—to the mint of Sudbury (SUÐByrig) in Suffolk were in fact struck at a mint in Southwark (SUÐGewerc). The arguments for this drastic disturbance



Fig. 1.

of almost traditional attributions are in the main prosopographical, but a dramatic obverse die-link (Hild. 3628 and 3663) in itself seems sufficient to destroy any arrangement of the coins which sought to give those reading SUDB to East Anglia on the strength of the mint-signature alone. Indeed the principal submission of the relevant portion of the Igelösa publication will be that the coins entitle us to suggest that at the end of the tenth century Southwark was known both as "the south work" and as "the south burgh", and in this connexion we may compare, if not appeal to, modern usage by recalling that the present-day inhabitants usually speak of "the Borough".

It was only natural, therefore, that the English contributor to the Igelösa publication should have been consulted when one of his Swedish collaborators, fil. lic. fru Brita Malmer of the University Museum at Lund, was confronted in quite another context by an unpublished coin of which the mint-signature read clearly SUBB. The coin in question (Fig. 2) is of Æthelræd II's last substantive

issue, the so-called Last Small Cross type (Hildebrand Type A= Brooke Type I=B.M.C. Type $I=Hawkins\ 205$) which is believed to have been current from September 1009 at least until the end of 1016. The moneyer is a certain Brantinc considered by Hildebrand to have been a moneyer of Southwark, though in point of fact not one of the three coins recorded in the 1881 edition of Anglosachsiska Mynt



FIG. 2.

reads at greater length than SUÐ. Brooke, it is interesting to note, assigned Brantinc to Sudbury, but unfortunately without giving his reasons. It is possible that he had seen a SUÐB coin—as we shall see, at least two pairs of dies are known with the fuller reading—but one is inclined to think that he may have been influenced by the fact that

he knew Brantinc at Ipswich under Cnut.¹

The new coin occurred in a group from Gråtrask in Norrbotten in Northern Sweden which represents individual offerings made at a pagan sanctuary by the Lapps in the early Middle Ages. These ex voto deposits, by no means confined to coins, have recently been made the subject of an exhaustive study by Dr. Inga Serning of Kiruna entitled Lapska Offerplatsfynd från Järnalder och Medeltid,² to which there is appended a detailed list and discussion of the Kufic, German, English, and Scandinavian coins, the work respectively of fil. kand. fru Ulla S. Linder Welin, Dr. Vera Jammer (now Dr. Vera Hatz), Mrs. Malmer, and förste antikvarie Dr. Nils Ludwig Rasmusson. The purely numismatic sections of this work comprise more than thirty closely printed pages together with five excellent plates, and the thesis as a whole is one that deserves a place on the shelves of every serious student of medieval numismatics.

Mrs. Malmer's own inclination was to reject Hildebrand's attribution in favour of Brooke's, and the present writer must confess to

¹ The writer has been unable to trace the coin in question.

² Uppsala, 1956.

having instinctively endorsed this provisional decision. This was despite the fact that he himself had been the first to argue that in the *Crux* type of Æthelræd II the mint-signature SUBB was quite ambiguous, and in point of fact would seem more often than not to have denoted Southwark. The purpose of the present note is to suggest that there is new evidence to justify this seeming inconsistency, and that the endorsement of Mrs. Malmer's reattribution is not quite so

capricious as might at first sight appear.

In the first place we must not lose sight of the fact that between 997 when the *Crux* type ceased to be current and 1009, which is the earliest possible date for the coins of the Brantinc who concerns us here, there occurred sweeping and fundamental changes in the organization responsible for the supply of dies to the eighty-odd mints. While certainty is impossible pending a minute examination of the type as a whole, there is good reason to believe that most if not all of the dies for the Crux coinage were supplied from a single centre. In contrast a current paper has demonstrated that, in the Last Small Cross type, there are positive indications that the dies were distributed from a number of centres, each with its own engraver. Consequently arguments that were valid in a discussion of the problem of Sudbury and Southwark as regards the Crux type by no means continue necessarily to hold good for an analysis of the position at the end of Æthelræd's reign. The all-critical Tuneman die-link, in fact, is not strictly relevant to the problem of Brantinc.

The name Brantinc or Branting is one that is extremely rarely met with on late Saxon coins. Between 979 and 985 a Brantinc was operating at Ipswich, and between 979 and 991 we find a moneyer of the same name at Norwich. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that they are one and the same man. At least eighteen years later we have another Brantinc, very probably a grandson, striking coins with the mint-signatures SUD and SUDB, and he continues a short way into the reign of Cnut. It is difficult not to associate him with Brooke's Ipswich moneyer of the same name, and in this case there would seem to have been no more than two Brantincs in the late Saxon period, both in East Anglia where the name is far from being incongruous. An apparent exception is afforded by a coin which Hildebrand attributes to Lincoln (Fig. 4), but, as we shall see, the mint-reading is not o LIN but on z.2 Prosopographically then a prima facie case can be made out for regarding Brantinc as a Sudbury and not a Southwark moneyer, the more so because he is not found striking at London.

Hildebrand assigns no Last Small Cross coins to Sudbury, and it could be argued that events in East Anglia during the last years of Æthelræd II are sufficient to explain a total closure of the mint.³ It is interesting to note, however, the forms of the mint-signature that occur on the coins, those of Brantinc apart, which Hildebrand gives to Southwark. In each case the signature can only denote Southwark,

¹ R. H. M. Dolley, "Some Reflections on Hildebrand Type A of Æthelræd II" (in the press).
² Infra, p. 268.
³ Cf. R. H. M. Dolley, N.N.U.M. 1954, p. 155.

and not once is it ambiguous. When we turn to the *Quatrefoil* coins of Cnut, the picture is exactly the same. The solitary coin of Brantinc excepted, all the coins that Hildebrand assigns to Southwark have an unequivocal mint-signature that preserves the all-critical "G" even



Fig. 3.

at the price of omitting the "Đ". It is as though instructions had been given that at all costs coins of Southwark were to be readily distinguishable, ambiguity of mint-signature being tolerated only at Sudbury where it can even be considered a criterion in itself. The position as regards Southwark may be summarized as follows:

	c. 1009–16	c. 1017-23
Ælfgar		SUE
Ælfsige		SUÐGE, SUÐG
Ælfweard		SUÐGP, SUÐG, SUG
Ælfwine	SUÐGFERC, SUÐGPER, SUÐIEP	SUÐG
Æthelwin ¹		SUÐG
Brihelm		SUÐE 🛭
Brihtmær		SUÐG, SUG
Eadweard		SUE
Eadwine	SUÐGEPE, SUÐGEP	SUÐGPE, SUÐG, SUG
Eilofwine	SUIE	
Huneman		SUÐE, SUE
Leofric		
Swegen		SÚÐG
		SUÐE, SUER
Wulfric		
Wulfsige		
		SUÐG
Huneman Leofric Swegen Swyrlinc		SUÐE, SUE SUÐE, SUEG SUÐE SUÐE, SUER SUÐEE, SUÐE, SUE SUÐE SUÐE

Inasmuch as it has never been suggested that SUDGEFERC is an alternative name for Sudbury, it is difficult to see how the coins listed above could be attributed to a mint other than that established behind the southern defences covering London Bridge.

It remains to consider the position as regards the coins of the moneyer Brantinc and also the two coins of the moneyer Mansige which Hildebrand gave—quite rightly—to Sudbury. To the Brantinc coins listed by Hildebrand under Southwark must be added the following, the penny of Æthelræd II's Last Small Cross type with mint-signature SUDB found by Mrs. Malmer among the Gråträsk coins, a similar coin but from very different dies (Fig. 3) found by the

¹ Coin in T. G. Gardner collection, cf. G. Gustafson, Myntfundet fra Nesbø, Bergens Museums Årsbok, 1891, p. 17.

writer in another of the Swedish hoards, and, most important of all, the unique penny of Cnut's *Quatrefoil* type which Hildebrand in error gave to Lincoln. Examination of the actual coin has shown that the mint-signature is not O LIN but ON S, and it is believed that the



FIG. 4.

true reading emerges even in the accompanying block. As we shall see, the obverse of this coin is irregular, the irregularity being quite exceptional and paralleled only on one of the two coins of Mansige, final proof, if proof were needed, that Brantinc and Mansige are moneyers of the same mint. As regards mint-signatures the position is as follows:

 c. 1009–16
 c. 1017–23

 Brantinc
 SUÐB, SUÐ
 SUÐ, S

 Mansige
 SUÐB, SUBR

One cannot doubt but that these signatures indicate the same place of minting. Where the signature seems unequivocal it seems to indicate Sudbury, while in the other cases the ambiguity is in marked contrast

to the practice that we have associated with Southwark.

It could be objected that the apparent Sudbury readings are too few to be convincing, and especially when at an earlier period SUDB readings have been shown to be Southwark, but in fact there are positive arguments that entitle us to consider both Mansige and Brantinc East Anglian moneyers. The majority of these arguments concern Brantinc, so it is perhaps as well to demonstrate wellnigh irrefutable evidence for Mansige and Brantinc being moneyers of the same mint. As we have seen, both moneyers in Cnut's Quatrefoil type employ the same irregular obverse type in which the bust on the obverse breaks the inner circle and legend and continues to the edge of the coin, the variety distinguished by Hildebrand as Typ. E, var. b. Reference to Hildebrand establishes that this variety is known from only two coins, the two with which we are here concerned. Moreover it would seem more reasonable by far to associate this irregular variety with a struggling provincial mint, which may even at one time have been a die-cutting centre, rather than with Southwark which under Cnut appears to have received its dies entirely from London where this particular irregularity is conspicuous by its total absence.

Concerning Brantinc we have already seen that the name appears to be peculiar to East Anglia, and indeed there is a *prima facie* case for regarding the moneyer of that name who strikes c. 985 at

both Norwich and Ipswich as a relative of the Brantinc who strikes c. 1015 at Sudbury and, if Brooke is right, at Ipswich as well. For the period c. 1009-16 the present writer has recently subjected the 1,300-odd coins recorded in Hildebrand to a minute stylistic analysis, and it is hoped that the provisional account that has appeared in Sweden at least establishes the existence of well-defined if overlapping schools of die-cutting. To some extent these are provincial, though few mints of any importance can lay claim to absolute homogeneity of style. If we examine the six coins which Hildebrand gives quite correctly to Southwark, Hild. nos. 3636, 3637, 3638, 3650, 3651, and 3655, we find that all are of "London" style, which is really what we would expect. The Copenhagen collection adds two obverse dies not represented in the Systematic collection at Stockholm. One of these is also "London", but the other is "Kentish", a style not found, London apart, north of the Thames, nor west of Lewes. The two Brantinc coins attributed by Hildebrand to the same mint are likewise of "London" style, but this is of little significance as by the last quinquennium of Æthelræd's reign London was supplying a majority of the dies required by the East Anglian mints. The coin found by Mrs. Malmer is also of "London" style, but the new coin with the SUDB signature found this year is of pure "East Anglian" style. This style is likewise extremely localized, and has not been found south of the Thames, nor west of a line drawn from London to the Wash. Thus there are stylistic as well as prosopographical arguments not only for distinguishing the coins of Mansige and Brantinc from the rest of the output of the Southwark mint, but also for associating them with a specifically East Anglian place of minting.

To sum up. There now seems irrefutable numismatic evidence not only that late in the tenth century the mint-signature SUDByrig could denote Southwark, but also that in the second decade of the eleventh century the mint of Sudbury was still operating, albeit on a small scale. The problem that now confronts the numismatist is to decide to what extent there was continuity of striking in the period before 1009—at present there is no moneyer in the *Crux* type who can be proved to have struck at Sudbury—and also in the period after Cnut's death. In the present state of our knowledge this problem is one that does not appear patient of solution, but there can be little doubt that it could be solved if there had been a central register not of hoards but of single finds. It is the present writer's conviction that the plotting of such finds is one of the most urgent tasks awaiting the serious student of late Saxon numismatics, and that the pattern which would emerge not only might clear up more than one problematical eleventh-century attribution but would enable a start to be made with the identification of the places of striking of the innumerable

tenth-century coins without mint-signature.2

Supra, n. 3.
 The admirable direct photographs illustrating this paper were supplied by the Royal Swedish Coin Cabinet (Figs. 1, 3, and 4) and by the University Coin Cabinet of Lund (Fig. 2).

THE MINTS "ÆT GOTHABYRIG" AND "ÆT SITH(M)ESTEBYRIG"

By R. H. M. DOLLEY and F. ELMORE JONES

with

A PHILOLOGICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL NOTE ON CISSBURY By m. DAUNT

A. THE MINT "ÆT GOTHABYRIG"

THERE has long been known to numismatists a small group of late Saxon pence with the remarkably consistent mint-signatures GOTHABYRI, GEOTHA, GIOTHA, IOTHA, &c. At various times these have been given to Godalming in Surrey, I Jedburgh in Roxburghshire,2 Dewsbury in Yorkshire,3 Woodborough in Nottinghamshire,4 Idbury in Oxfordshire,5 and "Ythanceaster", a Roman and early Saxon site near Bradwell-on-sea—or more correctly Bradwell-juxtamare—in Essex.6 This last attribution has never found favour with the historians and philologists, but its citation in Brooke's English Coins, albeit with a query, has led to it acquiring a wider acceptance than any of its predecessors. The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate that on numismatic grounds alone the mint must be sought in quite another part of the country, and indeed in an area where a new mint was scarcely to be suspected. It is regretted that it has not been possible to pin-point the sife, but it is believed that a new generation of Anglo-Saxon numismatists will prefer an honest confession of this fact to a facile solution that our successors will have only to waste time in disproving.

The coins of the mint in question span a period of approximately forty years. Very few of them have been illustrated before, but it is hoped that the accompanying plate depicts all the known dies and combinations thereof. It is based on the Systematic Collection at Stockholm, and yet again the writers must express their appreciation of the kindness of the Swedish authorities who have supplied the excellent direct photographs. In this connexion it seems worth noting that the late Major P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, the originator of the "Ythanceaster" identification, was labouring under the great disadvantage of having to rely for illustrations upon a coin of Æthelræd II's "Helmet" type in the National Collection and an "Armand-Sceptre" coin in his own cabinet. In neither type has it proved possible to distinguish the provincial styles that in fact gave the present writers their first real clue to the solution of the mystery.

¹ Cf. Surrey Arch. Soc. Coll. iii (1865), pp. 37-38.

<sup>e.g. Hildebrand, p. 497.
Cf. N.C., 1895, p. 47.</sup>

⁴ Ibid., p. 49.

⁵ Ibid., p. 48. 6 B.N.J. iv (1908), pp. 33-45.

ÆTHELRÆD II

"Long-Cross" issue (Hild. D = Brooke 5 = B.M.C. iva) Sept. 997-Sept. 1003?

(I) $Obv. + \angle EDELR\angle EDREXANGL$ $Rev. + PVL | FM\angle ER | M'OG | EODA (P1. XXII, 1)$

The form of the copulative in the reverse legend suggests that the dies were cut late rather than early in the currency of the "Long Cross" type—it is noticeable that in the one-moneyer Guildford mint the "Crux" moneyer Leofwold uses the form Ω. A date comparatively late in the "Long Cross" issue seems also indicated by the fact that only the one pair of dies is known for this type whereas in the normally less prolific "Helmet" issue three pairs of dies are recorded in four combinations. At this point it is perhaps pertinent to remark that Wulfmær is otherwise known in the last decade of the tenth century at London c. 985–91, at Barnstaple c. 991–7 and at Totnes c. 997–1003. A Wulmær is also known at Lincoln c. 997–1009. A strong Devonshire flavour is already apparent, and it will be the suggestion of this paper that the moneyer Wulfmær at "Gothaburh" is one and the same individual as the Wulfmær who strikes at Barnstaple and Totnes.

"Helmet" issue (Hild. E = Brooke 4 = B.M.C. viiia) Sept. 1003-Sept. 1009

(2) Obv. + ./EDELR/EDREXXNGL Rev. + PVL|FM/ER|M'OG|EODA Hild. 1134 (P1. XXII, 2)

(3) Obv. +•ÆÐELRÆDREXANGLO Rev. +FVL|FMÆR|M¹⊙G|E⊙ÐA (Pl. XXII, 3)

(4) Obv. +/EĐELR/EDREXANGL Rev. From same die as no. 3 (Pl. XXII, 4)

(5) Obv. From same die as no. 4 Rev. +PVL|FM/E|RM'⊙|GOÐA (Pl. XXII, 5)

Wulfmær is known at no other mint in this type, but again a Wulmær is known at Lincoln. At this point we would like to express our indebtedness to Mr. A. H. F. Baldwin for bringing to our notice a very fine "Gothaburh" coin in his collection of this type and moneyer which was found in Ireland with coins of the Exeter mint.

"Last Small Cross" issue (Hild. $A = Brooke \ i = B.M.C. \ i$) Sept. 1009–16?

(6) Obv. + ÆĐELRÆDREXANGL· Rev. +GODAONGOĐĀΒΥRΙ Hild. 1131 (Pl. XXII, 6)

(7) Obv. From same die as no. 6 Rev. +PVLM/ERONGOÐA (Pl. XXII, 7)

(8) Obv. +ÆÐELRÆDREXANGL: Rev. +PVLFMÆRONGVÐA Hild. 1132 (P1. XXII, 8)

Again the form Wulfmær is found in no other mint in this type, but the spellings Wulfmr and Wulmer do occur at Norwich, and the spelling Wulmær at Shrewsbury. Goda, however, is known at Lydford and Totnes—and once more the suggestion of this paper will be that the Goda of "Gothaburh" is the Goda of the other Devonshire mints. It will doubtless be objected that there are other moneyers of the same name at Chester, London, and Shaftesbury in the same type, but fortunately there is now available a stylistic argument that suggests very strongly that the moneyer or moneyers with this name at London and Chester at least are not to be associated with "Gothaburh" while the latter mint is linked even more firmly with Devonshire. A glance at the plate will show that both the obverse dies recorded at "Gothaburh" belong to a grouping distinguished in a recent paper as "south-western". The following table lists those mints for which coins of this style are recorded by Hildebrand—and also in the case of the same mints the total number of coins of other styles.

		"South- western" style	Other styles			"South- western" style	Other styles
BARNSTAPLE		2		Huntingdon		I	10
Bedford		ι?	7	Leicester		I	5
Cadbury		5		Lydford		24	
Chichester		I	3	Salisbury		5	8
Cricklade		I	6	Shaftesbury		I	10
Dorchester		2		Taunton		I	
Exeter		50		TOTNES.		4	
Gloucester		I	9	Warwick		I	4
Hereford		I	4				

It is at once apparent that the dies of the style in question must have emanated from a centre in the south-west—no other style is found in Devonshire while the four Devon mints between them account for something like 80 per cent. of the recorded dies. Outside Wessex only the odd die is found, and especially we would draw attention to the fact that no Hildebrand coin of this style is found at London, or in East Anglia. The conclusion is almost inescapable that "Gothaburh" is a Wessex mint, and coins of the next type may seem to clinch the argument beyond all reasonable doubt.

CNUT "Quatrefoil" issue (Hild. E = Brooke 2 = B.M.C. viii) Sept. 1017-Sept. 1023

	F ·· · · · · /	r
(9)	Obv. +CNVTREXANGLOR Hild. 999	Rev. $+EA RLA ONE IOD$ (P1. XXII, 9)
(10)	Obv. +CNVTREXANGLOR Hild. 1001	Rev. +FV LFM /ERO E10Đ (P1. XXII, 10)
(11)	Obv. +CNVTREXANGLOR Hild. 1002	Rev. +PVL $ FM/E RONI $ $\bigcirc DX$ (P1. XXII, 11)
(12)	Obv. +ENVTREXANGLOI	Rev. +PV LM/E ROI OĐX

¹ R. H. M. Dolley, "Some Reflections on Hildebrand Type A of Æthelræd II" (in the press).

In this type the spelling Wulfmær occurs otherwise only at Thetford. A spelling Wulmær occurs at Worcester and at Thetford. It is when we come to Carla, however, that prosopography again points remorselessly to a West Country attribution. The name is an extremely unusual one, and in fact occurs, "Gothaburh" excepted, only at Exeter. Major Carlyon-Britton was in error when he claimed that Carla was a London moneyer¹—presumably he was misled by Hild. 2123 which is certainly a Scandinavian coin by the Lund moneyer Carel.

Again, too, prosopographical arguments are more than reinforced by considerations of style. A full study of the die-cutting centres in operation at this period has still to be attempted, but a provisional paper has established that there is one style that is associated par excellence with the Exeter mint.2 To date no coin of this style has been found east of the Somerset and Hampshire Avons, and the following list of mints where the style has been recorded suggests that the centre of gravity is much farther to the west. In this case it has been possible to base the figures on rather more coins than those in the Systematic Collection at Stockholm, and there can be little doubt but that they reflect faithfully the position represented by both English and Scandinavian hoards:

	"S	outh-western'' style	Other styles
BARNSTAPLE		4	
Bath .		İ	II
Crewkerne		6	
EXETER .		24	3
Ilchester .	 	6	32
LYDFORD .		2	4
TOTNES .		6	

As shown above, the style is not found east of Ilchester, and yet it is to this exceptionally characteristic style that all four of the obverse

dies recorded at "Gothaburh" belong.

While we would not pretend that style is decisive in the face of positive evidence to the contrary, we do believe that it is capable of making very positive contributions to the study of the late Saxon coinage. For example, the recently resuscitated theory of a mint at Lancaster³ falls down hopelessly when we find that all the coins in question belong to two styles associated with the West Country. We ourselves have not hesitated to make a number of corrections to Hildebrand and the British Museum Catalogue primarily on stylistic evidence—for example, the reattribution to Derby of the two moneyers Osbern and Osgar given to Dorchester,4 the translation of the moneyer Ælfwig from Aylesbury to Langport⁵ and of Leofsige from Ilchester

¹ Op. cit., p. 4.
² R. H. M. Dolley, "The Regional Distribution of Dies in the West Country c. 1017–1023", Spink's Numismatic Circular, 1956, pp. 321–5 and 373–6.
³ C. H. V. Sutherland, The Museums Journal, November 1952, p. 197.

⁺ Spink's Numismatic Circular, 1956, p. 323.
5 B.N.J. xxvIII, i (1956), p. 58; cf. Spink's Numismatic Circular, 1956, p. 373.

to Ipswich,¹ the reallocation of Hild. 374I to Worcester, &c.² Unquestionably, though, the great value of the stylistic approach to certain types is that it makes possible a systematic search for obverse die-links, and we expect that an increasing number of these will be discovered in the course of the next few years.³ In the case of "Gothaburh", however, it can hardly be claimed that the mass of material was overwhelming—at Exeter Carla is known from only three obverse dies. Of these only one could conceivably have provided an obverse die link, for a glance at Hildebrand is sufficient to show that only Hild. 368 has the form of obverse legend found on the "Gothaburh" coin. More recently, too, it has been shown that Hild. 369 and Hild. 370 have obverses of quite different styles. In fact these are two out of the three coins of the Exeter mint which do not belong to the same stylistic grouping as the coins of the mysterious mint with which we are here concerned.

The question is a simple one. Is there in fact an obverse die-link between Carla's solitary coin of "Gothaburh" and his one coin of Exeter which is consistent both as regards the style and the form of the obverse legend? Reference to the plate supplies an immediate answer—there *is* the die-link that arguments of style and prosopo-

graphy had led us to expect. [P1. XXII, A and 9.]

Before we proceed to consider some of the implications of this welcome corroboration of our earlier line of argument, we should perhaps complete our listing of all the known dies of the mint under review. The "Ouatrefoil" type of Cnut was withdrawn in all probability not later than the autumn of 1023, and Mr. Peter Seaby's recent demonstration that "Arm-and-Sceptre" coins with the name "Cnut" belong in fact to Harthacnut4 means that we now have no coin of the "Gothaburh" mint which can be given to the last twelve years of Cnut's reign. This gap is by no means disturbing—coins of Cnut's "Short Cross" type are notably fewer than those of his "Pointed Helmet" type which in turn are fewer than those of the "Quatrefoil" issue—but we would suggest that it is particularly appropriate in the case of a West Country attribution as the decline in output was generally far more marked in this area than elsewhere in England. To take for example the three minor Devon mints, the position as set out by Hildebrand may be summarized as follows:

			Quatrefoil	Pointed Helmet	Short Cross
BARNSTAPLE			4	2	I
Lydford		•	6	I	I
Totnes.			6	5	

In Somerset and Dorset the position is much the same—and indeed at Ilchester the slump in output is even more striking—though at Exeter

4 B.N.J. xxvIII, i (1956), pp. 111-46.

¹ Spink's Numismatic Circular, 1956, p. 323. ² Ibid., p. 324. ³ Cf. R. H. M. Dolley, "The Significance of Obverse Die-Links, etc." in the forthcoming Swedish publication *Preliminary Studies*.

the process is less marked, very possibly because of the growing ten-

dency to concentrate striking in larger centres.

Almost immediately after Cnut's death, however, we find the "Gothaburh" mint once more in operation, and this time the moneyer is a Leofmær:

HAROLD I

"Jewel Cross" issue (Hild. A = Brooke I = B.M.C. i)

Spring 1036-Sept. 1038?

(13) Obv. +HARO LDREX Hild. 255

Rev. +LEOFM/ERONIOÐAB (Pl. XXII, 13)

Leofmær is known at no other mint in this type—or indeed reign. It is significant, however, that his name should perpetuate the deuterotheme of his predecessor's, the more so because -mær is by no means the most common of elements, and it seems very probable that Leofmær was a son or grandson of the Wulfmær who had been "Gothaburh's" most prolific moneyer between c. 1000 and c. 1023.

"Fleur-de-lis" issue (Hild. B = Brooke 2 = B.M.C. v)

Sept. 1038-Summer 1040

(14) Obv. +HARO LDREC ... Hild. 256

Rev. +LE|OM/E|RON|10D:

(Pl. XXII, 14)

(15) Obv. From same die as no. 14 Rev. +LEO|M/ER|ONI|ODA Hild. 257

(Pl. XXII, 15)

HARTHACNUT

Summer 1040-Summer 1042

"Arm-and-Sceptre" Hild. Cnut I = Brooke Cnut 5 = B.M.C. Cnut xixHild. B

Brooke 2

(16) Obv. +CNVTR ECXAN Hild. Cnut 998

Rev. +/ELFVARDONGOÐA

(17) Obv. + ENV TREX Hild. Cnut 1000

(Pl. XXII, 16)

Rev. +LEOM/ERONGEOÐ (Pl. XXII, 17)

Again no other Leofmær is known for the reign, and the only moneyer with a name approximating to Ælfward recorded by Hildebrand proves to be Scandinavian. Prosopographically, therefore, these, the last recorded coins of the mint "æt Gothabyrig", throw no light on the location of the mint, nor is style any serviceable criterion in this type. Nevertheless the fact that these coins cannot have been struck earlier than the summer of 1040 does destroy one link in the chain of evidence advanced in support of the "Ythanceaster" attribution. In his paper already mentioned Major Carlyon-Britton commented on the fact that "the great wind" of 1039 coincided exactly with "the cesser of the Giođaburgh coinage", and suggested that an influx of the sea overwhelmed the Bradwell-juxta-mare site. This is

quite possible, though the balance of the historical evidence must surely be that there was no intensive habitation of "Ythanceaster" after the Danish attacks of the ninth century at the latest, but the fact remains that coins of "Gothaburh" are known to have been struck at least a year after "the great wind" of 1039. We believe that there is in fact no connexion between this event and the termination of coinage at a mint which we hope to have shown to have been situated somewhere in the neighbourhood of Exeter.

To sum up. The mint "æt Ğothabyrig" is die-linked with Exeter; the moneyer of the die-link is otherwise known only at Exeter; in both the "Last Small Cross" type of Æthelræd II and the "Quatrefoil" type of Cnut the obverse dies all belong to two styles that are peculiarly associated with the Exeter area, and in many cases the moneyers are found elsewhere in the West Country at just the period in question. On this evidence we believe that we are quite justified in rejecting out of hand the attribution to "Ythanceaster" which has stood for fifty years. We would stress, too, that we have found no real link between 'Gothaburh' and Colchester and Maldon. Unlike our predecessors, however, we do not propose to associate "Gothaburh" with a fixed point upon the map. That is a task that we feel should be left to the historian and philologist who were rightly so critical of the "Ythanceaster" attribution. In justice to the memory of a very great numismatist, however, we would like to put on record our view that Sir John Evans may well have been right when he equated "Gothaburh" with the mysterious "Iudanburh" where Archbishop Wulfstan was held prisoner by King Eadred. The neighbourhood of Exeter would have been a very likely place of imprisonment for that prelate—and perhaps a little more plausible than a remote and decayed township on the East Coast open to a sudden descent by the seamen of York.

It should perhaps be added that our reluctance to associate "Gothaburh" with any given place does not spring from lack of imagination. Various possibilities have occurred to us, but we do not feel that it is for the numismatist to postulate lost places with hypothetical names that might give for example a modern form "Idebury" or "Yeobury" to set beside Ideford or Yeoford, or a "Yetbury" or "Yetborough" to set beside Yetminster. Recent work has shown just how subtle are the toils into which even an accomplished numismatist can fall when he seeks to deal, however superficially, with the coins of a period with which he is not familiar, and for the numismatist to trespass on the preserves of the place-name specialist and the historian is to court disaster. In this connexion we may perhaps remark that if there was ever a county where the historian did not want another burgh it was Devonshire. There is particularly satisfying documentary evidence that in the reign of the great Cnut Devon was the shire of the four boroughs, Exeter, Totnes, Lydford, and Barnstaple, and Domesday gives absolutely no hint of a fifth.2 Cornwall, where Mr. S. E. Rigold

¹ A.S.C., s.a. 952 (D only), cf. Roger of Wendover, i, p. 403. ² Cf. Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, p. 525.

has drawn our attention to a Castle Gotha, seems rather far for a dielink with Exeter—but not impossibly so. This leaves the extreme south-west corner of Somerset, already the county of eleven mints, and western Dorsetshire, which one might have thought amply catered for by Bridport. The problem is a nice one, and for the moment we must leave it, only remarking that if the numismatic evidence points anywhere it is to the neighbourhood of Exeter.

B. THE MINT "ÆT SITH(M)ESTEBYRIG"

The second group of mint-signatures with which this paper is concerned comprises the spellings SIDE, SIDESTEB, and SIDMES. We know perhaps two dozen coins, rather surprisingly from six obverse and only four reverse dies, and all these coins are of two successive types. Three moneyers are recorded, and it seems clear that the mint or mints in question remained open for at most a few years. By a fortunate chance, however, the two types which were issued are precisely those where we are now able to distinguish markedly regional styles of die-engraving, and it was in fact the peculiarly localized style of the obverse die of one particular coin which gave us our first real clue to the solution of a mystery that has been discreetly side-stepped by our predecessors. Once again it is remarkable that so few of the coins have been illustrated before, but it is believed that the following "catalogue" and the accompanying plate lists every known die and combination of dies. For reasons of economy it takes into account only the English and Swedish National Collections, and duplicates in those collections are ignored.

ÆTHELRÆD II

"Last Small Cross" issue (Hild. A = Brooke I = B.M.C. i) Sept. 1009-1016?

- (I) Obv. +/EÐELRDREXANGLOΩ Rev. +GODIPNEONSIÐMES (PI. XXIII, 1)
- (2) Obv. +/EĐELR/EDREXANG Rev. From same die as no. 1
 Stockholm (P1. XXIII, 2)
- (3) Obv. +/EĐELR/EDREXANGL Rev. From same die as no. 1
 British Museum (ex Lockett 653) (P1. XXIII, 3)
- (4) Obv. From same die as no. 3 Rev. +GODRINEMOSIĐE
 Hild. 3409 (P1. XXIII, 4)
- (5) Obv. +/EDELREDREXANGLO: Rev. +CIOLNOĐONSIĐESTEB: (P1. XXIII, 5)
- (6) Obv. +/EDELREDREXA·NGL·OR Rev. From same die as no. 5
 Hild. 3408 & B.M.C. 313
 (P1. XXIII, 6)

CNUT

Quatrefoil issue (Hild. $E = Brooke \ 2 = B.M.C.$ viii)

Sept. 1017-Sept. 1023

(7) Obv. +ENVTREXANGLORVM Rev. +LEOFFINEONSIDE Hild. 3194 & B.M.C. 514 (P1. XXIII. 7)

In the past these coins have been given to more than one mint. Hildebrand's suggestion was that SIDMES might indicate Sidmouth in Devon, and SIDESTEB Sidnaceaster, usually identified with the modern Caistor in Lincolnshire. Keary was no less cautious, but appears to give guarded assent to the former attribution.² The latter, on the other hand, he rejects completely, substituting, but again with a query, Sidbury in Devon. To Brooke must be given credit for having suggested, albeit tentatively, that SIDMES and SIDE(STEB) denote the same place, but he too accepted the queried attribution to Sidbury.³ It is obvious that any discussion of the problem is academic until it can be decided whether two mints are concerned or one, and it is here that the unique coin recently acquired by the National Collection from the Lockett Collection comes into its own.4 Since it supplies an obverse die-link between the signatures SIDE and SIDMES, we must accept that the two readings denote the same place, since there comes a point beyond which coincidence cannot be stretched.

Since style can be decisive in the attribution of coins of the two types with which we are concerned, we should perhaps begin by considering how the style or styles of the SID(M)ESTBURH coins accord with the identifications already proposed. As regards Æthelræd's "Last Small Cross" type we find that all five obverse dies belong to a regional grouping which, as a recent paper has demonstrated, is associated particularly with London.5 The odd die is admittedly found as far north as Lincoln, but on fewer than 3 per cent. of the coins of that mint. For all practical purposes "London" dies can be disregarded at every mint north of the Great Ouse, and it is inconceivable that a mint in Lindsey should have used exclusively "London" dies and not have employed even once a die of either of the two styles which are associated particularly with the mints of York and Lincoln. It is the same when we come to consider the single SIÐ(M)ESTBURH die of Cnut. Regional styles are probably even more pronounced in Cnut's "Ouatrefoil" type, and, although their ramifications have still to be worked out in the same detail for the whole country, enough is already known about them for us to be able to state categorically that the die in question belongs to a very localized grouping of which no example is found on or north of the Thames.

Of the three SID(M)ESTBURH moneyers it is worth remarking that their names are all purely Old English, being compounded in the normal way of recognized Old English elements. At Lincoln on the other hand we find that two in every three moneyers possess names that either are Scandinavian in origin or appear in a guise that would arouse immediate suspicion if purporting to be associated with a mint

¹ Op. cit., p. 500. However, a recent paper (B.N.J. xxvIII, i (1956), pp. 88-92) would suggest that by the tenth century the name was already CASTRE.

² B.M.C. A/S ii, p. cxviii.

³ English Coins, p. 75. 4 Lockett I, lot 653. 5 Dolley, "Some Reflections, etc.", cf. supra, p. 266, n. 1.

west of Watling Street. The evidence of other mints, too, must support our contention that it is unthinkable that there should be a mint in Anglia, let alone Lindsey, where not one of three moneyers

possessed a name betraying Scandinavian descent.

The coins of SID(M)ESTBURH then, are by moneyers whose names would be incongruous in a Danelaw setting, and from dies that are associated with quite a different part of the country from Lindsey. If this were not enough finally to dispose of the Sidnaceaster attribution, there is an obverse die-link with a mint in southern England, and this we think clinches the matter. We have of course re-examined the tentative B.M.C. attribution to Sidbury. Philologically the attribution is not attractive. The coins read clearly SID and not SID, and the deuterotheme in the place-name does not of necessity postulate the "borough" status usually associated with rights of minting. Indeed the evidence of Domesday is that Sidbury was *not* a borough, and the occurrence of the element "burh" in the name can be amply explained by prominent pre-Saxon earthworks in the immediate vicinity. Yet another historical argument against the equation SID(M)ESTBURH = Sidbury has emerged in the course of the discussion of the probable location of GOĐABURH. As we have seen, Devon is a county where there is special reason for thinking that the number of mints was restricted to four, and these are already accounted for by Exeter,

Lydford, Totnes, and Barnstaple.1

As we have seen, too, all the five "Last Small Cross" dies of Æthelræd II of SID(M)ESTBURH belong to a style that is predominantly associated with London. In contrast every Devon coin known to us in this type belongs to an equally characteristic stylistic grouping which is associated with Exeter. It could of course be argued that Sidbury is in eastern Devon and was not therefore amenable to the same rules-Watchet, for instance, by some quirk received a die cut at the same centre as supplied Oxford, Chester, and Gloucester—but the fact remains that the farthest west that a "London" die has been recorded is at Winchester, and even there only an odd die in a mint where two other styles account for virtually 99 per cent. of the coins. Moreover the one SID(M)ESTBURH obverse die of Cnut argues no less decisively against a West Country attribution. It belongs to a stylistic grouping which is more localized than most, and of which a neatly modelled hair-tie is the most easily discernible feature. Coins of this style are known to us from only three mints; Chichester where the style predominates, Lewes where it occurs on a small proportion of the coins only, and Guildford on the only coin of the type which in our opinion can be assigned to that mint with certainty. If it is objected that a stylistic argument must always to some extent be subjective, it can be replied that the association with Chichester is clinched in the most satisfactory manner possible. As was shown in a paper in the Numismatic Circular, B.M.C. 514 of Cnut (= Hild. 3194), a penny of Leofwine with mint-signature

SIDE, is from the same obverse die as a Chichester penny of Liofric in the English National Collection ex Evans ex a Swedish hoard (P1. XXIII, 8). Clearly, then, SID(M)ESTBURH is to be sought in the part of England south of the Thames and east of the Hamble, and

preferably not too far from Chichester itself.¹

In the "Last Small Cross" type of Æthelræd II the "London" style does not occur at Chichester, but at Lewes it is relatively common. Farther to the east, however, we find more and more coins of vet another style emanating from Canterbury. It is reasonable, therefore, to locate SID(M)ESTBURH somewhere between Lewes and Chichester, and if anything nearer to the former than the latter despite the dielink in the next type. At this point the numismatist must hand over to the philologist, and in a separate note Miss Daunt shows quite convincingly that the various forms of mint-signature found on the coins accord perfectly with the modern place-name Cissbury. The identification is one that is quite acceptable both on numismatic and on historical grounds.

In the first place there is evidence from elsewhere in southern England that towards the end of Æthelræd's reign certain vulnerable mints were being moved to the comparative safety of nearby Iron Age forts of which the defences were still reasonably intact. We have, for example, the Wilton mint transferred to Salisbury, and the Ilchester mint seeking the shelter of Cadbury.2 Whether or not Cissbury represents a similar transfer of an existing mint—and at present the balance of the evidence seems to be that it was a new creation though perhaps deriving nominal tradition from the Alfredian "lost" burgh at Burpham3—the fact remains that we may at last have an explanation of the sudden appearance out of the blue of the Steyning mint in Cnut's second type. Is Cissbury the precursor of Steyning in the same way that the latter may have been the precursor of Bramber? The suggestion is attractive, and Steyning would then stand in the same relationship to the hilltop fort as, say, Bruton to Cadbury. Those who have visited Cissbury will appreciate how little work would have been needed to put the defences into reasonable order, and the numismatist may perhaps be permitted to speculate on the possibility that the post-Roman remodelling of the gateway may have been executed in the eleventh century rather than the fifth. In any case we need not suppose that the fort was reoccupied in the

² Cf. R. H. M. Dolley, "The Sack of Wilton in 1003 and the Chronology of the Long Cross' and 'Helmet' types of Æthelræd II'', Nordisk Numismatisk Unions Medlemsblad, May 1954, pp. 152-6, and "The Emergency Mint of Cadbury", B.N.J. xxvIII, i (1956),

pp. 99-105.

3 Cf. A. J. Robertson, Anglo-Saxon Charters, p. 246.

4 Cf. F. Elmore Jones, "The Stephen Mint of BRAN...: A New Attribution", B.N.J. xxv, ii (1947), pp. 119-24.

 $^{^{\}text{I}}$ Although the name is a common one it can scarcely be dismissed as a coincidence that the name Leofwine found on the last coin of SID(M)ESTBURH occurs in the same type at the mint of Chichester with which SID(M)ESTBURH is die-linked. The evidence is surely that Leofwine removed to Chichester taking his obverse die with him and there remained even after the opening of the Steyning mint.

sense that new works were cut and solid palisades erected. To suit the ends of the local inhabitants it would have been sufficient that the place was still naturally strong enough to confer on the defenders an advantage sufficient to cancel out the man-to-man superiority of the Scandinavian raiders. One wonders indeed if actual minting operations were ever carried out within the ramparts themselves—it may well have been expedient to conduct them in the valley below whence the personnel could have taken shelter on a signal from watchers on the hill with its commanding views across the surrounding countryside as well as out to sea. However this may be, we believe that Miss Daunt's etymology of the modern name Cissbury is completely satisfying, and it is the suggestion of this paper that "the last burgh" is to be identified with the magnificent Iron Age earthwork which dominates the Downs above Worthing. Certainly the numismatic evidence points conclusively to the localization of SID(M)ESTBURH within that area, and we feel that it is now for the historian and archaeologist to prove or to disprove a suggestion that we would not have advanced if we had sensed fundamental disapproval on the part of scholars far more qualified to pass a final judgement. I

C. A PHILOLOGICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL NOTE ON CISSBURY

The coins described by Mr. Dolley and Mr. Elmore Jones in the article above show the readings SIÐMESB, SIÐESTEB, and a later SIÐE. The required mint would appear to be "east of Chichester and west of Lewes", and the moneyers concerned and the style of the coins support this area of Sussex as the site of the mint.

sīpest and sīpmest are regular Anglo-Saxon alternatives as the superlative of sīp, "late", so the mint would appear to have been referred to as "the last mint" which would be a good anonymous reference if marauding Danes were to be thrown off the scent. As these coins all date from the last years of Ethelred and the first of Canute this motive may have been important. On the other hand, it may have been a saxonization of an earlier name.

The first step towards identification of the mint must be a tracing of the phonological development of SIDESTB. This is the most important superlative form, which occurs most frequently in Anglo-Saxon texts; the phonetic value was $[si:\eth es(t)b-]$ which would very soon lose the t, since there was always a tendency to drop the middle consonant of three (cf. Christmas, handsome, handkerchief, &c.), the s between voiced sounds would be [z], so $[s\bar{s}i:\eth zb-]$ would be very soon

¹ There is one argument that could be adduced in support of Hildebrand's Sidnaceaster attribution that we admit that we have ignored, namely the existence in the British Museum Collection of a square-flan striking from genuine English dies which corresponds exactly to a similar square piece of Torksey in a recent Swedish hoard. The argument, however, is inconclusive, and, as we have seen, the case for Cissbury rests securely on arguments based on style, prosopography, and an obverse die-link which in combination seem irrefutable. These square-flan strikings, moreover, merit separate discussion, and it is hoped to publish a special study of them in the near future.

established; next $[\eth]$ would be assimilated to [z] (cf. O.E. blips = bliss) so [si:zb]. In late Anglo-Saxon or early Middle English long vowels were shortened before two consonants (if these were not certain lengthening groups, cf. ld, mb, &c.), so the next and last development should be [sizbəri] which, it is delightful to find, is the local pronunciation of Cissbury, the famous fortified hill "west of Lewes and east of Chichester".

The spelling Ciss-bury was invented by Camden in the late sixteenth century. He thought it could be connected with a Saxon chief Cissa who was also connected with Chichester. Whether Cissa had a hand in Chichester one cannot say, but he certainly had no part whatever in Cissbury since a Saxon ci would always give [t/i] not [si] (cf. child, chill, &c.). Putting aside possible references to Cissbury as the Old Byry (i.e. not Steyning) or on pisberh (Sussex Anglo-Saxon Charters, ed. Eric E. Barker, p. 150, where the p is clear in the manuscript), there are several good references with s, Sissabury (Speed) 1610, Sizebury (Gough's Camden) 1774, and a very curious form sieberie appears in a map of the south coast made in 1587 just before the coming of the Armada. The present writer has not yet succeeded in seeing the original map, and the facsimile edited by Mark Antony Lower, M.A., F.S.A., and published at Lewes in 1870 certainly has sieberie. This, however, could be a misreading of Sizberie and there is still hope of finding this form, at a pre-Camden date.

It remains to add a footnote on the suitability of Cissbury as a refugee mint. Apart from its commanding position over the approach up the Adur, and splendid fortifications from which a watch could be kept, from the point of view of minters wanting to keep silver safe no place could be better. The neolithic flint mines with their deep shafts and daylit, short galleries would make an ideal hiding place for silver and if necessary a shelter for the men. There is no need to suppose that they lived up on the down, or that the Danes ever approached it in force. They probably lived in the nearby village of Cissbury (possibly built for the purpose) and only went up to fetch metal. This would account for the absence of Saxon remains on the hill, but as many of the square hut-like sites have not been examined, and as the pottery so far found is claimed as Romano-British on grounds not altogether accepted by some experts, it seems that no evidence has come to light to make a Saxon mint on Cissbury unlikely.

THE STOCKBRIDGE DOWN FIND OF ANGLO-SAXON COINS

By R. H. M. DOLLEY

In part 3 of volume xiii of the Papers and Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society published in 1937, the late Dr. N. Gray Hill gave a most interesting and able account (pp. 247–59) of excavations carried out on Stockbridge Down outside Winchester in 1935-6. The excavations established beyond all reasonable doubt that the spot was a place of execution in late Saxon and/or Norman times, most authorities—Dr. Gray Hill included—inclining rather to the later dating. Mentioned in the report is the finding, apparently concealed in the armpit of one of the skeletons, of a piece of linen cloth in which were wrapped six silver pennies of Edward the Confessor. The report states that these were submitted for identification to the Department of Coins and Medals, and that they were attributed by Mr. Derek Allen to the last two or three years of the Confessor's reign. It is further stated that four had been struck by the Winchester moneyer "Anderbode", and two by the Winchester moneyer "Leofwine or Lifine", and it is clear that there was contemplated at the time a separate publication to satisfy the special requirements of the numismatist. The intervention of the war seems to have prevented this, and a further reason for publication now may be the fact that the find is not recorded in Mr. J. D. A. Thompson's monumental Inventory of British Coin Finds. That the find can still be published is due to the kindness of Mr. Derek Allen who has made available a manuscript list of the find which, by noting the die-links, has made possible a reconstruction of its exact composition, although two of the coins cannot now be traced.

The six coins may be listed as follows, those marked "BM" being in the British Museum, and that marked "WCM" in the City Museum at Winchester.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR (1042-66)

Pyramids Type (Brooke 10=B.M.C. XV=Hildebrand I=Hawkins 223)

I. Obv. EXDEXED REX Rev. +ANDRBODEONI (=B.M.C. 1504)
Weight: 19.0 gr. Dic-axis 90°. (Reverse legend begins at 2 o'clock.)

BM.

2. From the same dies as the preceding coin. Weight: 18.3 gr. Die-axis 90°. WCM.

From the same dies as the preceding coin. Weight, die-axis, and present whereabouts unknown.

4. Otv. EXDYXRD REX Rev. + ANDERBCDEONP (=B.M.C. 1502) Weight, die-axis and present whereabouts unknown.

5. Obv. EXDEXRDR Rev. +LIFINEONPINT (obv.=B.M.C. 1512) Weight: 17.8 gr. Die-axis 180°. BM.

6. Obv. EXDPARDRE Rev. +LIFINEONPINI
Weight: 18-7 gr. Die-axis o°. (Reverse legend begins at 1 o'clock.) BM.

The evidence of a large number of hoards, and notably Soberton

(Thompson 334) suggests that there were at this time only five Winchester moneyers, Ælfwine, Anderboda, Leofwold, Lifinc, and Spraceling, and to some extent the Stockbridge Down find provides corroboration of this. It will also reinforce the doubts of those who are unhappy concerning the attribution, however tentative, to Winchester of the penny of Godric with mint-signature PICNEH which occurred

in the Rotherham hoard (Thompson 318). The principal interest of the Stockbridge find, however, is that the deposit of the coins can be dated with considerable exactitude. There can be little doubt but that from the reform of Edward the Confessor which accompanied the abolition of the heregeld until the early part of the reign of Stephen, the type of the English coinage was changed triennially. The death of a king, however, necessitated an additional change of type, but the coins of his successor did not mark a new issue and were continued only until the expiry of three years from the introduction of the previous type which still remained current. Thus, a hoard like Soberton deposited soon after the accession of William the Conqueror is essentially a "one-issue" hoard, the coins, with one exception, having been struck for Edward, Harold, and William within a space of three years calculated from Michaelmas 1065. On the assumption that the type but not the issue was changed on the death of a king it is possible to reconstruct a triennial cycle running from 1050 until 1137 which utilizes the Brooke types, only running together classes VIII and XII of Henry I the reverses of which for practical purposes are indistinguishable. This slight adjustment seems a small price to pay for a pattern that is at once intelligible, consistent with what we know of Saxon and Norman administration, and in accordance with the evidence of the hoards. Until quite recently it has not been appreciated how many English—as opposed to Continental—finds of the late Saxon and Norman periods are composed substantially of coins of one or at most two issues, and here the present writer would like to put on record the fact that this phenomenon has been observed—and its implications understood—quite independently by Professor Sture Bolin of Lund, an achievement on the part of a foreign scholar that is the more remarkable when we consider the woeful inadequacy by modern standards of most of the printed hoard records for the late Saxon period.

As suggested elsewhere, Michaelmas is the most probable time for the type to have been changed, and it is interesting to see how well a change of type in late September 1065 accords with the evidence of the coins. It is generally admitted that the *Pyramids* type of Edward the Confessor is his last. The Soberton hoard alone would be almost

¹ Coins of this moneyer undoubtedly do read LIFINE, and hence their attribution to Leofwine. A spelling LEOF- or LIOF-, however, is never found, nor does the second element appear once as -PINE. In contrast the spelling LIFINC is often found with both round and square "c", and any remaining doubts are put to rest by a spelling LIFING with round "G" (B.M.C. 1489). On coins such as nos. 5 and 6 supra the final "E" must be considered either an aberration of the die-cutter or, perhaps more probably, a careless attempt at a square "G".

decisive, and there are also well-known mules not only with reverses of Harold II but even with one of William I. Nevertheless coins of the type are by no means common—and this despite the probability that the bulk of the coins of a given issue were struck in the months immediately after its inception. The Pyramids type is completely lacking from the Sedlescombe hoard (Thompson 327), presumably because it was that current at a time when frantic attempts were being made to conceal a parcel of bullion in the shape of demonetized coin which either was on its way to, or had been removed from, one or other of the Sussex mints. In the Chancton hoard (Thompson 81) which can be dated with confidence to October 1066, Pyramids type coins are outnumbered five to three by those of Harold II. In the Soberton hoard deposited early in the reign of the Conqueror they are outnumbered two to one. Only in the City hoard (Thompson 255) do they appear to have been present in very large numbers, and here the position is so confused that it would be dangerous to base arguments on the relative proportions in which the different types occur. For example, the virtual absence of Facing Small Cross coins of the Confessor could mean that two distinct hoards have become inextricably confused, but just as plausibly it might be argued that a single hoarder had shrewdly rejected as far as practicable an issue struck on a weight standard notably lower than those which came before and

For one triennial issue calculated from Michaelmas to have embraced parts of the reigns of the Confessor and of the Conqueror, this issue must have begun either in September 1064 or in September 1065. The earlier date, however, seems precluded by the comparative rarity of coins of Edward's last type, and also by the fact that coins of William I's first type are more common—despite the absence of major hoards apart from Soberton—than would seem consistent with their having been current for only ten months. Conversely a very limited duration of Edward's last type seems indicated by the fact that no Pyramids coins are known from a number of mints, and also by the complete absence of the type from the Rotherham hoard. The National Collection, too, affords in this case a very fair indication of comparative rarity, and in 1893 contained substantially fewer coins of Edward's last type than of Harold II. Admittedly Harold may have been anxious to issue as much coin as possible for propaganda purposes, but under Edward between September 1065 and January 1066 the mints had been engaged on the important task of producing sufficient coin to enable the Facing Small Cross issue to be effectively demonetized. This operation had been foreseen and provided against, but the dies needed for Harold's coinage could not well have begun to be cut before Edward's death so that it is unlikely that they can have reached the mints in substantial quantities before Lady Day 1066. Whether the mints had been idle since Christmas is an open question, and one not likely to be solved in the present state of our knowledge. What does seem established is the probability amounting

almost to certainty that *Pyramids* type coins of Edward were not put into circulation before the end of September 1065, that their issue on any scale was confined to a matter of months, and that they were not

demonetized until September 1068.

Prima facie, therefore, the possessor of the Stockbridge coins that are the subject of this note was executed not earlier than the autumn of 1065. At this point we may recall Mr. Blunt's remark concerning a group of coins in another Hampshire hoard, namely that "coins that are so strongly die-linked can only recently have left their places of issue". The fact that no fewer than three of the coins should be from one pair of dies would in itself suggest that they had not long been current, and taken in conjunction with the absence of coins of Harold argues strongly for their owner having been put to death before the summer of 1066. Michaelmas 1065 and midsummer 1066 seem therefore the most probable limits within which this particular Stockbridge burial is to be dated, and if only we could be certain that there was a complete cessation of *Pyramids* coinage upon Edward's death the bracket could be narrowed very considerably. As it is, there is a strong presumption that Winchester was one of the first mints to strike coins with Harold's name, and were it not for an inference based on the coins and Domesday that by 1065 all dies were supplied from London, one would not hesitate to assume that Harold dies were in use at Winchester within a matter of weeks from his coronation. Consequently the numismatist would tend to favour for the Stockbridge burial a date before rather than after Christmas 1065, and at the other end of the bracket would prefer to place the deposit at least a few weeks after the introduction of the Pyramids type inasmuch as the evidence of other small finds of this century is that there was normally a short period of grace when two types could circulate together.

The numismatist, then, would incline to the view that the coins were buried with the corpse of a felon executed in the late autumn of 1065. The position of the coins suggests that they had been concealed by the criminal on his person before his execution, and it would have been natural for a condemned man to seek to cheat the hangman of his plunder. On the other hand there is the interesting possibility that the coins had been suspended around his neck as the subject of the charge on which he had been condemned. This was certainly a practice in medieval Scandinavian society, and the explanation would meet admirably the presence in one of the graves of the head of a sheep.² In the case of the coins, however, there are difficulties that are perhaps decisive. In the first place the Stockbridge victims do not appear to have been gibbeted, the normal method of execution

 $^{^{\}rm I}$ For example, a small hoard from Nottingham (Thompson —) discussed in N.C. 1956, pp. 295–7.

The writer is most grateful for information on this point to Dr. Nils Ludvig Rasmusson. As argued below, however, the practice is only really appropriate where the felon is suspended with his breast at least on a level with the eyes of the onlookers, i.e. when the condemned man is hanged and not beheaded or throttled.

appearing to have been decapitation or a crude method of garrotting inflicted while the subject lay or knelt. In the second place the hands of the victim appear to have been tied behind his back before execution, and the body to have been buried with the hands still tied. It is difficult to see how the coins could have slipped from a prominent position on the chest into the armpit once the hands had been tightly strapped, nor is it *prima facie* probable that so intrinsically valuable a symbol of guilt would not have been recovered before the corpse was committed to the grave. The coins, too, had been wrapped in a piece of cloth, and thus their nature would not have been patent to the onlookers as would have been the case if they had been contained in an obvious purse or pierced and threaded on a cord.¹

¹ Miss Rosalind Hill, M.A. of Westfield College, London, has been kind enough to read through the typescript of this note, and the following comment may seem to endorse the

arguments put forward in this last paragraph:

"I was working with my brother on the day when the coins were found. They were tucked in between the bone of the upper arm and the ribs—I remember my brother's suggesting that the man had stuck the roll of linen with wax to the hairs in his armpit so that it wouldn't be found. I do not think that it could possibly have slipped into that position if it had been suspended round his neck. Moreover, the coins were tightly wrapped up in a strip of linen rather like a modern finger bandage, and there didn't seem to be any trace of a string or thong by which they could have been tied on. We noticed first a slight green metallic stain on the inside of the arm-bone, where corrosion from the metal had worked through the cloth, and this rather suggested that the man had been buried with his arm closely pressed to his side, enclosing the linen roll in his armpit. The linen was of a rough but fairly close weave, rather like the unbleached 'Russian crash' on which I used to do cross-stitch as a child...."

A NOTE ON THE TRANSITION BETWEEN TYPES I AND II OF THE PENNIES OF EDWARD I

By G. L. V. TATLER

For some time the writer has become increasingly dissatisfied with the principles which appear to govern the distinction drawn between certain coins usually given to Group Id of the Fox classification and others normally assigned to Group II. The coins here illustrated by



Fig. 1.

enlargements may seem to speak for themselves. To take first two Canterbury coins in the writer's collection (Fig. 1, a and b), we are bound by the Fox classification to place them under Group II, but this does not prevent us remarking on a number of features which are proper to Id. Indeed, if the form of the crown had been that of Id, there can be little doubt but that the coins would be accepted as belonging to Id. Incidentally the pieces in question bear a very close

Types I and II of the Pennies of Edward I 289 likeness to the identical coin illustrated by the Fox brothers as Plate IX. 28 in the 1913 Journal, and there considered to be a Id/II mule, and here illustrated as figure (c).

The suggestion of the writer is that these coins and other comparable pieces are to be distinguished as intermediate between Groups I and II. The general characteristics of this new variety may be summarized as follows. The crown is "dainty", and the band is thinnish, while the ornaments between the fleurs are spearheads. Normally the dexter side of the central fleur will be found to be broken, cf. infra, fig. 3c. The broad face has more affinities with Id than with II, but is not quite so square as on most specimens of Id, though it is not nearly so V-shaped as is the case on true coins of Group II. The head, too, rests very close to the drapery, and noticeably low as regards the inner circle. The letter "N" need not be reversely barred.

At one time the Fox borthers suggested that such coins were mules,

At one time the Fox brothers suggested that such coins were mules, old obverse dies having been sent to Canterbury and York by accident, but later by design to use up old stock. The writer after studying many coins of the period in the National Collection and elsewhere must put on record the fact that he has only seen one example of the York coin, the coin which was in the Fox brothers' collection, and which is now in the possession of Mr. C. E. Blunt, by whose kind permission it has been again illustrated for this paper—and that until now he has been able to see only two examples, from different dies, of the alleged Id/II mule at Canterbury, both of them as it happens in his own collection (supra, Fig. 1, a and b). In marked contrast, examples of the alleged mule are extremely common of London. It is the submission of this note that they are to be considered true coins if only because of the frequency with which they occur at London, while the fact that more than one die is known from Canterbury surely rules out the possibility of the odd die being sent there by At one time the Fox brothers suggested that such coins were mules, surely rules out the possibility of the odd die being sent there by accident.

accident.

Nor is the writer convinced that in the present state of our knowledge it is possible scientifically to draw a distinction between the reverses of Group I and those of Group II.³ Thus, the alleged Id/II coins could just as well be true Id coins—except that this would vitiate the chronological basis of Group II which the Fox brothers so rightly associate with the opening of the provincial mints. It is true that all coins with normally barred "N" belong either to Id or to the new class which we are postulating, but this does not mean that all coins with reversely barred "N" belong to Group II, far from it. Nobody would be more pleased than the present writer if it should

I B.N.J. vol. vii, 1911, p. 20. 2 N.J. viii, 1911, p. 20. 2 N.J. viii. 1911, p. 20. 3 N.J. viii. 1911, p. 20. 3 N.J. viii. 1911 is of the opinion that the reverses of Groups Id and II can, if at all, only be distinguished by their general appearance. The reverse of II shows a bolder and somewhat rougher appearance than that of Id. This is particularly shown in the letter IC "which is made up of a crescent and two wedges. The "C" in Group Id has a hair line closing the letter IC" on the reverse of Group II appears rougher and the inner serifs of the wedges are longer and more pointed and often join one another—IC.

prove possible to establish an epigraphical distinction between Group I and Group II, but at present he must confess that it has eluded him,



FIG. 2.

though of course there are minor tendencies which are occasionally

suggestive but never conclusive.

Since, therefore, it is clear that many of the same punches were used indiscriminately for the lettering of Groups I and II, the distinction between the classes must lie with the obverse—unfortunately the transition was not marked by any change in weight, purity, or

even size of flan. As a basis for discussion the writer here illustrates enlargements of what he believes will be accepted as classic examples of Id and II respectively (Fig. 2, a and f), and between them he has set three examples of intermediate coins of London (Fig. 2, c, d, and e). We are now in a position to analyse the different elements of the portrait which essentially is composed of four elements, the crown, the hair, the face, and the drapery. With the hair and drapery we are not in fact concerned, and our interest centres on the puncheons used for the crown and for the face.



The crown proper to Id is unmistakable, but for comparative purposes is drawn out as Fig. 3a. One detail that does not seem to have found its way into print, though conversation with other students of the series suggests that it has not gone unnoticed, is that on some coins the ornaments between the fleurs are not consistent, a pearl taking the place of one of the spearheads. This is drawn in Fig. 3b, and illustrated in Fig. 2b, and at present the writer would consider such coins as coming late in the Id issue. There is no shaping of the band to take the ornaments, and the writer would follow Jacob in regarding all coins with a shaped band as belonging to Group II. Indeed, if there is any single criterion marking off Group Id from II it is this. The crown of the writer's suggested new variety, on the other hand, is shaped to the ornaments as in Fig. 3c, and it has this feature in common with the otherwise rather different crown used on the undisputed Group II coins which is here drawn as Fig. 3d.

Reference to Fig. 2, however, will show that the face of (b) and that of (d) betray marked resemblances, and it is the writer's view that the iron used on certain late coins of Group Id was used for the great majority of the coins of his new variety of Group II. However, the face of (c) shows a marked resemblance to that on most coins of Group Ic. For the sake of completeness, there is illustrated as (e) a coin which has the crown of the new variety but a chubby face.

It is interesting to note, too, that the same irons are used for the hair on coins of both Id and II, and like the irons of the Id face used on our new variety of II must have been prepared under the direction of Hugh FitzOtho and surrendered to William de Tournemire. This

¹ The writer has noticed a Group Ic specimen in the National Collection with a spearhead ornament on the dexter side and the ornament on the sinister side somewhat damaged but probably being another spearhead.

is consistent with performance of the instructions to FitzOtho that he should hand over the *utensilia* of his office.

The shaped crown, at first often with faulty fleur, would seem, therefore, to present William de Tournemire's first essay at sinking dies on his own account, and at first he employed a number of the puncheons inherited from his predecessor. As Type II progressed, however, he prepared a new crown puncheon and a new puncheon for the face. He also became absolutely consistent in his use of reversely barred "N". It is suggested that this picture accords admirably with probability. A major recoinage was in process, and it could not well have been held up to allow of Tournemire's preparation of an entirely new set of irons, but on the other hand it was necessary that there should be from the first a "difference" to enable his coins—and also his dies—to be distinguished from those of his predecessors.

For these reasons, the writer would like to suggest that his new variety be considered as belonging technically to Group II and not to Group Id. Admittedly they are transitional between the two classes, but placing them under II not only retains the criterion of the shaped crown—tentatively here ascribed to Tournemire as a deliberate "difference"—but reconciles the existence of the variety at Canterbury and York with the historical records. Type II is one of the very few classes which the Fox brothers did not subdivide in their 1917 paper, and it is submitted that the coins discussed above warrant a division into IIa—our new variety—and IIb. Under the latter heading come all the coins of which the attribution to Group II is uncontroversial.

There is one little detail which perhaps deserves mention. At one time or another a few coins have been classified as IIId/II mules, and the writer would like to suggest that some of them should now be re-examined. Not only do many IIa coins have "N" barred in the normal fashion on the obverse, but superficially IIa obverses can seem, and especially on a rubbed coin, considerably nearer to IIId than to IIb. It is even possible that coins hitherto classified as true IIId may prove, when scrutinized again, to belong to IIa—we must not forget that the condition of many Edward pennies from major hoards leaves much to be desired and that the volume of some of these finds means that those charged with their publication have had to work very rapidly. In conclusion the writer would like to express his obligation to the kindness of Mr. R. H. M. Dolley of the British Museum who has given up much of his time to a discussion of the points raised, who suggested publication in this form, and who helped with the preparation of a typescript for the printer.

¹ The writer feels that when in January 1280 William de Tournemire assumed the responsibility of preparing the dies, he employed many puncheons from the Group Id coinage, but also found it necessary to employ the puncheon of the face of Group Ic. We know that Groups Ic and Id were minted contemporaneously, and it is an interesting fact that the puncheons and dies were kept so well apart that except for a single Ic/Id mule and a single Id/Ic mule in the National Collection no combinations of the different features of the two classes are to be found on the same coin, except in the case of the writer's new variety of Group II which shows clearly the faces of Group Ic and Group Id shown on the same type of coin, but with lettering of Group Id and a new crown common to both.

APPENDIX A

For the masterly account of the Montrave hoard published in his monumental *Coinage* of Scotland, Burns was indeed fortunate in having before him at one time no fewer than 363 coins which can be identified as belonging to Fox Groups I and II. They are here set out in accordance with the writer's own classification, and it is hoped that the subjoined comparison of the two arrangements will prove suggestive.

Burns			G.L.V.T.			
			IA	London	2	
A 1 London	59	(two with Lombardic n)	Ic	,,	57	
A 2 ,,	18	(two with annulets)	I_{D}	,,	23	(5 as fig. 3b)
A 3 ,,	25		IIA		81	125 as fig. 3c
A 4 ,,	61	(five with pellets)	IIA	"	01	56 as fig. 3d
Canterbury	I			Canterbury	I	
A 5 London	106		IIB	London	106	
Bristol	42			Bristol	42	
Canterbury	12			Canterbury	12	
Durham	14			Durham	14	
York	25			York	25	

The writer is indebted to Mr. C. E. Blunt in whose possession the Fox collection now lies. He has informed the writer that the late Mr. Shirley-Fox did, subsequent to the publication with his brother of his paper, seek to distinguish a sub-type within type Id which he used to call "broad" and "narrow faced". The latter specimen is noted as having a broken fleur in the middle of the crown.

A FIND OF PENCE OF EDWARD I AND II AT NEATH ABBEY

By R. H. M. DOLLEY

In November 1956, in the course of work on Neath Abbey in Glamorganshire, two men employed by the Ancient Monuments Division of the Ministry of Works discovered a small hoard of 83 silver coins of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The hoard was found in the Western Range of the monastic buildings, roughly two feet down in the filling of the vault which formed the first floor. The coins lay near the north wall, and in a cache formed by four stones, the floor paving-stone presumably having acted as the lid. Subsequently another 17 coins of exactly the same period were recovered from the filling of the vault, and there can be little doubt but that they had originally formed part of the same hoard. They are distinguished, however, by

an asterisk in the list of the coins appended to this note.

The two finders at once reported their discovery, and there is every reason to suppose that the 100 coins recovered represent substantially the whole hoard as concealed. With the consent of the National Museum of Wales they were submitted for expert examination to the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum, and the present writer would like to take this opportunity of expressing his obligations to Mr. O. E. Craster, T.D., F.S.A., Inspector of Ancient Monuments for Wales, and to Dr. H. N. Savory, F.S.A., Keeper of the Department of Archaeology at the National Museum of Wales, for generous permission to publish here and in this form a find of which the historical significance seems far in excess of the commercial value of the coins. Once again, too, he has the pleasant duty of acknowledging the assistance of Mr. F. Elmore Jones in the arrangement and classification of the hoard.

The find was duly reported to Her Majesty's Coroner for the area, Mr. I. E. Cameron, and at an inquest held at Neath on 20 December 1956 a verdict of Treasure Trove was returned. The coins have been acquired by the National Museum of Wales, their full market value

having been paid to the two finders as the customary reward.

The 100 coins do not appear to have suffered appreciably since their concealment, but the majority evidence considerable wear before deposit, and it is very noticeable that, with a few exceptions, the older coins are also the lighter. The latest coins are of the variety which the Fox brothers distinguished as type XVc, and this suggests very strongly that the deposit should be dated as late as possible in the reign of Edward II, and the fact that some of the Class XV coins are clearly circulated argues for a date not earlier than 1325, and conceivably some months later. Attention should also be drawn to the comparatively small number of coins struck before the great recoinage of 1300, and this is in marked contrast to the picture presented by certain

other hoards—Bootham being the most recent—where coins from the period 1279–84 form a very appreciable element. From this it may be inferred that the Neath coins were not hoarded over a considerable period, but represent a sample of the money actually in currency at the time when the hoard was concealed. That they were hidden in haste and without considered preparation may seem further indicated by the absence of a formal container. The usual domestic hoard of this period is contained in a pipkin or metal pot, and some trace of a box even might have been expected to survive. The presence, too, of stones lining the cache suggests that at best the coins were wrapped in a piece of cloth before concealment, another pointer to the hoard having been hidden in haste and without deliberation.

The coins are all pence or sterlings, and may be listed as follows. (They were weighed, incidentally, before chemical cleaning, and thus the weights if anything err, albeit insignificantly, on the high side.)

ENCLAND

	ENGLAND		
	EDWARD I		
Mint of Berwick-on-Tweed			
Blunt, N.C. (1931), pp. 28–52	Class IIIa Class IVb	18·72 gi 22·18	. I
Mint of Bristol			
Fox, N.C. (1917), pp. 279–97	Class IXb with star without star	20·73, 20·53 21·05	2 I
Mint of Bury St. Edmunds (Abb Fox, Class Xc	atial)	21.53, 21.14	2
Mint of Canterbury (King and A	(xchhichoh)		
Fox, Class IIIc Class IIIg Class IVa-c Class IVd Class IXb (without star) Class Xb Class Xc 21.8	3*, 21·65, 21·61*, 21·495, 20·96, 20		1 2 3 1 2 2
Mint of Durham (Episcopal)			
	Bishop de Insula		
Fox, Class IIIc		21.30	ī
Class IIIg	Bishop Bek	21.46	I
Class IXb (without star?) Class Xc		21·16 21·97, 20·47	I 2
		== 5/, == 	
Mint of Lincoln Fox, Class IIIc		21.08	I
Mint of London			
Fox, Class II		20.67	I
Class III <i>b</i> Class III <i>c</i>		19•91 20•85	I

296 A Find of Pence of Edu	ward I and II at Neath Abbey
Class IV a and b	21·23, 20·27, 19·66, 17·29* 4
Class IV c	20.40 I
Class VIII	20.97
Class IXb (with star)	21.45, 21.31, 21.00
(without star)	21·70 I
Class Xa/IX mule	21·03 I
Class Xb/IX mule Class Xc , $22\cdot 36, 22\cdot 16$	20·57 I 5, 22·05, 21·85, 21·71, 21·61, 21·22, 21·15,
21:04.	20.86, 20.72, 20.57, 20.46*, 19.95, 19.12
Mint of York (Royal)	20 00, 20 /2, 20 3/, 20 40 , 29 33, 29 22 23
Fox, Class II	TE.ET ar T
Class IIId?	15·51 gr. 1 21·31* 1
Class IXb (without star)	20.28
	llate fing setated in habital and casel solve.
	DWARD II
Mint of Bury St. Edmunds (Abbatial)	the fill graphor manufact and and the
Fox, Class XIV	21.85
Class XVc	21·67 I
Mint of Canterbury (King and Archbis	hop)
Fox, Class XIa	20.94, 20.78
Class XIb/c mule	21.50* 1
Class XIII	21·53 I
Class XVa and b	22.03*, 21.39
Class XVc	21.82
Mint of Durham (Episcopal)	
	nop Kellawe
Fox, Class XIb	23.15*, 19.69
	op Beaumont
Fox, Class XIV	19.87
Class XVb	19.55 1
Class XVc	23.36, 21.81 2
Mint of London	
Fox, Class XIa	21.65, 20.60
Class XIa/b mule	21.43
Class XIb	22.53, 21.22, 20.96* 3
Class XIV	20·03 I
Class XVa Class XVc	21·77 I 20·73 I
	13
	RELAND
	EDWARD I
Mint of Dublin	
Dolley, $B.N.J.$ (1955), pp. 158–9, Clas	s I 21.83 I
SC	COTLAND
	XANDER III
Mint of Berwick-on-Tweed?	
Burns, Coinage of Scotland, Group II,	class ii (cf. fig. 169) 21·42 1
FI	LANDERS
	BERT DE BETHUNE
Mint of Alost	DELL DE DELLOID
A. Charles J. Taritation J. Mr.	Tota Fotoville no so Image I

As Chautard, Imitations des Monnaies au Type Esterlin, no. 12

17.73

LORRAINE Temp. DUKE FERRY IV?

As Chauta u, no. 199 [\$\frac{1}{2}1. XXV, 16]

17.63

For the numismatist the most significant piece is the anonymous sterling from Lorraine. In the past there has been considerable controversy concerning the date and occasion of these pieces, and we may recall that Chautard wished to associate this coin with the episcopacy at Toul of Thomas de Bourlemont. Thomas, however, did not become bishop until 1330, and we have already seen that none of the English coins appear to be as late. Indeed, 1327 would seem to be the most plausible terminus ante quem for the English portion of the hoard. Already Sir George Macdonald has drawn attention to the anomaly presented by the occurrence of a comparable piece (Chautard, no. 197) in the Lochmaben hoard (Thompson 239, cf. N.C. (1905), p. 82), and again very similar pieces were present in the great Boyton find (Thompson 51). Even more decisive that these "enigmatic" coins of Toul are to be associated with a period at least a decade before the consecration of Thomas de Bourlemont is the fact that they occur in the Tutbury hoard (Thompson 363) which, pace Thompson, must surely represent Thomas of Lancaster's treasure-chest lost in the debacle of Boroughbridge. What is certain is that the presence of Chautard, no. 199, in the new hoard from Neath cannot be adduced as evidence that the hoard must have been deposited after c. 1330. The sterling in question is certainly not later than the latest English coins which in this case alone are relevant to the date and occasion of the deposit.

These latest English coins belong to the Fox Classes XVa, b, and c, and in his classic paper on the Boyton hoard (N.C. (1936), pp. 115-55) Mr. Derek Allen has argued very cogently that there is reason to believe that the issue of Class XVc may have begun not later than 1324. Equally 1329 must be regarded as an absolute terminus ante quem for the Neath find, while earlier in this note it has been suggested that 1327 is more probable. As we have seen, too, the Neath coins of Class XVc show clear traces of circulation, while the hoard as a whole smacks of currency rather than savings. Nor can we overlook the fact that the circumstances of the concealment, and especially the absence of a formal container, point strongly to haste and improvisation. Only one other hoard of this period has been reported from South Wales, the 1840 Swansea hoard from Temple Street (Thompson 348, cf. N.C. (1840), pp. 60-61), but this was contained in a clay vessel, and appears to have been substantially earlier though Thompson's dating c. 1290-1300? must be modified, inasmuch as the presence of a coin of Berwick argues for a date at least as late as 1296, and probably as late as 1298. In the case of the Neath Abbey coins, on the other hand, there does seem one very obvious occasion for their concealment. In November 1326 the unhappy Edward II was a hunted fugitive in Glamorgan, and on the 16th of that month was taken prisoner actually at Neath.

This is not to claim that the hoard may have belonged to one of his wretched following, as there may well have been others quite unconnected with Edward II who thought it prudent to divest themselves of a proportion of their ready money at a time when a general hue and cry brought armed men prying into every corner of the neighbourhood. On the other hand, the numismatist would be blind to history who did not suggest that there is almost certainly some connexion between the overthrow of Edward II and the hundred silver coins that have come to light beneath the ruins of Neath Abbey.

THE HEAVY GROATS OF HENRY VI

By w. J. w. POTTER

I have recently had occasion to check over that part of the series of articles on the heavy coinage of Henry VI by the late Mr. C. A. Whitton which deals with the groats of Calais, London, and York (B.N.J. vol. xxiii).



Henry V type VI

Henry VI type A7

Henry VI type Bı

It might be thought difficult to add anything new and of value to this very detailed work, much less to suggest any improvement, and in general I would agree with this view. Nevertheless, I am sure that Mr. Whitton did not desire to claim finality for his work, and there are one or two points concerning the early issues on which I would like to comment.

Annulet issue. It is surprising to me that Mr. Whitton should not have mentioned the most obvious division of this coinage, namely the old and young busts, but the fact is that the early coins have the rather stern-looking bust with wide forehead which appeared on the mullet groats of Henry V, while the others have a new young bust with oval, smiling face, and prominent arched eyebrows.

The change apparently took place both at the Tower and at Calais

during the currency of the following arrangement:

Cross II both sides, ANGL', nothing on breast, broken E, as this is found with both busts. The new bust was probably introduced some time in 1425, and was the work of the engraver Gilbert of Brandenburg. The rare York coins, which were struck in the autumn of 1423, naturally have the old bust.

The full classification which I suggest for the Annulet coinage is as

follows:1

A. Old Bust as Henry V:

- I. Cross I b.s., ANGLIE, fleur on breast (RR).
- 2. Cross II b.s., ,, fleur on breast.
- 3. " " " fleur on breast, broken R.

¹ An illustration of the various crosses appears on p. 308.

- 4. Cross II b.s., ANGLIE, nothing on breast, broken R. ANGL', nothing on breast, broken R.
- 6. nothing on breast, broken R and E. ,,
- nothing on breast, broken E. 7. ,,

B. Young Bust:

I. Cross II b.s., ANGL', nothing on breast, broken E.

nothing on breast, no broken letters.

3. Cross II/V, nothing on breast, trefoils to left of crown and after POSVI, one annulet on reverse.

CALAIS (all types). Annulets beside bust, after POSVI, and in two quarters of reverse. Saltire stops.

RR Varieties: A2a, A4a, B1a, B2a—No annulets in reverse quarters. A7a—No annulet after POSVI.

Mules: Annulet B2/Rosette with (R) and without mascle before LA.

London (Types A1-7, B1-2). Annulets after POSVI and in two reverse quarters. Saltire stops. Bar to copula.

Varieties: None reported.

Mules: Annulet B2/Rosette with and without mascle before LON, also without rosette after DON. Also Calais A3/London A3.

YORK (Type A2). Lis beside bust, annulets after POSVI and in two quarters of reverse. Saltire stops.

The varieties A7a and B1a of Calais are not mentioned by Mr.

Whitton but are in my collection.

As regards the type B₃ groats of Calais, with trefoils to left of crown and after POSVI, this was an exceptional issue not in the regular series, as apart from the fact that it was confined to the Calais mint, all mules with the rosette issue have B2 obverses. A mule is known, however, with B2 obverse and B3 reverse.

Rosette issue. There is no sharp division which can be made in these coins as in the annulets, as the young bust is used throughout, but I think that it will help to set out a classification putting in their proper order of importance and appearance the different initial crosses and the various arrangements of obverse stopping which, in Mr. Whitton's list, are all given equal status:

I. Crosses II/V: Obv. Rosette stops, with mascle after REX.

Rev. Saltires, with rosettes after POSVI and SIE, or DON, and mascle before LA, or LON.

Varieties of obverse stopping:

(a) All saltires.

Known without mascle on (b) All saltires, mascle in 2 spandrils of tressure.

(c) Saltires, mascle after HENRIC (ends FRAND').

(d) Saltires, rosettes either side of REX.
(e) Saltires, rosettes after HENRIC, mascle after GRA.
(f) As (e) but rosettes either side of copula (some have HENRIE).

(g) All rosettes.

(h) Rosettes, mascle after GRA.

(i) As (h), but saltires either side of copula.

2. Crosses IIIa/V: As I.

Variety: (a) Mascle after GRA instead of REX.

3. Crosses IIIb/V: As I. (One die has HENRI.)

CALAIS: All types as above. Mules: Rosette 2/Pinecone.

London: Type 1, and variety (f), Type 2 and varieties (b) Mascle after LON,

(c) Mascle instead of rosette after DON, (d) Mascle before TAS instead of before LON.

Mules: Rosette 2/Pinecone.

As in the annulet classification, I have followed Mr. Whitton in calling the London groats with all saltire stops and copula with bar on the obverse, mules of the annulet/rosette coinages, as he rightly points out that in the Calais coins, where the annulet issue is distinguished from the rosette by the annulets beside the bust, all the latter coins have copula without bar. Nevertheless, it is very curious that these so-called mules are, in fact, the least scarce of all the London rosette groats. Of the nine in the British Museum no less than five are of the mule type, but even this is, I think, less than the normal average.

Pinecone issue. This is a simpler issue than the two previous coinages as there are few varieties other than the two initial crosses, and many of these, in view of their scarcity, are probably ordinary die-sinking errors. During the currency of the issue, Gilbert of Brandenburg gave place to Orewell as graver, and this change is no doubt responsible for the deterioration in the engraving of the bust punches and their placing, which is apparent in the later coins.

Here is the suggested classification:

CALAIS: Obv. Pinecones after HENRIC, DI, GRA, mascle after REX, saltires either side of copula.

Rev. Saltires, pinecones after POSVI and DON, mascle before LA.

1. Crosses Illa/V. Varieties (a) No pinecone after POSVI.

(b) No pinecone after SIE. (c) King's name HENIC.

2. Crosses IIIb/V. Varieties (a) Town spelt VIV/LA.

(b) King's name HENRC. (c) King's name HENIC.

Mules: Pinecone 1/Annulet B2 or Rosette.

Pinecone 2/Leaf-Mascle, nothing after POSVI.

Pinecone 2/Leaf-Trefoil, reverses 1, 2. See the respective classifications,

Pinecone 2/Trefoil, reverses 2, 4.

LONDON: As Calais, with pinecone after DON, mascle before LON.

1. Crosses IIIa/V. Varieties (a) Mascle after TAS instead of before LON.

(b) TOS for TAS in normal legend.

2. Crosses IIIb/V. Varieties (a) Mascle before TAS instead of LON.

(b) TOS for TAS in normal legend.(c) No mascle in reverse legend.

(d) No mint-mark on reverse.

Mules: Pinecone 1/rosette normal.

A curious point regarding the mules between these three coinages is that there are no rosette/annulets known either of London or Calais, whereas there are quite a few pinecone/annulets of Calais. I will not attempt an explanation of this, but it could scarcely have been an error on the part of the coiners, and certainly not a chance happening, as more than one reverse die is concerned. In fact, the four British Museum specimens are from four different reverse dies.

Dates of issue and totals of bullion coined. Mr. Whitton does not mention the corroborating evidence for his dates of the various issues which is to be found in the tables of bullion coined at the Tower which he reproduces from the figures published by Miss E. Stokes in Num. Chron. 1929. Between 1422 and 1436 there are four final dates other than Michaelmas, the normal end of the mint year, namely, 20.4.1427, which might well mark the end of the annulet coinage, 31.3.1430 for the rosettes, 26.6.1434 for the pinecones, and 24.6.1435 for the leafmascle. Later dates do not coincide with those chosen by Mr. Whitton, but this is possibly due to the fact that the divisions that have been made for convenience of identification do not all correspond with those made by the mintmasters for accounting purposes.

With regard to the amounts of bullion coined at Calais as given by Ruding and Walters to which Mr. Whitton refers, I agree that there is no need to take the limiting dates as being those of the annulet, rosette, and pinecone coinages at that mint, as these were probably more or less the same as those at the Tower, except for the date of opening of the mint, which is unknown. I do think, however, that the

first two pairs of totals given, namely:

 Silver: 25.2.1424 to 31.1.1428
 . 67,745 lb.

 20.2.1428 to 3.8.1431
 . 89,660 lb.

 Gold: 24.1.1424 to 24.12.1427
 . 2,834 lb.

 20.5.1428 to 2.8.1431
 . 361 lb.

might well be those of the annulet and rosette coinages at Calais, in spite of the two points Mr. Whitton makes against this view. Summarized, these are: the annulet coinage at Calais must have started before January or February 1424, as we know that the London coinage, which was much smaller, started early in 1423 (indenture of 16.2.1423 with Bartholomew Goldbeter). Further, the silver total must have been much more than 67,745 lb. seeing that the surviving annulet coins are at least four times as common as the rosettes.

To answer these points before explaining my reasons for the suggestion I have advanced, I would say firstly that Walters gives the commencing date for the first amount as 1423, but in any case we do not know the date of the opening of the Calais mint, though it would appear to have been shortly after that of the Tower, to judge by the varieties of each coinage known. Secondly, the comparative plenty of surviving specimens of the annulet and rosette coinages really has nothing to do with the amounts originally circulated, but is due mostly to the chance composition of several large hoards of these coins which have come to light.

My reason for thinking that these amounts may represent the annulet and rosette coinages of Calais is based upon a point which appears to have been hitherto overlooked. In the Tables of Bullion Coined, already referred to, we find the following entries in the Remarks column under the London gold of Henry VI:

Mich. 4 Hen. VI (1426) to Easter, 5 Hen. VI (1427)—Payment to Brandeburgh for engraving 2713 dies for gold and silver coinage at Calais.

Mich. 7 Hen. VI (1429) to 31 Mar. 8 Hen. VI (1430)—ditto for 1405 dies for the silver coinage at Calais.

31 Mar. 8 Hen. VI (1430) to Mich. 10 Hen. VI (1432)—ditto for 2187 dies for the silver coinage of Calais.

On the assumption that the first number of dies, i.e. 2,713, were for the annulet coinage, which was brought to an end in April 1427, we have 3,592 dies for the rosette coinage. Taking this number first, as being the less controversial of the two, and also as applying solely to the silver coinage, we divide it into obverse and reverse dies on the normal basis of one obverse to three reverse, giving us 898 obverse and 2,694 reverse dies. 898 obverse dies for 89,660 lb. of silver, gives the very convenient figure of almost exactly 100 lb. per obverse die. Perhaps it is significant that this is the amount stated in the indentures from which 2s. value was to be set aside for the Pyx trials.

It is not possible to say exactly how many coins were produced from this weight of silver, as half-groats and smaller pieces were included, as well as groats, but an average figure of 12,000 would probably be near the mark. This figure should be of value to students

for many calculations.

We can now turn our attention to the amounts which I have suggested might well be those of the annulet coinage, i.e. 67,745 lb. of silver and 2,834 lb. of gold. Taking first the silver, if we apply the figure of 100 lb. per obverse die, we find that 678 obverse and 2,034 reverse dies would have been required, or a total of 2,712. Although the dies paid for apparently included those for the gold, or perhaps 60 dies on the basis of one per 12,000 pieces, it can scarcely be a coincidence that the number quoted, i.e. 2,713, is almost exactly that of the calculation, and I do think that the result goes far to prove the validity of the figures for the dies, and the identity of the totals of bullion coined at Calais.

Privy marking. Mr. Whitton follows Dr. Lawrence, Dr. Brooke, and others in assuming that the mintmasters put a distinctive mark on each three-monthly batch of their production so that the money could be recognized at the Pyx trials, and that they did this in accordance with the instructions contained in their indentures. Apart, however, from the many practical difficulties with the dies which such procedure would entail, I do not think that the indentures specify any such thing. The mintmaster is certainly enjoined to "make a privy mark on all moneys he shall make of gold and silver", and in the earliest published indenture containing this injunction (20 June 1361 with Robert de Porche) we are given the purpose: "so that another time if need be he may know which are his work among other like moneys and which are not". There is no mention that such a mark is

to be changed every three months, nor are the instructions linked directly with the three-monthly assay which was ordered. The identification of coins at the Pyx trials depends on samples of the production being placed in a fixed proportion in a box with 2 keys and 2 seals, and this box being opened "once every 3 months before the Council or their deputy, and before the wardens and masters". When the Pyx trials were delayed, as happened, for instance, at the beginning of the reign of Edward IV, the contents of the box were regularly transferred to sealed and labelled bags, so that there was still no question of any difficulty in identifying the master responsible.

Whatever may have been the case in previous reigns, and a good case has been made out for some form of regular privy marking under Edward III and Henry V, I am not convinced that Mr. Whitton has proved that a similar system obtained with the coins of Henry VI. There are plenty of privy marks to be found, but I do not think that

we know the purpose of them.

I think it will be agreed that the annulet, rosette, and pinecone coinages, with their ample and continuous output, and the corresponding survival of specimens today, make an admirable "corpus" for the study of privy marks, and therefore if any three-monthly system was used during this reign, it will be apparent in these issues. What I propose to do, therefore, is to take Mr. Whitton's suggested systems for these three coinages and apply them to an analysis of a typical lot of these groats to see whether this will show a reasonable grouping of specimens such as would occur if we are dealing with three-monthly production periods.

I was recently able to examine a lot of approximately 500 of these groats, and while no such lot could be called typical unless proportionately selected from all known surviving coins, I do think that any discrepancies would not be sufficiently great to affect the result.

Here is the analysis:

4 7 - 1 -	C-1-:	A					
Annulets.	Calais:	Aı	•	•	•	<u>-</u>	
		2				60	
		3				2	
		4				5	
		5/2	7			20	
		$_{\mathrm{Br}}$				10	
		2				223	
		3				I	
							321
	London:	—				5	5
Rosettes.	Calais:	Cros	ss II			26	
			Var.)			3	
			ss III <i>a</i>			93	
			Var.)			I	
		Cro	ss ΠIb			1	
							124
	London:	—		 . 117		I	I

¹ See "The Coinage of Henry VI Restored by Derek Allen", Num. Chron. 5th ser., vol. xvii, 1937—p. 12 of Reprint.

Pinecones.	Calais:	Cross IIIa.		20		
		(Var.) .		2		
		Cross IIIb.		23		
					45	
	London	:	me.	4	4	
						500

For the annulet coinage Mr. Whitton has taken the privy marking to be a combination of the initial cross, presence or absence of fleur on the breast, the spelling of ANGLIE, and the broken letters, as set out in the table. This produces 10 varieties, and a reference to the analysis shows that 283 groats are of 2 of the varieties, and 38 of the remaining 8. However, at least 16 varieties are required, and these Mr. Whitton supplies by dividing my type AI into four with his NI, N2, N3, and N4, and my type B2 into three with FI, F2, and the normal and tapering-topped A's. Apart from the fact that I doubt whether these microscopical differences in shapes (when there were no microscopes!) would constitute practical privy-marks, the first-mentioned division at least would only accentuate the disproportion, as none of these rare varieties occurred in my lot of 500. I did not sort the lot for the F's and A's.

In the rosette coinage the situation is even more absurd, for here the privy marking suggested is the varieties in obverse stopping, presumably combined with the three initial crosses, of which we have 13 combinations, or one more than required for the three years from 20.4.1427 to 31.3.1430. Referring once more to the analysis we find 119 specimens from 2 of the varieties, which are, in fact, 2 of the initial crosses with the "normal" obverse stopping, and 5 only from the other 11. Need I add that only one of these latter has as yet been

In the pinecone coinage we have a rather different problem. It is obvious from the classification table that no varieties of the type suggested for the annulet and rosette coinages occur on the pinecone groats, and recognizing this Mr. Whitton has put forward for the privy marking of this issue nine different forms of pinecone which he has discovered. Apart from the fact that 13 varieties are required to cover the Pyx periods from 31.3.1430 to 26.6.1434, once more I cannot believe that such minute and easily obscured differences could have met the assumed needs of identification, and Mr. Whitton himself has recognized this fact when he characterizes this system as "a poor one".

In the later coinages we find a very complicated system in operation involving both obverse and reverse stopping, as well as, at first, two different reverse crosses or none at all. Here there is no lack of varieties, and the total corresponds more or less to the hundred or so required for three-monthly privy marking, though a division on this basis would not give the same dates for the issues as those suggested by Mr. Whitton. I have no doubt that this correspondence is only

a coincidence.

found on a London groat?

What conclusions are to be drawn from all this is difficult to say. Many systems of privy marking were in operation during this reign, but I do not think it can be demonstrated that they had anything to do with the regular three-monthly Pyx periods, owing to the great disparity which exists between the numbers of surviving specimens of the various varieties. Making every allowance for the possibility that the surviving coins do not properly represent the original issues, I would say that the rosette coinage at any rate shows no recognizable three-monthly system, and I suggest that if such a system cannot be found in so ample and continuous a coinage then it is impossible to say why it should have been suspended for this one issue but used in the others.

It may now be asked what the varieties and marks found signify if they did not indicate the Pyx periods. The answer to this must be, firstly, that the identifying symbols of the issues, namely, the annulets, rosettes, pinecones, leaves, trefoils, &c. were the mintmasters' privy marks as prescribed in their indentures, which in later reigns were simplified into the mint-mark system. As to the significance of the other marks, i.e. all the complex varieties of obverse and reverse stopping, it is doubtful whether we shall ever know their purpose. We can only hazard a guess that they could have been designed to indicate:

- 1. Different accounting periods.
- 2. The produce of different mint establishments or workshops.
- 3. The work of different die-sinkers or other mint personnel.

Later issues. I have only minor criticisms to make regarding Mr. Whitton's listings of the later issues, but I think that a comprehensive classification based on his lists of obverse and reverse legends would be of assistance to collectors, and would also help students to get a clearer picture of these complex coinages. I would like to emphasize, however, that the divisions made are only the obvious and convenient ones, and though they are generally arranged in chronological order, as demonstrated by the lettering differences noted, there was undoubted overlapping, and probably some of the sub-classes were in concurrent issue. A comparison of the reverses will make this clear and also show why it is often impossible to say what were the normal issues and what mules, and Mr. Whitton has wisely refrained from attempting to separate them.

For these issues I propose to give the Calais coins separately, as there was greater difference from the London issues than with the earlier coinages and in any case only three more classes of Calais

groats appeared, all now rare, before the mint was closed.

CALAIS GROATS OF HENRY VI

IV. Leaf-Mascle Issue

Leaf in spandrel below bust.

r. Crosses IV/V: Obv. Saltires, mascle after REX (one die, FRANC). Rev. Saltires, mascle before LA, leaf below last M of MEVM. (RR. variety—Leaf after POSVI.) 2. Crosses V/V: Obv. and Rev. as I (two dies, FRAN, FRANC).

(RR. varieties (a) Saltire after POSVI.
(b) No leaf below MEVM.)

V. Leaf-Trefoil Issue

Leaf on breast.

Crosses IIIb/IIIb: Obv. Double saltires (one die).

Rev. I. Double saltires only (CALI struck over SIVI).

2. Ditto with trefoil after LA (Mule with Trefoil reverse 3).

VI. Trefoil Issue

Trefoils by neck, leaf on breast.

I. Crosses IIIb/IIIb: Obv. Saltires, trefoils after DI, REX, FRAN.

Rev. 1, 2, 3, 4.

2. ,, ,, ,, Obv. Saltires, trefoils after DI, REX. Rev. 5.

3. ,, ,, Obv. Saltires, trefoils after DI, GRA. Rev. I, 2a, 3, 4, 5.

Reverses: I. Trefoils after ADIVTORE and SIE, before LA.

2. Trefoils before LA and SIE.

2a. Trefoils before LA and after SIE.

3. Trefoil after LA.

4. Ditto, no E in ADIVTORE.

5. Saltires only.

LONDON GROATS OF HENRY VI

IV. Leaf-Mascle (leaf in spandrel below bust)

Crosses IV/V: Obv. Saltires, mascle after REX (one die).

Rev. Saltires in o/circle, mascle before DON for LON, TAS over LON, leaf below last M of MEVM. (This die originally had CIVI/LON/♦DON/—.)

Mules with Leaf-Trefoil A reverses A1, 2, 4, 5.

OBVERSES (Cross IIIb as mint-mark)

V. Leaf-Trefoil A

Leaf on breast, usually leaves and/or trefoils in legend.

Obv. I. Saltires, leaves after DI, GRA. Rev. AI, 2, 3, 4, also mule with Pinecone normal.

2. Saltires only. Rev. A5.

3. Saltires, trefoil after REX. Rev. A5, 7, 8, 9.

4. Leaves after HENRIC, DI, GRA, trefoil after REX, saltires by copula. Rev. A5, 6, 8, 11.

Leaf-Trefoil B

Nothing on breast, leaves and trefoils in legend.

Obv. As Leaf-Trefoil A No. 4. Rev. A5, 8, 9, 10, B2, C1.

VI. Trefoil A

Trefoils by neck and in legend, leaf on breast.

Obv. I. Saltires, trefoil after REX. Rev. AI, 4, 5, 8, C4.

2. ,, trefoil after D1. Rev. A5.

3. ,, trefoil after GRA. Rev. A8, B1, C3, 4, 5, 6.

4. ,, trefoil after FRAN. Rev. C2.

 trefoils after HENRIC, DI, GRA,—fleurs at shoulders. Rev. A8, C3, 7.

6. " trefoils after REX, FRANC. Rev. C4.

B 6185

Trefoil B

Trefoils by neck, leaf on breast, fleurs in spandrels.

Obv. 1. Saltires only, fleurs at shoulders. Rev. A2.

2. Saltires only, no fleurs at shoulders. Rev. C4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 16, D1, 2, 3.

Trefoil C

Trefoils at shoulder cusps, leaf on breast.

Obv. I. Saltires, trefoil after REX, ends FRANE, no stops after HENRIC, DI.

Rev. C9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, D1, 2, 3, 4.
2. Saltires, trefoil after REX, ends FRAN. Special reverse: Double saltires after DEVM, trefoil after DON (unique).

VII. Trefoil-Pellet

Trefoils by neck, pellets by crown, leaf on breast.

Obv. Saltires, trefoil after REX. Rev. Cio, 11, 12, 16, Di, 2, 3, 4, also E2-Mule with Leaf-Pellet B.

VIII. Leaf-Pellet A

Pellets by crown, leaf on breast, letter DI-ANGL.

Obv. 1. Saltires, FRANCIE, fleur on breast. Rev. DI, 3.

2. Saltires, FRANC, no fleur. Rev. DI, 2, EI, 2.

Leaf-Pellet B

Pellets by crown, leaf on breast, letter D2—ANGLI.

Obv. I. Saltires, trefoil after ANGLI, fleur on breast.

2. As I, no fleur. Rev. EI.

3. Saltires only, fleur on breast (one die has HENIC).

4. As 3, no fleur. Rev. E1, 2.

Leaf-Pellet C

Pellets by crown, leaf on neck, fleur on breast, letter D2.

Obv. I. Saltires only. Rev. EI (one has DIVI for CIVI), E2, 3. Also FI—Mule with Cross-Pellet B.

2. Saltires, leaf after FRANC. Rev. E2. (Unique.)

Leaf-Pellet D

As Leaf-Pellet CI but 4 pellets, 2 by crown and 2 by hair, letter D2. Rev. E2. (Unique.)

IX. Unmarked

No marks on obverse, letter D2.

Obv. (1 die) Saltires. Rev. E2, and two special reverses:

(a) Cross V, saltires in o/circle, pellets in two quarters, letters D2/M3.

(b) No mm., no stops, pellets in 4 quarters, D2/M3.



X. Cross-Pellet A

Saltires by neck, pellets by crown, leaf and fleur on breast, letter D2.

Obv. (I die) Saltires, ANGLI.Z.FRANC. Rev. E2. (2 coins.)

Cross-Pellet B

Saltire on neck, pellets by crown, fleur usually on breast, letter D2.

Obv. I. No mullets. (a) No stops, no fleur. Rev. FI.

(b) Double saltires after ANGLI. Rev. F1.

- 2. Mullets after HENR(I)C, FRANC. (Z). Rev. E2, F1, 4.
- 3. Mullet after FRANC only. (a) Fleur. Rev. F1, 3, 4a, 5. (b) No fleur. Rev. E2, F1, 3, 5.

4. Mullet after HENRIC only:

- (a) ANGL(I)-FRANC(Z). Rev. E2, F1, 5. (b) ANGLI.FRANC, no fleur. Rev. E2, F1, 2.
- (c) ANLI.FRANC. Rev. E2, F1.
- (d) ANGLI.FRANC with letter D3. Rev. E2, 3.

Cross-Pellet C

As B with mascles instead of mullets in legend.

- Obv. I. Mascles after HENRIC, GRA, FRANC, pellet after ANGLI. Rev. E2, F1.
 2. Mascles after HENRIC, GRA, pellet after ANGLI. Rev. E2, F1. (One has
 - pellets by hair instead of by crown.)
 - 3. Mascle after HENRIC only (letter D3). Rev. E2, F1, 4a, 6, also F4-no pellets.

XI. Lis-Pellet

Lis on neck, pellets by crown, fleur on breast, letter D3.

Obv. I. Mascle after HENRIC, saltire after REX. Special reverses:

(a) No mm., double saltires after DON letters D3/M3, pellets in 2

(b) Cross V, no stops quarters.

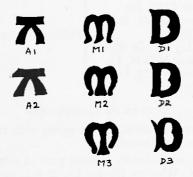
- 2. Double saltires after GRA. Special reverses:
 - (a) As 1a

 - (b) No mm., no stops (c) Lis, no stops letters D₃/M₃, pellets in 2 quarters.
 - (d) Lis, saltire before MEVM

REVERSES

Type A—Letters AI/MI

- AI. Cross IIIb, saltires in outer circle, or outer and inner circle.
- saltires in outer and inner circles, trefoil after DEVM, SIVI for CIVI.
- 3. saltires in outer and inner circles, trefoil after TAS.
- 4. saltires in inner circle, trefoils after MEVM and TAS, no E in ,, ADIVTORE.



- 5. Cross V, saltires in o/circle or outer and i/circle.
- 6. trefoil after DON, no other stops.
- saltires in outer circle, trefoil after DON.
- saltires in outer circle, leaf before LON, trefoil after DON.

- g. Cross V, saltires in outer circle, leaf before LON, trefoil after DON, mascle before TAS.
- saltires in outer circle, trefoils after MEVM and LON.

II. No mm., saltires in outer circle.

Type B—Letters A_{I}/M_{2}

B1. Cross V, saltires in outer circle, leaf before LON, trefoil after DON. 2. No mm., saltires in outer circle, trefoils after POSVI, CIVI, DON.

Type C—Letters $A_2|D_1|M_2$

CI. No mm., double saltires in outer and i/circle, trefoil after LON.

double saltires after DEVM, trefoil after LON.

Cross V, trefoil after DON.

saltires in o/circle or outer and i/circle. 4. ,,

double saltires after DEVM, trefoils after MEVM, LON.

6. saltire after TAS. ,,

no stops. 7. ,,

saltires in outer circle, leaf before LON, trefoil after DON. ,,

9. No mm., saltires after TAS.

saltires in outer and inner circle. IO. ,,

pellet after DIVTOR·/E, saltire before DON. II. ,,

pellet after DIVTOR/•E, double saltires before MEVM. 12. ,,

trefoil before DON. 13.

double pellets after POSVI, saltire before DON. 14. ,,

15.

saltires in o/circle or outer and i/circle, pellets in 2 quarters. 16.

Type D—Letters DI/M2

Dr. No mm., saltires in outer circle saltires in outer and i/circle Pellets in 2 quarters. 3.

no stops. 4. ,,

Type E—Letters D2/M3

E1. No mm., saltires in outer and/or i/circle Pellets in 2 quarters or on inner no stops circle.

3. no stops, no pellets. ,,

Type F—Letters, D2 or D3/M3

F1. No mm., mullet after POSVI, D2

saltire after CIVI, D2 2.

saltire after POSVI, D2 3.

no stops, D3 4. ,,

no stops, D3 only in DEVM *4a*.

saltire before MEVM, D3

5. ,,

6. saltire after MEVM, D3

Notes on the Classification

Pellets in 2 quarters or on inner circle.

Reverses. I have not specified exactly the stopping with saltires only, as this would make the classification too complicated.

Leaf-Mascle. This issue undoubtedly formed part of a larger coinage, and if this lasted only a year, as Mr. Whitton thinks, i.e. 26.6.1434-24.6.1435, it would still require more than one obverse die to deal with the 667 lb. of silver struck at the Tower during this period. Probably some of the Leaf-Trefoil A issue, such as the obverse types I and 2, which have no trefoils in the legend, were used. This is borne out by the Calais coins, where there were more Leaf-Mascle dies, but only one Leaf-Trefoil, which also appears without trefoils in either legend. Incidentally, the solitary London die was originally struck— $CIVI/LON/\diamondsuit DON/$ —, and then corrected by striking TAS over LON, and L over the D of DON. There is no question of it reading NON as stated by Mr. Whitton.

Trefoil B. Obverse I is another example of the curious intermixture of these Leaf and Trefoil coinages, as it is found only with one of the earliest reverses made for the Leaf-Mascle/Leaf-Trefoil issue.

Leaf-Pellet D. The single coin constituting this group is a freak die of Leaf-Pellet C1, under which it should be included.

Unmarked issue. This curious issue from one obverse die, without any special marks, is made more curious by the fact that the two reverse dies used with it are not found used on any other coinage.

AN ANGEL OF EDWARD V IN THE HERENTALS (BELGIUM) TREASURE TROVE

By HERBERT SCHNEIDER

In October 1955 two workmen reported that they had dug up 83 gold and 22 silver coins at the corner of the Zandstraat at Herentals (Province of Antwerp, in Belgium). They had been engaged in foundation work for a new building to be erected on the site of an ancient house and had found the coins about 5 feet below street level. No container had, they said, been discovered.

This was the workmen's story which seemed highly improbable considering that the coins were far too clean to have been in contact with earth for some 375 years. The most recent coin was, in fact, a gold crown of Philip II of Spain, dated 1580, and struck in Holland for Dutch circulation. As we shall presently see, this was approxi-

mately the time the treasure trove was deposited.

Because of the usual ignorance of treasure-trove regulations on the part of the finders and of the owners of the property on which the coins were discovered, the workmen had in fact kept back the major part of the find as well as a broken vase which had contained the coins.

A few coins were probably sold privately by the workmen, but the find was too important to be disposed of without arousing suspicion. It would appear that the workmen decided to keep the bulk of the treasure back until they could ascertain how well or how badly they

did out of the coins they had officially reported.

The first Herentals sale was organized just over a year ago, and when the workmen had received their rightful share of the proceeds, they came forward with all the remaining coins in their possession, including the broken vase in which the coins had been hidden. They produced, in fact, another 142 gold pieces, so that the total known treasure consisted of 225 gold and 22 silver coins of no less than 36 different countries, provinces, seigneuries, or towns, including 20 English gold coins, among them a George Noble of Henry VIII and an Angel of Edward V.

Professor Paul Naster of Louvain listed and reviewed the find in the Revue Belge de Numismatique, tomes 101/2 (1955/6) and stressed the fact that, for a treasure deposited at Herentals in Brabant, an astonishing percentage of Philip II coins derived from Dutch mint establishments situated in regions which were in open revolt against Spain at the time, and not from one of the mints in Brabant or Flanders, as one would have expected. It is indeed noteworthy that there were only 4 Spanish coins as against 22 Portuguese, 2 20 English, and an

¹ Treasure-trove regulations in Belgium differ basically from those in the United Kingdom: the Crown has no claim on treasure trove and the interested parties are the finder of the hoard and the owner of the ground on which the treasure was discovered.

² After the defeat of Sebastian of Portugal and the incorporation of that country into

impressive number of German and Imperial gold pieces. Professor Naster suggested, therefore, with some reservations, that the hoard

might have belonged to a Protestant.

Although the *tresor de protestant* theory is debatable, it is, in my opinion, by far the most plausible explanation for the somewhat unorthodox composition of the find. It looks like a gold reserve—possibly built up over a period of quite a few years—belonging originally to a merchant or a banker who had trade relations with Protestant and anti-Spanish countries. This would not necessarily make him a Protestant himself, but the history of Herentals points in that direction.

Herentals became Calvinistic in 1577 and a member of the "Union d'Utrecht" in 1579. Spanish troops took the town in spring, 1584. In my opinion, the hoard is likely to have been deposited at the

approach of the Spanish soldiery.

Any merchant or banker in the Low Countries, whether a Protestant or a Roman Catholic, was liable to have hidden money and other valuables when units of the Spanish army were about to enter a town. But had the original owner of the hoard not been a Protestant, he would hardly have left his money buried after the so-called "order", which the forces of Philip II "restored" in the Low Lands in the interest of Spain and in the name of the Church of Rome, had been established. As it is, the chances are that he was killed or that he fled.

Professor Naster has recorded the Herentals find in toto in the Revue Belge de Numismatique, tomes 101/2, but since he is not specializing in English coins the descriptions lack certain particulars relevant for the student of English numismatics. In these circumstances it is, I think, of interest to list the English portion of the Herentals treasure trove afresh, and I would like to express my thanks to Messieurs W. Herssens and F. Van Heesvelde for their collaboration which made it possible for me to obtain full particulars of all the coins but one. I am equally grateful to Mademoiselle Jacqueline Lallemand of the Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels for the trouble she has taken in connexion with the casts of the coins.

Apart from the obvious rarity of a rather crinkled and somewhat battered George Noble which has normal features and legends, only an Angel of Edward V (P1. XXV, 19) is of outstanding importance and interest. This is the fifth known specimen and was struck from the same pair of dies as the British Museum coin, illustrated in Brooke's English Coins, Pl. xxxv. 2, which had hitherto been on a plane of its own, for the other three Angels of Edward V^I are all from a different altered obverse die of Edward IV combined with a different reverse die of Blunt+Whitton's Type XXII. On Whitton's list² we find their

the Spanish Empire in 1580, many Portuguese—and particularly Portuguese Jews—emigrated to the Low Countries provinces which were in revolt against Spain.

¹ (1) Spink & Son, Ltd., 1954, formerly in Dr. Arnold's collection. (2) R. D. Beresford-Jones, Esq., M.A., ex Parsons sale, 1954, lot 23. (3) Lockett IV sale, 1956, lot 1645.

² "Die Links Between Edward IV, Edward V and Richard III", by C. A. Whitton. B.N.J. xxiv, 1943/4.

obverse under No. 7, and the reverse is Blunt+Whitton Type XXII, reverse of No. 6,¹ whereas the British Museum and the Herentals specimens were struck from the dies listed by Whitton under No. 4, the reverse of which tallies with Blunt+Whitton Type XXII, reverse of No. 7.

THE COINS

Edward IV, Second Reign, 1471/83

I. ANGEL. Obv. Initial mark O to right of head. Plain in nimbus. Reads DEI and FRANC*. Saltire stops.

Rev. No initial mark. Reads CR/VSEM and REDE'TOR. No stops, except possibly after TVA. B+W Type xv, No. 1.

2. ANGEL. Obv. Initial mark Cinquefoil to right of head. Plain in nimbus. Reads DEI and FRANC*. Saltire stops.

Rev. Initial mark Cinquefoil. Reads PER/CRVCEM and probably REDEMT. No stops. B+W Type xxi, No. 2.

Edward V (1483)

3. ANGEL. Obv. Initial mark Boar's Head (over Sun+Rose). Reads DI FRANC*/*. Saltire stops.

Rev. Initial mark Sun+Rose. Reads /CRVCEM REDEMP'* otherwise no stops. Whitton No. 4. (Cf. Brooke's English Coins, Pl. xxxv. 2.)²

Henry VII (1485-1509)

- 4. Angel. Obv. New design, initial mark Pansy. Standard legend with saltire stops. Rev. Initial mark Pansy. Reads REDE. Saltire stops. Brooke: Group III.
- Angel. Obv. New design, initial mark Greyhound's Head. Small, square lettering. Reads FRA. Rosette stops.
 - Rev. Initial mark Greyhound's Head. Small, square letters. Reads XPE R. Saltire stops. Brooke: Group IV.
- 6. Angel. Obv. New design, initial mark Pheon. Crook-shaped abbreviation mark after HENRIC. Reads FRA. Saltire stops.

 ${\it Rev.}$ Initial mark Pheon. Reads XPE RED. Saltire stops. Brooke: Group V.

7. ANGEL. Obv. New design, initial mark Pheon. Crook-shaped abbreviation mark after HENRIC. Reads FR. Saltire stops.

Rev. Initial mark Pheon. Reads XPE RD. Saltire stops. Brooke: Group V.

Henry VIII, First Coinage, 1509-26

8. Angel. Obv. Initial mark Castle (plain). King's numerals dotted and divided by pellets. Reads FR. Saltire stops.

Rev. Initial mark Castle (plain). Reads RED'. Saltire stops. Whitton: (ii) I. M. Castle, var. 1.

"The Coinages of Edward IV and of Henry VI (restored)" by C. E. Blunt and C. A. Whitton. B.N.J. xxv/xxvi, 1945/8.

² There is a misprint in the *Revue Belge de Numismatique*, tome 102, p. 184: the weight of the Angel of Edward V (misdescribed as an Angel of Edward IV having the Cinquefoil initial mark, under No. 229) was given as 45,04 grammes instead of 5,04 grammes.

- Angel. Obv. Initial mark Castle with pellet before initial mark. King's numerals dotted. Reads FR. Saltire stops.
 - Rev. Initial mark Castle (plain). Reads REDE'. Saltire stops. Whitton: Obv. (ii) Castle, var. 3. Rev. (ii) Castle, var. 1.
- 10. Angel. Obv. Initial mark Castle (plain?), King's numerals undotted. Reads FR. Saltire stops.
 - Rev. Initial mark Castle with pellet before initial mark. Reads REDE'. Saltire stops. Whitton: Obv. (ii) Castle, (var. 1?). Rev. (ii) Castle, var. 3.
- II. ANGEL. Obv. Initial mark Portcullis with chains. King's numerals undotted. Reads FR. Has the usual saltire stops.
 - Rev. Initial mark Portcullis with chains. Ship with rudder. H and Rose beside mast. Reads RED. Saltire stops. Whitton: (iii) Initial mark Portcullis, var. 1.
- ANGEL. Obv. Initial mark Portcullis with chains, saltire beside initial mark. King's numerals undotted. Reads probably F. Saltire stops.
 - Rev. Initial mark Portcullis with chains. Ship with rudder. H and Rose beside mast. Reads RED'. Saltire stops. Whitton: (iii) Initial mark Portcullis, var. 2.

Wolsey Coinage, 1526-44

- 13. GEORGE NOBLE. St. George side: initial mark Rose. Reads SIGO MES NEQVIT. Saltire stops. Ship side: initial mark Rose. Rose on mast, H-K beside mast. Reads D AGL Z FRANC HIBERI. Whitton: as George Noble.
- 14. Half-crown. This is the only English coin in the Herentals find which I have not been able to inspect. Professor Naster has listed it in the Revue Belge de Numismatique, tome 101, p. 157, as follows:

"Demi-couronne d'or: cf. Brooke, pl. xxxix, 8. Imitation? HENRIC: (.....); R (...)ANSIHOSA.SINE.SP'L. Petit morceau manque.—(1.43)" If the reference to Dr. Brooke's illustration is correct, the coin belongs to the Wolsey Coinage, and if it really has a colon stop followed by a double annulet stop after HENRIC and single pellet stops on the reverse, Professor Naster's suspicions that the coin may be a forgery are more than justified. This punctuation is clearly impossible for the period and the half-crowns of the Wolsey Coinage are known with saltire stops only. However, the punctuation of some of the other English coins listed in the Revue Belge de Numismatique was recorded in rather a fanciful manner so that I would prefer not to express an opinion. The reverse of the coin has, of course, the RVTILANS ROSA SINE SPINA legend.

Base Coinage (1544–7)

- Angel. Obv. Initial mark Lis. Annulet to left of angel's head. Standard legend with trefoil stops.
 - Rev. Initial mark Lis. Annulet on ship. Standard legend with trefoil stops. Whitton: Base Coinage, as initial mark Lis.
- 16. Angel. Obv. Initial mark Lis. Annulet to left of angel's head. Standard legend with saltire stops.
 - Rev. Initial mark Lis. No annulet on ship. Reads RED. Saltire stops. Whitton: Base Coinage, initial mark Lis, var. 2.

Mary Tudor, 1553-8

- 17. Angel. (Before marriage, 1553/4.) Obv. Privy mark Pomegranate after MARIA. Annulet before MARIA, annulet stops. Reads REGI'.
 - Rev. Privy mark Pomegranate after ISTVD, annulet stops. Reads MIRABIT.

(Cf. Revue Belge de Numismatique, tome 101, p. 157. First Herentals sale. Published by courtesy of Monsieur François Van Heesvelde.)

18. ANGEL. (Before marriage, 1553/4.) Obv. From same die as before (No. 17). Rev. Privy mark Pomegranate after ISTVD, annulet stops. Reads MIRABI³. F.

Elizabeth I, 1558-1603

- 19. ANGEL. Obv. Privy mark Crosslet (1558/61). Reads ET FRA. Pellet stops. Rev. Privy mark Crosslet. Reads MIRABI. E over Rose to left and Rose over E to right of mast. Pellet stops. (From the same dies as Lockett IV sale, item 1957, Pl. XXXII.)
- 20. ANGEL. Obv. Privy mark Coronet (1566-70). Reads FR ET REGINA... Pellet stops.
 - Rev. Privy mark Coronet. Reads MIRABI'... Small E to left and Rose to right of mast. Pellet stops.

THE IDENTITY OF "THE NEW PLAKKIS LAST CUNYEIT" WITHDRAWN IN 14851

By ian halley stewart

Familiar to all in any way acquainted with the character of British currency in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are the base-metal placks, generally in poor preservation through ill-striking and corrosion, which provided the basic small change in Scotland throughout their period of issue. Before 1887, when E. Burns published the first seriously scientific treatise² on Scottish coins, writers such as Cardonnel, Lindsay, Wingate, and others³ had laboured at a considerable disadvantage: only a very small proportion of the extant specimens were ever available for study by one man, and, until R. W. Cochran-Patrick published most of the relevant material4 in 1876, the documentary evidence was virtually unavailable. There is, therefore, little value in stating or assessing the several attributions of the various varieties of the placks propounded by these gentlemen, beyond saying this, that none of them ever suggested that they should be appropriated to any other royal James than the last three of the five of that name, who held the Scottish throne for a century and a half of tragedy, from 1406 to 1542.

How valuable was the work of Burns himself on this subject may be judged from the fact that, in the seventy-odd years that his book has held the field as the standard and, indeed, the only modern work on Scottish coinage, his conclusions have remained unchallenged until the present day. I adopted in The Scottish Coinage, with very slight modification, the original arrangement of Burns, which has met with a time-honoured and merited acceptance. The amendments and additions that I propose to describe in this paper are principally concerned with the placks and half-placks of James III, but it will be necessary first to outline the broad divisions of all the James placks

for the over-all picture.

Three quite distinct groups were defined by Burns, as follows:

I. Crosses fourchées beside the escutcheon on the obverse, and a saltire fourchée (a star on one coin not known to Burns) in the central panel of the reverse.6

- 2. Crowns beside the escutcheon and a plain saltire on the reverse.⁷
- 3. Similar to group 2 but a mullet in the central panel.8

An essay awarded the Parkes Weber Numismatic Prize, 1956.

² The Coinage of Scotland, 3 vols., hereafter ref. Bi, Bii, Biii. ³ See I. H. Stewart, The Scottish Coinage (hereafter T.S.C.), p. 163, Bibliography, for particulars of these writers and their works.

4 Records of the Coinage of Scotland, 2 vols., hereafter ref. R.C.S. i and ii.

⁵ These groups of the placks (group 1-James III; group 2-James IV; group 3-James IV) must not be confused with groups I-VI of my classification of James III's groats. 6 Biii, figs. 571-2.

⁷ Ibid., figs. 667, 681-2b, 689-94, 697-8, 700-5.

8 Ibid., figs. 758-71.

Of these three, group I belongs to James III and is numerically far the smallest. It is totally unlike the other two groups in style and lettering and no mules connect it with later types. This group will be discussed in detail below, but it should be said now that it is datable

to c. 1470.1

Group 2 was struck in the later years of James IV's reign,² and is divisible into two consecutive major varieties, first with the Old English style of lettering, and then with Roman letters. There are coins³ with the one style on the obverse and the other on the reverse, closely linking the two varieties as consecutive in the same series. The Roman lettered James IV placks continued right up to the end of the reign, and again there are mules⁴ connecting them with the placks of James V, that is group 3 of our arrangement above listed, which have no numeral⁵ on the obverse and a mullet in the centre of the reverse. The significant feature of the James IV and V placks, to be remembered in connexion with the remarks that follow, is that they form an integrated and consecutive issue, totally separate from the placks of James III.

With regard to the half-placks of these issues, they are recorded by Burns for group I (James III),⁶ and the Old English lettered variety of group 2 (James IV).⁷ I know of no later specimens: a hoard of coins unearthed at Balligmorrie, near Girvan in Ayrshire, last year⁸

suggests that very few or none later were struck.

Two passages from the Acts of Parliament of Scotland, pertinent to the issue of placks under James III, are here quoted:

(a) 23 July 1473, "... And as tuiching the plakkis and the new pennyis the lordis thinkis that the striking of thame be cessit And thai haue the cours that thai now haue vnto the tyme that the fynance of thame be knawne...", &c., making provision for a full inquiry into their fineness, with the postscript that "the conyeouris to be punyst

as efferis gif thare be falt fundin''.

(b) 26 May 1485, in view of the "greit quantities of fals countirfatit money plakkis strikin in cunye of lait be fals cunyeour nocht allanerlie within this realme bot als outwith the realme sa subtellie and in sic forme of mettale that it is vnpossible to decerne and knaw the trew fra the fals That thairfor his hienes movit of piete and of his grace as said is and for sauftie of his peple eschewing of derth and mony vthir Inconvenientis hes ordanit to ceis the cours and passage of all the new plakkis last cunyeit and gar put the samyne to the fire and of the substance that may be fynit of the samin to gar make ane new penny of fyne siluir" and that the Mintmasters, Thomas Tod and Alexander Levingstoun, should receive all the called-in placks at twopence each.

¹ Bii, p. 156; T.S.C., p. 60; and a fuller discussion in my paper "The Attribution of the Thistle-Head and Mullet Groats", B.N.J. xxvii. 71.

² T.S.C., pp. 70 et seq.; Bii, pp. 195-216.
³ Biii, figs. 697-8.
⁴ Bii, p. 254.
⁵ For the attribution, see Bii, p. 202, and T.S.C., p. 74.
⁶ Bii, pp. 159-60.
⁷ Ibid., p. 216.

⁸ Discovery and Excavation, Scotland, 1955, p. 10. 9 R.C.S. i. 36 and 41 respectively.

Of these two, (a) refers, as I shall show, to the group I placks (Pl. XXIV, 2 and 3), those attributed by Burns, myself and others to James III; while (b) provides irrefragable proof of the existence of another issue of placks, hitherto unidentified, which could be described as the "new plakkis Iast cunyeit" as late as 1485, and thus quite ten years later than the recognized type of James III plack, which must now be discussed.



The Act of Parliament, 23 July 1473, is the first document we possess to refer to the new denomination. The ordinary type of James III placks is assuredly the subject of this Act: although this is generally accepted, it will be necessary to go rather thoroughly into the evidence which connects, and restricts, these placks to the period 1470-3, and no later. I have alluded elsewhere to the evidence of the coins themselves that dates the thistle-head and mullet (group II) groats3 of James III to 1470 and the years following, and the Act of Parliament, 6 May 1471,4 I have shown to refer to these coins

As far as lettering⁵ alone is concerned, the placks must be c. 1470. They have the plain-topped A and T as on James III's group I groats, the earliest form of those letters on James III's coins. They have the intermediate form of the letter G, full and curly,6 in use in the 1470's, and the loosely formed cross fourchée (Fig. 1a) beside the escutcheon and as initial mark, that is found also on the James III group I groats, but on none later. Had these placks been struck towards 1480 they would undoubtedly have displayed different features of style and lettering. The A and T would be of the later peak-topped variety, and there would have been as initial mark either a plain cross or a cross fleury. But a far more significant feature is the form of the cross-ends on the reverse. On these placks it is a large foliated excrescence enclosing a long tongue, much as on the familiar type of the thistle-head and mullet groats (Fig. 2b). This is one of the stronger of many connecting links⁷ between these two base coinages, of placks and groats, which argued for restoring the thistle-head and mullet groats to James III. (This particular criterion has never before, apparently, been used in the classification of these issues.) A floriate type of cross-end occurs solely on examples of the recognized group of James III's placks

¹ The problem is discussed by Burns, Bii, p. 199; and by myself, B.N.J. xxvii. 189 and 191, and T.S.C., p. 64 (but cf. also pp. 143 and 166).

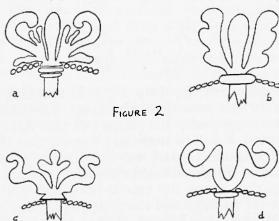
² B.N.J. xxvii. 71.

³ T.S.Č., p. 142, and Pl. VIII. 103. ⁴ R.C.S. i, p. 35; B.N.J. xxvii. 69.

For epigraphic illustrations, see B.N.J. xxvii. 71, and T.S.C., fig. 7 on p. 62.
Found on the group III groats (T.S.C., Pl. viii. 104) and on the type I riders (T.S.C., Pl. IX. 120).

⁷ B.N.J. xxvii. 71 enumerates them.

(Fig. 2b), and on the generally known type of the thistle-head and mullet groats (Fig. 2a). If the latter had been issued in the reign of James IV or James V,^I they would have had the plainly curled crossends (Fig. 2d) that are invariable on the placks of James IV and V. Certain rare specimens² of the thistle-head and mullet groat (PI. XXIV, 7), however, have a type of cross-end (Fig. 2c) entirely different from



that on the regular James III placks and from that on the normal group II groats (Figs. 2b and 2a). Chronologically, these group II groats with the new cross-ends present no problem: this form, with a trefoil enclosed by S-shaped curls, is well known on the reverse of the gold unicorns (P1. XXIV, 8), of which the earliest varieties³ I have indicated were struck in 1484.⁴ Clearly, then, the unicorn-style cross-ends would appear on the latest, if any, of the group II groats: the completely new type of these groats with this feature must therefore be dated towards 1480, quite possibly in that year. The relevance of this digression will, I trust, be quite apparent in the context of my later remarks.

Meanwhile, the application of our newly discovered criterion of the cross-ends to the different classes of coins concerned reveals a most

^I B.N.J. xxvii. 67 for a discussion of the James V idea. What is apparently an attribution to James IV was made, implicitly, by the late Mr. H. J. Dakers, in a paper on "Initial Letters in the Field on Scottish Coins", B.N.J. xxi. 71. He illustrates a thistle-head and mullet groat with a T behind the bust, reluctantly admitting "As this can only represent the initial of Thomas Tod, and Cochran-Patrick gives his tenure at the mint as from 1476 to 1487, I at first regarded the T on this coin as providing some support for Burns's arrangement; but I find that there are records from the Lord High Treasurer's accounts under James IV, which Cochran-Patrick has perhaps overlooked or disregarded"—here he quotes three several entries naming Sir Thomas Tod, dated Febr., July and Aug. 1496; and continues: "It appears, therefore, that the letter T might still appear on a coin issued under James IV, though its presence on a groat of the first issue of James V, to which the Thistle and Mullet groat is often assigned, still seems difficult to explain." Comment is better forborne.

² Not until recently identified (*T.S.C.*, Appendix IV, p. 166—the only published notice of their existence); an example is, however, depicted by Wingate in his *Illustrations of the Coinage of Scotland*, Pl. XXIV. 10. The type will be more fully described by me in a paper on "Unpublished Scottish Coins: II", in a forthcoming volume of the *Numismatic Chronicle*.

^{4 &}quot;The Heavy Silver Coinage of James III and IV", B.N.J. xxvii. 182.

extraordinary and unexpected situation regarding the half-placks of James III and IV. These were of such exceptional rarity until the discovery of the Perth hoard¹ that Burns illustrates only five specimens altogether. Under James IV are placed two coins (Figs. 682c and 691) which, on examination, will be seen to have the James IV-V type of cross-ends (Fig. 2d) and are definitely attributed correctly. These two

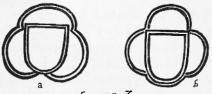


FIGURE 3

coins I have associated respectively with the placks described as of class IIa and of class IIc in The Scottish Coinage (pp. 145-6). Comparison of the whole and half denominations will show that the particular styles of ornament, pellet stops, and the mm. cross of pellets on class IIa, and lis stops and a mm. cross pattee on class IIc, are common to both. Now the obverse type of these two half-packs is that of Fig. 3b, with the escutcheon contained in a tressure of three arcs enclosing the top and sides, and a trace of a fourth arc merged with the bottom of the shield. The same form of obverse is used on all the placks of James IV (PI. XXIV, 12) and V. On the other hand, every example of the recognized type of James III plack (PI. XXIV, 4) that I have been able to examine has an entirely different style of tressure, three large arcs completely surrounding the shield, as depicted in Fig. 3a. Disregarding, therefore, the superficial criteria of the crosses or crowns beside the shield (for some of the half-placks have neither, or fleur-de-lis in this position) and the saltire on the reverse, whether it be plain or fourchée, we may still affirm that every plack and halfplack has, on both sides, indisputable characteristics, not only of lettering and ornamentation, but of design, which immediately identify the reign to which it belongs: for, on the obverse, the disposition of the arcs of the tressure has been shown to be fundamentally different on the placks of James IV and V and on those of James III, and, on the reverse, we have noted that the type of cross-end varied from issue to issue, and that the coins of the three metals—unicorns, groats, and placks—conformed in this respect.

What, then, of the supposed James III half-placks with a tressure of four arcs, a description of which was given by Burns,² and, I regret, perpetuated by myself?³ An examination of the three "James III" half-placks figured by Burns produces startling results—no two, even, are of the same issue. The first (B, Fig. 573) has the obverse type as in Fig. 3a, crosses fourchées beside the shield, a saltire fourchée on the

G. Macdonald, "A Hoard of Coins Found at Perth", N.C. 1921, p. 294.

<sup>Bii, p. 160, and Biii, fig. 573a.
T.S.C., p. 143, and Pl. VIII. 109.</sup>

reverse, and a modified form, to suit the smaller scale, of the crossends of the 1470 issue placks (Fig. 2b). This coin, then, has all the features of the two recognized James III placks (B, Figs. 571-2), so that there is no question as to its correct appropriation to the 1470 issue of James III. All the half-placks found in the Perth hoard, which contained none of James IV's billon issues, are, naturally, of

this type. On the second of the illustrated half-placks (B, Fig. 573a), the obverse type is that of James IV-V (Fig. 3b), there are small fleursde-lis beside the shield, the saltire on the reverse is plain, and the crossends, though rubbed and defective, are plainly of the type I have drawn as Fig. 2d, the regular type on James IV-V placks. This type of half-plack is, therefore, quite out of place under James III, and must be transferred to James IV. I have compared the actual coin in question (Pl. XXIV, 11) (B, Fig. 573a) with the placks and half-placks of James IV, and it corresponds in every way with the placks and halfplacks that I have classed as IIc. The only difference is in the small lis beside the shield (hitherto mistaken for crosses), which are more distinctly preserved on another coin (Pl. XXIV, 10) from almost identical dies.² These two half-placks with the lis by the shield thus constitute a new minor variety of James IV, though they fall under the same general heading, class IIc. The initial cross is not, as Burns supposed from the very rubbed specimen, a cross fourchée (Fig. 1a) as on James III's placks, but a cross potent (Fig. 1b), the common mark on the James IV placks of the time. On a very small scale, these crosses

may easily be confused, especially with poor examples.

Quite the most interesting, however, of the three "James III" halfplacks depicted on Burns's Plate XLIV is the third and remaining example, Fig. 537b (Pl. XXIV, 6). Let us apply to it the methods of classification which we have evolved above. The obverse type is that of the regular James III placks, with a complete trefoil tressure enclosing the shield (Fig. 3a); there are no ornaments beside the shield. The reverse type corresponds neither with the 1470 issue of James III placks (P1, XXIV, 2, 3) with their elaborate cross-ends (Fig. 2b), nor with the James IV-V placks (Pl. XXIV, 12), which have the plainly curled cross-ends (Fig. 2d): it displays, rather, the peculiar form (Fig. 2d) that I have described above as being found on an extremely rare variety of the thistle-head and mullet groat (Pl. XXIV, 7), and, more commonly, on the new gold denomination of the 1484 recoinage, the unicorn (Pl. XXIV, 8). It would appear, therefore, abundantly likely that this half-plack, with its distinctive James III obverse and its curious form of reverse cross-ends, was issued in James III's reign, but, by virtue of its essential differences of type and ornamentation from the 1470 issue of James III's placks, must be held to constitute an entirely separate issue. On the basis of one coin, and that a half denomination, this would perhaps be inconclusive, but the half-plack does not

¹ T.S.C., p. 145, and Pl. IX. 130. ² Incorrectly attributed to James III, T.S.C., Pl. VIII, 109.

happen to be the only survivor of our postulated new issue. A considerable search revealed the companion plack (Pl. XXIV, 5) in the cabinet of the late Mr. H. Alexander Parsons, described on his ticket as a half-plack of James III. Though of much smaller module than the 1470 issue placks, it is clearly the double of the new issue halfplack, and, in fact, weighs $29\frac{1}{2}$ gr. (it is slightly chipped) against the 16 gr. of the half-plack.



It cannot be coincidental that we have a clear reference² to placks under James III, c. 1480 at the earliest, and an issue of placks and halfplacks, hitherto unidentified, which bears no resemblance to the recognized issue of c. 1470. If it could be proved merely that the new plack issue of James III was later than the c. 1470 issue—and that is clearly demonstrated by the form of cross-end and the peak-topped A—there would be little reason for disputing that the newly identified coins represent those mentioned in the Act of 1485, and were thus struck shortly before that date.

In fact, the plack and half-plack of the new type abound in the characteristics of the accepted issues of James III, c. 1480. I have alluded to the cross-ends well known on the unicorns from 1484, and to the peak-topped form of the letter A: this A (Fig. 4a) is actually from a broken punch with the left end of the top bar missing. This same broken A (Cf. Pl. XXIV, no. 5 with no. 7) is found on the variety of the group II groats, described above, with the cross-ends as in Fig. 2c. Nearly all the letters on these thistle-head and mullet groats are stamped in the die from the same puncheons used for the new plack issue; specially notable are the L (Fig. 4b) with its peaked bottom, the thick, stubby I (Fig. 4c) and the open C (Fig. 4d). I have not noticed this open C or the broken A on any other coins of the time, but the L and I are found on many. First, the L: on almost every example of the group II groats (these, it will be remembered, are, on the whole, slightly later than the 1470 issue placks), on all the group III groats, dated about 1475-82,3 but not on the group IV groats, dated 1482-4.4 The I, however, is found on a few group II groats, but especially on the later group III groats (cf. B, Figs. 591-2), and on the group IV groats. Furthermore, this i, which appears on this plack and halfplack in the central panel of the reverse, also appears on a group IV half-groat, again in the centre of the reverse (B, Fig. 608): they must surely belong to the same issue. The crown above the escutcheon on the half-plack is from the same punch as the crown on the group III

¹ At the sale, Glendining, 1954, of whose second collection it formed part of lot 726.
² Act of Parliament, 26 May 1485, quoted above.

³ T.S.C., p. 62.

⁴ Ibid., p. 63.

half-groat (B, Fig. 594), and on many of the billon pence of the corresponding issues. Another link is in the form of the trefoils, and this is also the only point of difference, in lettering or ornamentation, between the new issue of placks and the new variety of group II groats. The latter have a plain trefoil (Fig. 5a), as on the group III groats, whereas the plack and half-plack have the trefoil with an

incipient stalk, somewhat in the style of a minute fleur-de-lis (Fig. 5b), the form used on the gold riders of types I and II, which are the com-

panion gold coinage of the groats of groups III and IV.

Connected by so many small details of ornamentation, lettering, and design to the groats of groups III and IV, and about equally to each, our new plack and half-plack must be dated at about the time of the replacement of group III by group IV, that is c. 1480-2. This, of course, is an independent conclusion, from the separate internal evidence of the coins: that it is commutual with the deductions from the documentary reference is to have been expected.

In discussing this issue, Burns¹ "assumed that it was the debased character of the 'new plakkis last cunveit' that brought them into disrepute and led to their being so extensively counterfeited", the reason, as stated in the Act, for their being called in at twopence each in 1485. But this is not the only interpretation that could be placed upon the wording of the Act, for they were specifically to be "put ... to the fire and of the substance that may be fynit of the samyn . . . ane new penny of fyne siluir" was to be struck. If they had been so exceedingly debased as Burns supposed, it would have required a huge quantity to provide even a handful of the new heavy groats. The particular plack and half-plack, which I now wish to associate with the Act of 1485, are of greatly superior quality to the first-issue placks, from which they stand out immediately in this respect, and also in module and finish. A curious feature, again illustrative of the relationship between the placks of James III and the group II (thistle-head and mullet) groats, is that the 1470 issue placks are struck on large, thin flans of notably base metal, while the new plack and half-plack are on small, neat, thicker flans of nobler metal: and this contrast is exactly reproduced in the group II groats, of which the normal specimens are large, base, and ill-struck, and the late variety, with unicomstyle cross-ends, is much finer, neater, and smaller (cf. Pl. XXIV, 1 and 2 with 7 and 5).

At this point a few specific remarks on chronology. The thistle-head and mullet (group II) groats of James III² present a large variety

² My paper, B.N.J. xxvii. 65, on the attribution of these coins, deals only with their position in the series as a whole, i.e. mid-James III rather than early James V. The emergence of several new varieties of the group, including the distinctive new type noticed above

of different dies, with features connecting them with the coinage of 1470 to 1480. In 1471 they were called "new alayt grot(s)", so 1470 must be an approximate date for their introduction. The new variety of these groats, with the cross-ends as in Fig. 2c, has been dated, with the second-issue placks, to about 1480-2. Probably the group II groats were thus in issue continuously from 1470 to 1482, and I believe that further study will enable a comparatively detailed sequence to be delineated. The first-plack issue of James III also started about 1470, and may have ceased altogether in 1473, when, by the Act of Parliament quoted, a thorough inquiry was ordered into their fineness. The issue of placks may have been in abeyance from the time of this inquiry, 1473, until the second issue, 1480-2, of which the finer standard of billon could be the direct outcome of the findings of the inquiry. In this context, it may be permissible to advance a theory about what types of coins the several moneyers of the time were responsible for individually. The first recorded account of Alexander Levingstoun and Thomas Tod runs from 12 March 1473 to 27 July 1476, includes no revenue from the coinage of placks, and implies that these were out of issue following the inquiry. It is tempting to see in this the dismissal of the previous moneyers, Alexander Tod and William Goldsmyth,2 "punyst" because there was "falt fundin". This would explain why the group III groats, ordered in 1475 to be of "the sammyn prent'' as the earlier silver groats, group I, are so obviously a different coinage from Tod and Goldsmyth's six-pointed mullet (group I) groats, and yet as far as type is concerned they do preserve the sammyn prent". This accords well with their being the work of the two pairs of moneyers. The theme cannot be developed here, but I believe the group II (thistle-head and mullet) groats are divisible by style and workmanship into three distinct series: those akin to the first-issue placks and group I groats, the joint issues of Tod and Goldsmyth from 1470-3,3 those of small, neat style, one of which has the letter T behind the bust, being the work of Tod from 1473 to about 1482; and, thirdly, a parallel series of the same period, which from its very different style must be presumed to be Levingstoun's. The second-issue placks which have been identified in this paper conform to what I would class as the Thomas Tod workmanship of about 1480-2. Further study will, I hope, enable the above remarks to be substantiated.

Since a fairly accurate scheme of dating has been offered for the James III placks and half-placks, and associated coinages, it may be

with the unicorn-style cross-ends, renders it highly probable that the group II groats were in issue for perhaps twelve years, concurrently with the fine silver twelve-penny groat, of which the "new alayt grot", after its reduction from 7d. to 6d. in 1471, was practically, if not theoretically, the half. Actual half-groats of James III's light coinage are very rare indeed.

¹ R.C.S. i, p. 45, no. xxiv.

² T.S.C., p. 58.

The normal type (Biii, figs. 577-83). The illustrated groat of the "new type", Pl. XXIV, 7, is of the same style as the T groat, and is thus, presumably, Tod's issue.

well to say that the other coins particularly discussed in this paper, the half-placks of James IV, can be dated for the first time with some accuracy. In an unpublished essay on "The First British Maundy Money, A.D. 1511" I have adduced evidence for placing class IIa of the placks and half-placks in 1505; class IIc probably belongs to 1506. In the list of coins appended, a notice will be found of a class I half-plack, with the numeral QR; this hitherto unnoticed coin must be

dated, with the QRA plack, soon before 1505.

I had hoped to append to this paper a comprehensive list of the placks and half-placks of James III, and of the half-placks of James IV. Unfortunately, the Perth hoard, which contained 436 placks and 63 half-placks of James III, is not at present available for study, though Mr. Robert B. K. Stevenson, Keeper of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, has kindly sent me particulars of the II placks and IO half-placks from that hoard which were acquired for the Museum. Mr. Robert Kerr, of The Royal Scottish Museum, has been good enough to send me his note of the Balligmorrie hoard, which he has published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*; amongst a total of 578 billon coins, primarily James IV–V placks and James IV pence, there was one James IV half-plack only, a fair representation of the rarity of the coin.

Apart from the large numbers of both found at Perth, the placks and half-placks of James III are really extremely uncommon. Only a very few private collections contain half-placks: there must be scarcely two dozen beyond the 63 from Perth. The placks, too, are very rare, and even with the 436 Perth examples probably number fewer than 500 in all. For this reason it is impossible to attempt a list of all varieties without the Perth contingent; but it is thought that a list of all the specimens available might prove useful, since this includes several otherwise unrecorded, notably the picked varieties in the National Museum from the Perth hoard. I am indebted to Mr. Stevenson, who sent me details of these, also for a cast of the James III plack with a star in the centre panel of the reverse.² This coin cannot be looked upon as a different type, indicating another issue, although it is certainly a curious variety: it has the regular three-arc tressure, crosses fourchées, floriate cross-ends, and early fount of lettering described above as typical of the 1470 issue of placks.

Many points have been raised in this essay, which it may be of value to summarize. The general types of the placks of James III, IV, and V have been described, and two relevant passages instanced from the Acts of Parliament of James III. Reasons were advanced for dating the first issue early in James III's reign, about 1470, in which context the various types of cross-ends were distinguished. From this feature it was mentioned that there was a new type of the group II groat of James III struck about 1480; and that a certain type of the half-plack of James IV had evidently, up to now, been misattributed

¹ N.C. 1955, p. 245. ² N.C. 1921, Pl. VIII. 6.

to the 1470 issue of James III. The disposition of the tressure round the escutcheon on the obverse was described as a new criterion for differentiating the placks and half-placks of James III from those of James IV-V. Moreover, a plack and half-plack, of a new type, were dated on grounds of lettering, type, and ornamentation to about 1480-2, and identified as the issue withdrawn from circulation in 1485. It was then suggested, apropos the dates assignable to the various series of coins discussed in the paper, that it should be possible to separate the coins of the several moneyers of the time, and it was hinted in what way this might be attempted. By comparison with the thistle-head and mullet groats it was submitted that the second issue of James III placks, identified now for the first time, were the work of Thomas Tod soon after 1480. Finally, the great scarcity of the coins under discussion was explained. A description of types and summary of varieties is appended.

I wish to make acknowledgement for their very ready co-operation: to Mr. R. B. K. Stevenson, for his information regarding the Perth hoard coins, and for the cast illustrated as no. 3 on Pl. XXIV; to Mr. Robert Kerr, for particulars of the Balligmorrie find; to Mr. I. D. A. Thompson (with whom I shall be publishing the find), for enabling me to examine personally the coins, of which two James III placks (nos. 19 and 20) are noted in the list, found by Mr. E. M. Jope at Glenluce Sands, Wigtownshire; to Mr. David McFarlan, for notification of, and permission to illustrate, his half-placks of James III, and of James IV, class I; and to the British Museum for the excellent

plaster casts.

ILLUSTRATIONS (PLATE XXIV)

1. James III, group II groat, normal variety. 2. James III, first-issue plack (no. 11).

3. Ditto (no. 18).

- 4. James III, first-issue half-plack (no. 5).
- 5. James III, second-issue plack.6. James III, second-issue half-plack.
- 7. James III, group II groat, late variety.8. James III, unicorn.

9. James IV, half-plack, class I.

10. James IV, half-plack, class IIc (no. 4).

11. Ditto (no. 5).

12. James IV, plack, class IIc.

LIST OF COINS

References to individual specimens are:

N.M.A. National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland.

C. Coats collection in N.M.A. C.H.D. C. H. Dakers collection. B.H. Balligmorrie Hoard.

² This interesting coin will be fully treated by me in "Unpublished Scottish Coins: II",

N.C. 1956.

¹ This hoard, in that it contains thistle-head and mullet groats with no later coins than first-issue billon pence of James IV, provides positive evidence for the reattribution of the former to James III, as argued in B.N.J. xxvii. 65.

G.H. Glenluce Sands Hoard.

P.H. Perth Hoard. B.M. British Museum. D.McF.

Mr. David McFarlan. H.A.P. H. A. Parsons collection.

Revd. J. H. Pollexfen collection. J.H.P.

Richardson, A. B., Catalogue of the Scottish Coins in N.M.A. R.

B.H.I.H.S. Author's collection.

C.A.W. C. A. Whitton collection.

Placks and half-placks of James III

First Issue (c. 1470-3).

Plack: Obv. Escutcheon, in three-arc tressure, surmounted by small crown; crosses fourchees beside; trefoils in spandrels.

Rev. Saltire fourchée (on no. 17 a star) in centre panel of floriated cross

fourchee; in each angle a crown.

Inscriptions as, or variant of: +IMCOBVS * DCI * GRM * RCX * SCOTTORVM/+VIU*IIM*DC* **GDIN** BVR6h (variously divided between the four quarters of the legendary circle).

Examples:

1. B, fig. 571 (C.)

2. R., p. 375, no. 179 (N.M.A.) 3. As 2, but VIII* (N.M.A., from P.H.) 4. As 2, but **M** for Ω (N.M.A., from P.H.) 5. As I, but **R6h:** (N.M.A., from P.H.)

6. B, fig. 572, no. 2 (C.)

7. As 6, but **REX**: (N.M.A., from P.H.)

8. R., p. 375, no. *179 = B. fig. 572, no. 2a (N.M.A., ex J.H.P.)

9. T.S.C., Pl. VIII. 108; as 8, but LTLDGL (B.M.)

10. Obv. as 6, but **M** for **M**; rev. as 8, but **Lπ^{*}DG** (N.M.A., from P.H.)

II. Obv. as 9, but SCOTTORV; rev. as 9, but WR6h (B.H.I.H.S.)
12. Same obv. die; rev. as 11, but WR6h (B.H.I.H.S., ex. C.A.W.) 13. Obv. as 6, but *GRTX*RGX*SQOTTORVM*; rev. as 10, but

adinb/*vroh* (N.M.A., from P.H.) 14. Obv. as 10; rev. +VIU*/U\tau\tau \G*/DIN*\B/() (N.M.A., from

P.H.)

15. Obv. as 14, but VM; rev. as 14, but DINB/VR6h (N.M.A., from P.H.)

16. Small saltire beneath large saltire on rev., +VILL*/LTDG:/GDIRB/ **VRG**(h); obv. as 15 (N.M.A., from P.H.)

17. As 16, but SOTTORVM* (badly struck). (N.M.A., from P.H.)

18. N.C., 1921, Pl. VIII. 6. Five-pointed star in centre of rev. (N.M.A., from P.H.).

19. Obv. as 17, but DGI * GRX * RGX*; rev. as 10. (G.H.)

20. Obv.+IπαοBVS*DGI*GRπ*RGX (X sideways): SαοτοRVM /Rev. +VIL:LIT: @ DIN*B VRG·h; pellet and saltire stops. (G.H.)

Half-plack: Types as plack; similar inscriptions, but fewer or no stops.

Examples: 1. B, fig. 573, no. 1 (C.)

2. As I, but GDIN: (N.M.A., from P.H.)

3. Obv. +IMOOBUS*DGI*GRM*RGX*SQOTTORV; rev. +VIII/ LIT DE/EDIN BURGH (N.M.A., from P.H.)

4. As 3, but **GR7**. (N.M.A., from P.H.)

5. As 4, but **RV**' (B.H.I.H.S.)

6. As 3, but **LT*** (N.M.A., from P.H.)

7. As 4, but +VIII/IITG/(DIN)/BV(RG) (N.M.A., from P.H.)

8. R., p. 375, no. 180 = B. fig. 573, no. 1a (N.M.A., ex. J.H.P.)

9. As 8, but +DGI, VM, and BVR6h (N.M.A., from P.H.)

10. As 8, but *RGX*SCOTTORVM, and +VILL*/LIT*DE/ (N.M.A., from B.H.)

II. Obv. as 9, but RGX+; rev. as 3 (N.M.A., from P.H.)

SECOND ISSUE (c. 1480-2)

General types as first issue, but no crosses by escutcheon, no trefoils in spandrels, and capital I for saltire in centre of reverse. Unicorn-style cross-ends. Plack has crown of five fleurs-de-lis on obverse.

Examples:

+ITCOBVS*DGI*GRT*RGX*SC (slightly double-struck, GRRT). Plack

+VIU/UME/DIN/BVR. Only one specimen recorded. (B.H.I.H.S., ex H.A.P.)

Half-plack +IMCO BVS DGI GRM RGX +VIU×/UMA/DIR/BVR.

Only one specimen recorded (B.H.I.H.S., ex C.H.D.). This coin is erroneously stated by Burns (vol. ii, p. 160) to have been in the S.S.A. collection. It was never, however, in that cabinet: Richardson makes no mention of it in his Catalogue, and H. J. Dakers, into whose collection it passed, exhibited it before the British Numismatic Society on 23 March 1932, with the note that "This was regarded by Burns as unique and supposed by him to be in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. On inquiry this proves to be incorrect, as the Society has no record of it." (B.N. J. xxi. 180.) The piece is illustrated by Lindsay (First Supplement, Pl. III. 9), Burns (fig. 573b) and Cochran-Patrick (Pl. IV. 1).

Half-placks of James IV

Types generally as James III, first issue, but tressure in quatrefoil form; crowns, or nothing, or fleurs-de-lis by shield, and plain-style cross-ends.

Class I. Obv. +ITCOBVS.DGI.GRT.RGX.SCOTTORV.QR. Crown above,

and at each side of, shield. Rev. +VIII/IITDE/EDIR.../BVRGI. Plain saltire in centre of cross.

(D. McF.) This otherwise unrecorded coin will be published by me more fully in a

forthcoming paper on "Unpublished Scottish Coins: II" in the N.C., 1956.

Class IIa. Mm. cross of pellets. Pellet stops.

Example: B, fig. 682c = R., p. 386, no. 230 (N.M.A., ex J.H.P.)

Class IIc. Mm. Cross pattee. Lis stops.

Examples: 1. B, fig. 691. Nothing by shield. (C.)

2. Similar, but VIII/IT lis GD/INB/VR6 lis (J.H.P., see Bii,

3. As I, but VILLU/T lis DE/ (N.M.A., from B.H.)

4. T.S.C., Pl. VII. 109. (B.H.I.H.S.)

5. B, fig. 573a. (C.)

N.B. Nos. 4 and 5 have been previously regarded as James III; they have fleurs-delis beside the shield.

THE TOWER GOLD OF CHARLES I

By H. SCHNEIDER

THE manner in which this paper is placed before the Society calls for

a few words of explanation.

I am dealing with a series of coins which present very few of the usual but many unusual difficulties for the student, and the tremendous number of specimens which have come down to us is in itself a formidable obstacle if one aims at the same degree of detail and completion which can be—and has been—attained for the smaller and rarer provincial issues of Charles I. Together with the gold of James I, the Tower gold coins of Charles I constitute the commonest of all hammered English gold series and the number of specimens which are known to have survived runs into several times four figures. It is not surprising, therefore, that very many of these coins have gone into dozens of small and totally unknown private collections which never have been and never will be available for research, and that they have also found their way to a comparatively large non-numismatic public.

Considering the wide distribution of the coins under review, an attempt to list every die, every die link and every minor puncheon variety would be a priori condemned to a very high degree of incompleteness. But I feel that a full record of the size of the numerals behind the king's head, the varying designs of the crown above the royal initials, the few odd chipped or broken letter punches, and other insignificant particulars of purely accidental puncheon varieties would not only be tiresome but would, in fact, add little or nothing of numis-

matic importance to the greater picture.

I have therefore set out to provide students and collectors alike with a general description of Charles I's Tower gold coins, to write up the varieties within the principal groups of the portrait and shield designs and list them in a manner which solves the present problem of classification. To go beyond that and record every punch and every punctuation variety down to the last stop is completely outside the scope of research work which can be undertaken on the Continent.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is obvious that this paper could not have been written without the full collaboration of the British Museum, the Curators of the University Collections, and the leading London coin dealers. In the first place, I wish to express my gratitude to the Keeper of Coins and his collaborators in the British Museum. Here, I am particularly indebted to Mr. R. H. M. Dolley and Dr. J. P. C. Kent for the assistance I have received on all occasions.

I am equally grateful to Miss Anne Robertson of the Hunterian Museum, Mr. Harold T. Shrubbs of the Fitzwilliam Museum, and Mr. J. D. A. Thompson of the Ashmolean Museum for the information

they have supplied.

Messrs. A. H. Baldwin & Sons, Ltd., Messrs B. A. Seaby, Ltd., and Messrs. Spink & Son, Ltd., have very kindly allowed me to inspect and record their stock of Tower gold coins of Charles I at all times, over a period of five years, and Mr. Albert Baldwin and Mr. Douglas Liddell have been particularly helpful by bringing to my notice all important coins which went through their hands. To Mr. W. C. French of Glendining's I would like to express my thanks for his collaboration on two important occasions.

I am extremely grateful to Mr. Fred Baldwin for access to the Lockett collection and the loan of the private working notes and records made by the late Mr. Lockett and the late Mr. Ryan. Mr. H. A. Seaby has kindly allowed me to check my lists against his manuscript catalogue of the collection formed by the late Major P. W. Carlyon-

Britton.

I am greatly obliged to Mr. Gordon V. Doubleday and Mr. C. Noon for full information about all the Tower gold coins of Charles I in their possession, and to Major Lister for access to the collection of the late Miss Helen L. Farguhar.

My most sincere thanks are due to Mrs. Inès Schneider-Fuhrmann for the drawings which illustrate this paper, and to Mr. C. E. Blunt

for checking the text.

I am also much indebted to Mr. O. E. C. Theobald for access to his private notes and for a considerable number of casts which proved invaluable during the earlier stages of my research work.

To Miss Grace Park I wish to express my appreciation for her intelligent clerical collaboration, and for the painstaking care and

precision of her work.

In conclusion, I would like to place on record a special vote of thanks to Mr. Frederick Willis, of West Bromwich, who has very generously supplied casts of his entire collection of Tower gold coins of Charles I which is one of the largest in private hands. It is most refreshing to receive such a degree of collaboration from a gentleman who is not a member or a fellow of one of the scientific numismatic societies.

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I have also used the private working notes and records of the late Mr. V. J. E. Ryan and of the late Mr. R. C. Lockett, as well as Mr. H. A. Seaby's manuscript catalogue of the collection formed by the late Major P. W. Carlyon-Britton.

Mr. O. E. C. Theobald has kindly allowed me to check my records against his personal

notes on certain series of Tower gold coins of Charles I.

CONSTITUTION OF THE TOWER MINT

Mint Masters: 1625–6. Commission. (Sir Randall Cranfield suspended.) 1626–35. Sir Robert Harley.

1635-41. Sir Ralph Freeman, Sir Thomas Aylesbury. 1643-9. Sir Robert Harley, dismissed by Parliament after the king's execution because he refused to strike coins other than those with the effigy and name of a sovereign.

Chief Engravers: 1625-30. John Gilbert and Edward Greene.¹

1630-44. Edward Greene alone.

1644-5. (Temporary, pending an official appointment after Greene's death) Nicholas de Burgh.² 1645-8. Edward Wade and Thomas Simon.

1648-9. Thomas Simon alone.

Pyx Trials

Date of trial	Privy mark	Amount of crown gold (22 carats) lb.
29 June 1626	Lis	613
27 April 1627	Cross Calvary	291
27 April 1627	Blackamoor's Head	122
3 July 1628	Castle	375
26 June 1629	Anchor	178
23 June 1630	Heart	335
30 June 1631	Feathers	374
21 June 1632	Rose	170
11 July 1633	Harp	141
27 June 1634	Portcullis	98
18 June 1635	Bell	110
14 February 1636	Crown	204
8 May 1638	Tun	102
4 July 1639	Anchor	113
26 June 1640	Triangle	41
15 July 1641	Star	92
29 May 1643	Triangle-in-Circle	143
15 July 1644	(P)	67
12 May 1645	(R)	46
10 November 1645	Eye	24
15 February 1646	Sun	78
9 November 1649	Sceptre	62

The authority for the above is Henry Symonds's table compiled from the manuscript records of the Exchequer and published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1914, p. 265. In addition to the obvious general

¹ De facto, John Gilbert retired in 1628 with a pension of £50 per annum.

² The king's appointment of Thomas Rawlins as Chief Engraver at the Tower was, of course, ineffective and is of academic interest only. So is the assertion made by the notorious political intriguer and informer Thomas Violet that the king had appointed him master of all his mint establishments in settlement of a debt of some £2,000.

interest, collectors will find that the pyx figures reflect, on the whole, fairly accurately the comparative rarity of the privy marks.

ROYAL APPOINTMENTS AT THE TOWER

Medallist to the King (Master Embosser): Abraham Vanderdort, Nicolas Briot.

Provider of Patterns: Abraham Vanderdort, Nicolas Briot.

King's Engraver: Nicolas Briot.

Warden of the Exchange: Henry, Earl of Holland, until the office was abolished presumably during or soon after the year 1628.

In these days of restrictions, regulations, and currency control, it is almost pathetic to read in Ruding:

The re-establishment of this office has never since been attempted, and probably never will be; for it is certain that no advantage whatever could result from it, and the only effect likely to be produced by confining the liberty of purchasing bullion to the King's exchanger, and that at a fixed price, would be an immediate stop to the importation of bullion, and the carrying it to a better market.

THE COINS

If we consider the intricate and explosive political background of Charles I's reign, the artistic level of his coinage is surprisingly high. As an art connoisseur the king was perhaps second to none of his generation, and his never-failing good taste and his sound artistic judgement have given us a series of coins which have always attracted attention even outside the immediate sphere of numismatics. For this, Charles I can claim much greater personal credit than any English king before or after him. Had it been possible to engrave the dies and strike the coins in more normal conditions than those which prevailed practically all through his reign, had it not been for the unfortunate jealousy of the Tower officials vis-à-vis artists chosen by the king, and had the king had his own way in the Mint, and Briot a free hand, the coins of Charles I would almost certainly stand comparison even with the best the Tudor period has produced in the domain of portraiture and design.

Full particulars of the annals of the Tower coinage can be found in Ruding, and since then Miss Farquhar, Mr. Symonds, and Mr. D. Allen have gone over most of the ground again with a fine comb. For practical purposes Dr. Brooke's introduction to chapter xvi, Charles I, in English Coins is such an excellent condensation of the more important data that I would refer the reader to this in order to limit duplication as far as possible. There are just two points in Dr. Brooke's introduction to the reign of Charles I which require comment: the Tower mint did not come under the effective control of Parliament in February 1642, but on 10 August 1642. Apart from the fact that Mr. Symonds's date of 10 August 1642 is based on a document of a Parlia-

¹ Annals of the Coinage, vol. ii, p. 152.

mentarian Receiver of Mint Revenues and seems established beyond any possible doubt, the king was still in London in February 1642. Also we have evidence of payments made to Tower workmen as late as July 1642 under Royal authority and it is inconceivable that Briot should have written lengthy letters to Charles in May 1642, advising strongly against a proposal to debase the coinage, if Parliament had been in control of the Mint at that time.

Twice before, in 1626 and in 1640, the king had already had serious intentions to overcome his financial difficulties by a debasement of the coinage. During August 1626 the weight of silver and gold coins was reduced by about 7 per cent. Dr. Brooke¹ records the fact without any comment but Kenyon² expresses the opinion that a clerical error had occurred and that there had been no intention to diminish the weight of the coins. However, I think there can hardly be any doubt that the alteration in the standard was deliberate. Sir Robert Cotton's speech³ at a Council meeting in September 1626 points clearly towards inflation and Disraeli refers in his Life and Times of Charles I to £60,000 worth of debased shillings4 struck on Buckingham's advice but subsequently recalled by the king.5 In 1640 a much more violent measure of coining £300,000 worth of shillings with a silver content of only 3d. in the shilling was proposed and the coins were to be used for the purpose of paying the Army. After lengthy discussions on the subject Sir Thomas Roe, an expert on currencies, was consulted and the project abandoned after Roe had strongly opposed such a measure and drawn attention to the fatal consequences of a debasement. In regard to the proposed debasement of 1642 I would refer the reader to Miss Farguhar's paper⁶ in which Briot's letter on the subject addressed to the king is fully recorded.

The other point in Dr. Brooke's introduction to the reign of Charles I which requires revision is his statement that Briot's "Flower" punch for the mill coinage of 1631/2 was "his form of the rose which was the privy mark between June 1631 and June 1632". This is inconsistent with the numismatic evidence. Briot's mill coins were minted between 30 November 1631 and 30 November 1632, so that they reach well into the period during which privy mark Harp was used. Also, Briot's "Flower" mark appears long before privy mark Rose was introduced at the Tower. To quote just one example: the pattern half-crown by Briot dated 1628 bears this "Flower" mark. Unlike his hammered coins of 1638/9 which link up with the Tower privy mark, Briot's mill coins really constitute, as it were, a coinage within a coinage and his "Flower" privy marks of 1631/2 (Anemone and Daisy) have no con-

nexion with the privy marking of the regular Tower issues.

¹ G. C. Brooke, English Coins, p. 202.

² Gold Coins of England, p. 149.

³ Cottoni Posthuma.

⁴ Mr. Stride states that 1920 pounds of silver was minted during the short period of the "Light Coinage" of 1626.

⁵ For fuller particulars cf. Sir John Craig's *The Mint*, p. 138.

^{6 &}quot;Briot and the Civil War", Num. Chron. 1914, pp. 178-82.

PART I

THE UNITES AND BRIOT

In so far as the history of the Tower coinage of Charles I is identical with the history of engravers and their work, the subject has been covered more than fully and more than once. However, Miss Farquhar was predominantly concerned with portraits and artists and Mr. Symonds concentrated on personalities connected with the Mint and the Mint accounts. This leaves us, as it were, with two strong beams of light focused on certain aspects of the Tower coins, but parts of the general picture of the coinage remain in complete darkness and no attempt has ever been made to deal with the coins themselves. If I tried to fill in the gaps here and there and referred the reader to at least half a dozen papers spread over back numbers of the *Journal* and the *Chronicle*, I feel that my own paper would become an incoherent and almost unintelligible mosaic within a mosaic. It is therefore inevitable to go—at any rate partly—over known ground once more.

Four days after his proclamation on 28 March 1625, a Commission was instructed by the king in the absence of a Mint Master to continue the Mint in work and to use the existing dies of James I until new dies with the effigy of Charles could be provided. By reason of the fact that the pyx trial held in July 1625 returned coins with the bust and name of James I only, one could assume that the king had been in no particular hurry to introduce coins with his own portrait and legend. However, I think that a number of technical reasons prevented a speedy production of Charles's own coins, for the king had on 2 April 1625 summoned a Dutch artist, Abraham Vanderdort, to his presence and instructed him to make patterns for the new coins.² To impose the models of a foreign artist who had no official position at the Tower mint upon the Chief Engravers was unorthodox and was no doubt resented, but it is typical of the interest which the king took in the artistic qualities of his coins. The laurel issues of James had descended to an astonishingly low level of portraiture and Charles had probably justified doubts as to whether the Chief Engravers at the Tower—the office was held jointly by Edward Greene and John Gilbert—were capable of producing a really good portrait.

However, the first bust which we find on the Tower gold coins was designed by Greene and not by Vanderdort (Group A, Pl. XVI, 1-2 (obv.), Pl. XVII, 25-26 (rev.)) because Greene was paid for the patterns on 31 March 1626.³ The design is distinctly poor and even the technical execution of the master-punches leaves much to be desired.

desired.

¹ Cranfield, who had been suspended for irregular practices at the mint shortly before the death of James I, was technically still mint master. Strangely enough, he had been confirmed as such by Charles after his accession to the throne, and, although he was regarded as dismissed, he had not been officially called upon to surrender his office. This anomaly led to complications when Sir Robert Harley was appointed mint master in the year 1626.

² For fuller particulars cf. Mr. Derek Allen's paper on Abraham Vanderdort in Num. Chron. 1941.

³ Henry Symonds in Num. Chron. 1913, p. 362.

A lesser art connoisseur than Charles would have disapproved of these coins, and, in a letter which probably dates from November 1625, the Secretary of State, Lord Conway, wrote to the Commissioners of the Mint, informing them that the king had "misliked" the new coins and that patterns after Vanderdort's models which Charles had approved were to be made. The Mint Controller and Assayer replied on 7 January 1626 to the effect that the Vanderdort model was unsuitable for the purpose of the ordinary coinage, owing to its very high relief. On the large, thin flan, the metal would not rise sufficiently under the hammer and a high-relief coinage would inevitably result in a smaller output of coins at the Tower mint, since such "monyes curiously done" would "aske for a longer tyme".

There can be little doubt that Mr. Allen is right in assuming that the entirely new conception of the king's bust which we find on the Group B unites with privy mark Cross Calvary is either based on or at least inspired by a model made by Vanderdort (P1. XVI, 3). Although the bust is better designed and more pleasing than that of the unites of Group A the portrait itself with its straight Greek profile and a badly drawn and rather small crown was not a great artistic achievement. The reverse design of the unites was also changed and the simplified shield garnishing (P1. XVII, 27) is a definite improvement on the

heavy and over-elaborate decorations of Group A.

1626 was an eventful year in more than one respect: it marks the beginning of Nicolas Briot's work as an engraver in the service of the king. Briot,2 who had left France in 1625 where he had held the appointment of Chief Engraver to the Paris Mint (Tailleur Général des Monnaies—graver-general of the monies), was no doubt "the finest die cutter that had worked in England since Alexander of Brugsal engraved the famous portrait for the coinage of Henry VII", as Dr. Brooke put it, and Charles's trained artistic eye could hardly fail to notice the great talents of the Frenchman and to make use of them. Briot did a certain amount of private work for the royal family and engraved the Great Seal of England in 1626. Originally Greene had been commissioned to undertake this work by royal warrant dated 16 April 1625, so that the warrant of 4 September 1626 instructing Briot to execute the seal is puzzling. Whether Greene's seal was as much "misliked" as the design of his coins so that the king had decided to replace it, or whether Greene never made it, is not certain. Prima facie, it does not seem very likely that Charles would have been without a Great Seal for at least eighteen months after his accession. I am inclined to think that after the first ill-received coinage the king had lost all confidence in Greene's artistic qualities and the Chief Engraver's functions at the Tower were reduced to that of a copyist.

Contrary to the hitherto accepted view I am dating Briot's influence,

¹ In the introduction to his paper on Vanderdort, Mr. Allen has given the entire credit of it to Miss Helen Farquhar on whose notes and research work the paper is largely based.

² Full particulars of Briot's backgrounds are contained in Miss Farquhar's paper "Portraiture of our Stuart Monarchs on their Coins and Medals" (*Brit. Num. Journ.* 1908).

which amounted to an artistic censorship over the Tower mint coinage, back to about the end of 1626, which is two years earlier than his official appointment as designer of the king's effigies. If we study the text of Patent Roll 4, Charles I, part II, m. 5, of 16 December 1628 carefully we find the following: Briot was granted a yearly salary of £250 by Charles and commissioned to "make and frame the first designs and effigies of the King's image in such sizes as would serve for all coins of gold and silver to be put into the hands of our gravers thereby to conform their work together". The royal patent granted Briot "the wages and fee of £250 by the year from Michaelmas that was in the year 1626". It is hardly likely that Briot should have received payment with effect from Michaelmas 1626 if he had not already performed the duties to which the letters patent referred from that date onwards and, as we shall see, the numismatic evidence supports this assumption.

The year 1626 marked also the first and half-hearted attempt at devaluation of the currency, and if any unites were struck under the order which was in force during the month of August 1626 they should weigh about 130 grs. No such coin has so far been recorded² but, in the proclamation of 4 September 1626 which re-establishes the former full weight for all coins, reference is made to gold³ and silver coins. It is unfortunate that neither the dealers nor the overwhelming majority of collectors weigh their coins: if a check on all gold coins bearing the privy mark Cross Calvary could be made, a debased specimen belonging to the light issue of August 1626 might well be discovered. Such a coin would almost certainly be of the Group A variety, and many of these have the Cross Calvary mark punched over Lis. By reason of the fact that it is highly unlikely that special dies would have been made for the slightly debased issue and that the reduction in weight would have been achieved by more drastic shearing of the coins, which would have mutilated the legend quite considerably, we can expect a somewhat thinner flan.

By August 1626 Charles's financial position had become quite desperate, and it is not surprising that a reduction in the weight of the coins had been considered and discussed at Court. After the first dissolution of Parliament in 1625 Buckingham had clearly underrated the seriousness of the constitutional struggle and thought that all that was required to turn the heads of the nation and make Parliament yield to the royal demands for subsidies was a resounding military success. A battle squadron of 90 ships and some 10,000 soldiers had been equipped and sailed for Spain. They had descended on Cadiz but the operation had proved an utter failure and ended in disaster. Considering the enormous expense of the Cadiz expedition, the king had had no alternative but to summon Parliament. However, the Commons

I am quoting the text used by Henry Symonds, "Engravers of the Tudor and Stuart Periods", in Num. Chron. 1913, p. 364.

The debased shilling of the August coinage of 1626 is known.

³ According to Mr. Stride's articles in Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin ("The Royal Mint"), 627 pounds of crown gold was minted.

voted once again that the subsidy which Charles had asked for would not be brought in until after public grievances had been presented and the House had "received His Majesty's answer thereto". They were summoned to Whitehall where the king met their threat by a warning to which subsequent events gave a formidable significance. He had made it clear to the Commons that he would grant them "liberty of counsel but not of control", that they were completely in his power for their calling, sitting, and dissolution, "and therefore", he added, "as I find the fruits of them to be good or evil, they are to continue or not to be".

However, the Commons had not come to heel, and their refusal to vote a substantial subsidy for the king until public grievances had been redressed left him in a hopeless financial position. The debasement of the coinage during August 1626, which provided for only a small reduction in the weight of coins, reflects Charles's material difficulties to only a very limited extent: actually, his need of money was so desperate that he made a general appeal to the nation to pay him the subsidies which he had failed to obtain from Parliament, as a voluntary gift. However, Charles had obviously misjudged the almost universal discontent of the people: entire counties, such as Middlesex, Cornwall, Kent, and Buckinghamshire, refused to pay any money at all "save by way of Parliament". The sums raised were absurdly small and I think it was the utter failure of the Free Gift and his enormous debts. much more than lust for personal power or a disregard for the citizen's rights and liberties, that drove Charles along the road which led to an open breach of the law.

It was only in November, 1926, that a mint master was appointed and the Commission, consisting of the wardens Sir Edward Villiers and Sir William Parkhurst, the comptrollers Richard Rogers and William Wood, and the assay masters Andrew Palmer and George Turner, was dissolved. The terms of employment imposed upon the new mint master Sir Robert Harley constituted an important departure from the usual indenture with the mint master. This office had previously been a very remunerative one, too remunerative not to attract the king's attention. Under the new system, Harley received no longer the traditional and quite substantial share of the minting profits but a retainer of £500 per annum. The other Tower mint officials were also paid fixed salaries out of the profits of the Crown.

The year 1627 was comparatively uneventful, as far as the unites are concerned. The basic obverse and reverse designs of the coins remained unchanged, but all except the very early coins with the privy mark Blackamoor's Head show a marked improvement in portraiture. The main defects of the previous portrait were removed. The face puncheon is decidedly better executed on the great majority of these coins and the profile is much more pleasing. A further improvement is noticeable on the unites with p.m. Castle (P1. XVI, 4). The king's crown has correct proportions; it becomes loftier and well shaped, and the bust is now better centred. On the unites with privy mark Cross Calvary

it is often placed rather high with the result that the crown frequently cuts the inner circle and gives the impression of a badly balanced design in too small a frame. Execution of dies and striking of coins improves as well, and all this points towards the beneficial influence of Briot. Briot had not yet any official authority over the design of the bust itself, but to correct the shortcomings of the previous portrait was not a complicated undertaking. Since the bust was a mixtum compositum of several master puncheons all Briot had to do—if indeed it was Briot, for the attribution is obviously conjectural—was to make a few new master punches for the king's crown and the por-

trait; no major retooling was necessary.

The year 1628 marked the beginning of the "Briot era" proper and I have already referred to the issue of the royal warrant which gave him absolute and exclusive rights over the design of the king's effigy on all coins and medals. Here I am at loggerheads with Miss Farquhar's and Mr. Allen's views expressed in their paper on Abraham Vanderdort. I am inclined to think that Vanderdort faded out of the picture at the Tower after his first model for the king's bust in 1626. Actually, after 1626, the name of Vanderdort is not mentioned again in any Tower mint records and the attribution of patterns, medals, or designs for coins to him is entirely conjectural. Since I am solely concerned with coins issued for normal circulation and not with the attribution of patterns and medals, I will not dwell on the subject. To deal with this intricate problem would require a separate paper altogether. However, I submit that Briot's appointment and the royal warrant of 16 December 1628 make simply no sense if Vanderdort had, in fact, continued to exercise his functions as Provider of Patterns after 1626. And, considering the king's financial difficulties, it is not very likely that Charles should have granted Briot the formidable yearly salary of £250 from 1626 onwards if Vanderdort could have provided the Tower mint with satisfactory models for the coinage as well as for the king's special coins and medals, at a salary of £40 per annum.2 Vanderdort held already four royal appointments at that time, to which a further appointment was added later on, and some of them were certainly sinecures. He was an artist who could make wax models of the king's effigy, but he had no mint experience whatever, and his high-relief model of 1625 which was found unsuitable for the purpose of the current coinage discloses his lack of knowledge of the practical requirements. Vanderdort had almost certainly never made a puncheon, nor sunk a die, and whatever artistic skill he possessed was of little use to the Tower. Obviously, the right man for the mint was Briot, who had years of experience on the Continent behind him and who, in addition to his great qualities as an artist, was unsurpassed in his skill as a craftsman. The patterns which Miss Farquhar and Mr. Allen have assigned to Vanderdort were struck and not cast. Considering the relief of these pieces, I cannot see how Vanderdort could have struck

¹ Num. Chron. 1941.

² Ibid., p. 57.

them without recourse to Briot and the Tower mint presses. The making of medals with the king's effigy was Briot's sole privilege and he was entitled to the profits derived from such work. All other persons were prohibited from engraving medals, and Briot was entitled to keep in his personal custody and under his personal control all engines and devices for framing the coins and medals. In these circumstances it would have been a blatant infringement of Briot's rights if Vanderdort had made the medals which Miss Farquhar and Mr. Allen have attributed to him. And that Briot should have executed medals for Vanderdort seems highly improbable. It is with the greatest reluctance that I am departing here from such formidable experts as Miss Farguhar and Mr. Allen, but I must deal with their paper because they have assigned the entire portraiture from 1626 to 16442 to Vanderdort or to Vanderdort's influence, excepting the assured Briot bust, introduced in 1639 and used side by side with the previous bust for almost four years. This attribution is, in my opinion, untenable.

In 1628 the privy mark Castle continued to remain in use and there is no change between these unites and those struck in 1627. The same applies at first to the unites with privy mark Anchor, introduced in July 1628. It must have been around the very end of 1628 or the beginning of 1629 that a somewhat longer punch of the king's profile appeared on some of the unites. This marks the beginning of the so-called "elongated portrait" (Pl. XVI, 5) which is maintained until the king's bust was redesigned and Group C superseded Group B.

In June 1629 the privy mark Heart replaced the Anchor. Both portrait varieties remain in use but we find predominantly the elongated portrait and a divided legend. Noteworthy is the vast improvement in the execution of the coins which is clearly due to the fact that Briot, who was now in full control to "make and frame the first designs and effigies of the King's image", took a more active part in the routine work of the Tower mint than before. That he did not change the design of the king's bust completely is, I think, further evidence to the effect that the various changes and improvements which had taken place since 1626, and which gradually changed the first bust of Group B almost out of recognition (cf. Pl. XVI, 3 and P1. XVI, 5), were Briot's work and that he was not on the whole dissatisfied with the coins, although he was clearly preparing designs and making tools for a new bust. A pattern in the British Museum (Pl. XVI, 18 (obv.), Pl. XVII, 19 (rev.)) with privy mark Heart throws light on the obverse and reverse designs to come: it has already the features of the bust of Group C which was to be introduced about a vear later.

With the introduction of privy mark Feathers in June 1630, only the elongated portrait dividing the legend survived. The reverse was

¹ Patent Roll, 4 Charles I, part 11, m. 5, of 16 December 1628.

² Mr. Allen states erroneously in *Num. Chron.* 1941, p. 75, that "the portraits continue to be influenced by Vanderdort's conception of Charles's features down to the Tun mark". Actually, the portrait he refers to occurs on unites with all subsequent privy marks down to (P), excepting Triangle-in-Circle, which is known with Briot's portrait only.

slightly changed on some of the very late coins (P1. XVII, 28) and we find this new shield variety side by side with the normal shield of Group B (P1. XVII, 27) until the coins were redesigned around the

end of 1630 or the beginning of 1631.

The Calendars of State Papers establish that Briot applied for the appointment of Joint Chief Engraver in October 1630 after that office had become vacant by the resignation of John Gilbert.² That Briot ever received this appointment is extremely doubtful. It is true that, in actual fact, he took Gilbert's place and that Briot's widow referred to her late husband as "Chief Engraver to His Majesty's Mint of England" in a petition to Charles II in respect of arrears due to Briot.³ It is also certain that in addition to the royal grant of £250 p.a. Briot received, from 1633 onwards, a salary of £50 p.a. from the Tower mint and this is the same salary which the Chief Engraver, Greene, received himself. However, in the relevant document4 Briot is described as "one of the chief engravers" but not "the Joint Chief Engraver", and in the various manuscripts he is usually referred to and addressed as "The King's Engraver". I am inclined to think that Greene remained the sole Chief Engraver after Gilbert's retirement, for when Greene died in 1644 Charles appointed Thomas Rawlins as "Chiefe Graver to His Mat's mint at the Tower of London and elsewhere in England and Wales".5 Parliament simultaneously granted the office jointly to Thomas Simon and Edward Wade. Briot's name was not mentioned by either party on this occasion. It seems therefore highly improbable that he should have been Joint Chief Engraver to the Tower mint at any time.

The gold coins were redesigned—presumably early in 1631, as gold of all denominations with the privy mark Feathers is more common of Group B than of the new design—and Group C was introduced (P1. XVI, 6, 7, 8 and P1. XVII, 29, 30). Since the model for the design of Group C was already made when privy mark Heart was in force (P1. XVI, 18 and P1. XVII, 19) it is not surprising that the change-over

was well prepared and that there was little muling.6

Group C includes the coins struck during the last few months of the Feathers privy mark period, and all the unites bearing the privy mark Rose. This issue was—for the unites at any rate—the most intricate and erratic of the entire reign of Charles I, and it remained in an

⁶ Except in the case of the gold crowns with which I shall deal later.

Brit. Num. Journ. 1908, p. 173.
 Gilbert and Greene had shared the office of Chief Engraver since before Charles became king, but Gilbert left the mint already in 1628 after a series of such violent quarrels with Greene that an official inquiry had to be held. Following this inquiry, Gilbert resigned, or was forced to resign, with a pension of which we find evidence in the *Cal. State Papers*. However, officially he retired only with effect from October 1630 when Greene acknowledged the receipt of Gilbert's irons and the surrender of his office.

³ Cal. State Papers, Dom. 1662.

⁴ Num. Chron. 1913, p. 376.
5 Royal Proclamation of 15 April 1645, cf. Num. Chron. 4th ser., vol. xiii, p. 369. The appointment was, of course, totally ineffective by reason of the fact that Parliament was at that time in complete control of the Tower.

experimental stage without ever graduating to a well-established type. Already, when Group C was just introduced and privy mark Feathers in force, we find a pattern with the obverse of Group D which was to be adopted after 21 June 1632, when the Rose privy mark was replaced by the Harp. Although I am not dealing with patterns and proofs in this paper it is illustrated here by the courtesy of Messrs. Baldwin & Sons, Ltd. because of its considerable interest and importance. It is technically a mule of Group D/Group C although the term "mule" does not really apply in the accepted sense of the word. I think this is unquestionably Briot's work, not only from the point of view of execution but also because his typical A letter puncheon with the slightly slanting top and his equally typical Rs appear in the obverse legend. Briot was no doubt experimenting with the new design for the future issue, and it is not without significance that he struck a pattern of his new obverse design combined with a reverse die of the current issue on which we do not find Briot's letter puncheons. This does not mean that the reverse die was cut by an artist other than Briot, for it is certain that Briot cut reverse dies after 1633 when he received his regular appointment at the Tower. There is in fact evidence that he "intermeddled" with the engraving of the king's arms² at times before 1633. But, as we have seen, Briot was not normally concerned with the reverse design of the coins, and it is by no means certain that Briot possessed in his personal capacity a complete set of irons for the making of a reverse die of the current issue. If he wanted to cut a reverse die for the purpose of an experiment he probably did so in the Tower workshop with standard Tower irons and not in his own rooms. This pattern points so clearly towards Briot and the evidence of the dies fits in so completely with the documentary evidence which has come down to us that it must be singled out as a key

The new portrait of this pattern gives perhaps the explanation for the confusion to which I have referred during the issue of the Group C unites. The king changed his dress around the beginning of 16313 and a soft-falling lace collar took the place of the stiff ruff "picardil". The bust design of the Group C coins was thus probably condemned a priori to a very short life, and therefore it did not seem worth while getting it well established.

Briot knew that his activities at the Tower would be considerably reduced for some time4 and—conscientious as ever—he provided the Tower engravers and workmen with a much larger number of master punches and carefully executed proofs struck from specially prepared dies "thereby to conform their work together" than would normally have been necessary. This explains, I think, why we find

¹ Pl. XVII, 20-21.

² Patent Roll, 4 Charles I, part II, m. 5 of 16 Dec. 1628.

³ Dr. Brooke in *English Coins*, p. 203, states erroneously that the change in the king's dress took place "in, or about, the year 1632".

⁴ The preparations for his mill coinage must have been made at the very latest around the beginning of 1631, and they may well have been made earlier.

during this period quite a few beautiful proofs. However, we must guard against a classification as proofs of all the coins of this period which were struck from specially well-cut dies. It is apparent that at least some of the dies, which had been carefully engraved to strike a few proofs, were subsequently released for general use and it is not surprising that in many cases they have produced coins with a superior finish and a rather smoother and more glossy surface than coins struck from the standard dies of the current issue. Fortunately, the leading London dealers have traditionally displayed a gratifying caution when listing such coins, but collectors use the word "prooff" rather too frequently, and point towards die links in confirmation. However, die links are meaningless in this case and a very two-edged sword, for we cannot really assume that different obverse and reverse dies were combined indiscriminately for the purpose of striking a few—a very few—proofs.

Between 30 November 1631 and 30 November 1632 Briot was predominantly engaged in supervising his own coinage with "Hillower and B" as it is usually called, and he provided England with the first mill coins struck for circulation since the days of Eloi Mesterelle. Actually, Briot used two different punches for his "FRlower" privy mark: one resembling an anemone and another resembling a daisy. They were used practically simultaneously but the anemone puncheon is no doubt the earlier of the two, considering the evidence of Briot's silver patterns. Briot coined altogether 26 lb. 11 oz. of Crown gold and 221 lb. 4 oz. of silver within the scope of his own coinage, which represented for both gold and silver coins just under 1 per cent, of the Tower output of the corresponding period. So far as Briot's gold coins of this coinage are concerned, he must have concentrated mainly on unites, for the double crowns are rare and of the crowns only two specimens from the same pair of dies are known. Actually, I am inclined to think that Briot's crown remained in the pattern stage and was not intended for general circulation.

Since 1628 Briot had doggedly fought the battle for a mill coinage and for the use of his engines at the Tower. Charles, who unquestionably knew the beautiful coins and medals which Briot had struck in France prior to 1625, supported the French engraver, but the introduction of continental machinery met with the same resistance on the part of the Tower mint officials as Mesterelle had encountered during the reign of Elizabeth I. In October 1630 when Briot had applied for the appointment of Joint Chief Engraver he had already stated that he had received no facilities at the Tower for his engines and instruments, that he was encountering difficulties in training his workmen, and that no assistance was given to him by the Mint officials because he was not "off their body and corporation". Subsequently, the mint administration had denied that Briot's efforts to set up his machinery

¹ Drawings on p. 374.

² Audit Office Accounts quoted by Henry Symonds in Num. Chron. 1913, p. 366.

³ Call. Statte Papers, Dom. 1629/31.

were being systematically sabotaged, and they had stated that a trial of Briot's skill would be held if and when he was ready to strike coins with his new machinery. No doubt Charles knew perfectly well what game was being played at the Tower and he was evidently determined not to be imposed upon by the "vested interests" of the old school at the mint but to make full use of Briot's talents and qualifications. To an expert in these matters like Charles it must have been obvious that Briot could only do full justice to the quality of his designs and display his skill as a die-sinker if the coins were struck with a mechanical coining device. Briot, he must have realized, was inevitably facing technical limitations in the execution of his dies if they had to be cut in such a manner that the metal would rise properly under the limited striking force of the hammer.

In June 1631 the king issued instructions to the effect that Briot should receive bullion and be given time to train assistants; subsequently, a Commission should judge his work. Charles also ordered that the coins Briot was to strike should be received "as our other

moneys made by the ordinary way of the Hammer".

Briot's hour had come: his "Flower and B" coinage is the result of this royal order and the coins must be regarded as forming part of the regular Tower issue, although they were struck proof-like and many of them have come down to us in mint state. Why these coins should have had much less circulation than the orthodox Tower coins it is difficult to say. Maybe they were not popular with the merchants who doubted perhaps that they were legal tender. After all, they were strikingly different from the ordinary Tower pieces and produced in such small numbers that they cannot often have been seen.

Whether a proper trial² of Briot's skill was held, as forecast in the correspondence between the king and the mint officials, is not known. However, there must have been some sort of official report on Briot's mill coins, and it can be assumed from the Cal. State Papers, Dom.3 that the Commission of 1631/2 confined itself to a rather vague statement not recommending a mill coinage. The findings of this Commission were, I think, a foregone conclusion. However much one would agree with Miss Farguhar that Briot's mill coins of 1631/2 are "of a beauty not easily surpassed", and however superior they were to the ordinary hammered coins of the regular Tower mint output, the Commission would probably have found fault with them even if the designs had been made by Guillaume Dupre himself, and even if Briot's engines had possessed the technical perfection of a modern minting press. The superior craftsmanship of the Frenchman was looked upon with jealousy, and the more modern system of striking coins "by way of press and millinge" demanded a knowledge of engineering and an advanced die-cutting technique which Briot and Briot alone possessed. The introduction too of methods of production by which

¹ Rymer's Foedera, xix, p. 288.

Authorized by an Edict of 2 Feb. 1630.
 1637/8, p. 498, vol. cccxcii, no. 37.

human labour was largely replaced by mechanical force and machines has met with opposition at all times, but there is perhaps another side to the problem which is worth considering. Although I find it difficult to subscribe completely to the comments a French numismatist made during a conversation with me in connexion with Briot's work at the Tower, they are, I think, interesting and should be placed on record:

Briot played his cards really very badly indeed. Prior to 1631 he had improved the quality of the Tower coins out of recognition and raised it to such a high level that no one felt the slightest need for a drastic change and improvement in technique of the coinage. Subsequently, he produced within the scope of a private trial coinage a series of coins which occupy admittedly a very high place among the best ever minted in England. But it must have been perfectly obvious to even an unbiased Commission that there was no engraver other than Briot in England capable of cutting dies of such artistic and technical quality. Instead of demonstrating the advantages of his engines over the hammer, he went out of his way to antagonize his English colleagues by demonstrating his vastly superior skill. But this is not all. Could any Commission be reasonably expected to recommend that the key mint of the nation should be left in the hands of an eminently qualified but notoriously quarrelsome foreigner having a justified grievance and the uncompromising character of a typical French Huguenot ? Who, in his senses, could have allowed Briot to occupy a position where he was irreplaceable, not only as an artist and an engraver but more particularly as an engineer? For although his machines were largely copied from existing French and German models, they were fitted with parts and equipped with gadgets which were Briot's own invention. Is it fair, in these circumstances, to blame the Commission for warding off the potential danger of a complete dictatorship of Master Nicolas Briot and his engines over the Tower mint on which England relied exclusively in those days?

To the best of my knowledge, Briot's attempt at introducing a mill coinage has never been reviewed in this light before. However, I am inclined to think that a position which existed in the first half of the seventeenth century is liable to be wrongly described and the basic facts distorted if we approach them with the mentality of a twentieth-century politician. Jealousy as well as certain technical imperfections of Briot's machines and perhaps also the considerable cost of the equipment are, in my opinion, the more likely elements for Briot's defeat in the first "battle of the mill" than considerations of a national character and fear of personal despotism on the part of Briot.

If I have repeatedly referred to jealousy I would, however, except Edward Greene here. In any case it seems to me that—perhaps unlike Vanderdort—Briot encountered much more opposition from the mint officials than from his fellow engravers. Vanderdort was probably regarded at the mint as a rank amateur, which he was so far as the technical and practical aspects of the coinage were concerned. But the engravers at the mint could not fail to realize that there was nothing they could teach Briot and a lot they could learn from him, and whereas Briot may not have been universally popular, he must have been universally respected at the Tower. Also, the manner in which both king and Parliament contacted Briot and Briot alone over Greene's head when dealing with the affairs of the mint just before

¹ The manner in which the letter of 7 Jan. 1626 from the mint addressed to Conway is worded, when Vanderdort's high-relief patterns were rejected for the purpose of the current coinage, points to this. Cf. Num. Chron. 1941, pp. 61–62.

and just after the outbreak of the Civil War makes me believe that, *de facto*, Briot was the real head of the technical executive in authority at the Tower.

So far as Greene is concerned, there is evidence that he was in no way opposed to the introduction of a mill coinage. The coins themselves provide ample evidence of a close and amicable collaboration between Briot and Greene, and it was Greene who, in 1630, had recommended that Briot should share the office of Chief Engraver with him.

When the Harp privy mark superseded the Rose after 21 June 1632, Group D was introduced and the bust design of the pattern unite with privy mark Feathers (P1. XVII, 20) appears on the coins, together with a new reverse design with a differently garnished shield and a crown above the initials C-R (P1. XVII, 31). The king's bust passed through several experimental stages over a period of two years until it finally settled down to two established models which were issued side

by side between mid-1634 and about mid-1639.

At first the unites of Group D have the king's bust with a large and very high crown which cuts the inner circle, divides the legend above and reaches in some cases almost to the edge of the coin (P1. XVI, 10). Gradually, however, the position of the bust was slightly lowered and the king's crown placed somewhat farther down on the king's head. Although the king's crown still cuts into the inner circle, there is now enough space for the privy mark to be placed above the crown and the legend is no longer completely divided. Subsequently, the bust is entirely confined within the inner circle. On some of the later coins the king's crown does not even touch the inner circle, and we find a slightly smaller and lower model of the master punch for the crown. The "Harp design" survived the introduction of the Portcullis privy mark in July 1633, but not for long. Two new bust models replaced it, one of which occurs only with this privy mark; 2 the other 3 derives directly from the former "Harp portrait" and it is predominantly the new, flatter, unjewelled, and rather crude crown on the king's head which changes the aspect of the bust. The alterations to the face punch are only slight. The typical "Portcullis bust" which resembles the portrait of Briot's pattern shilling with the tilted crown⁴ occurs in its initial stage with the Portcullis privy mark only. However, the face puncheon of this variety was either weak or out of balance, so that the king's profile is almost invariably double-struck or blurred. This accounts for the fact that the difference between the "Portcullis bust" proper and the later portrait, which we find on the unites with privy mark Bell (P1. XVI, 12) and later, passes often unnoticed. A very few unites on which the king's face is well struck up and on which the features can be quite clearly distinguished have come down to us,

¹ Brit. Num. Journ. 1908, Miss Farquhar's paper on the "Portraits of our Stuart Monarchs on their Coins and Medals", pp. 176, &c.

² Pl. XVI, 11. ³ Pl. XVI, 13.

⁴ A specimen is illustrated in the Murdoch sale catalogue, second portion, pl. x, no. 303.

but the original master punch for the face was perhaps damaged or broken soon after it came into use. The evidence that Briot paid one of his visits to the mint in Scotland in 1633 is fairly conclusive and I am inclined to think that the portrait punch which was used on nearly all the unite dies with the Portcullis privy mark must have been executed after Briot's model but by an engraver other than Briot. One feels that the pedantic Master Nicolas could not have made this punch and would not have let it pass.

The other new portrait² was introduced at the very end of the privy mark Portcullis period and is not often seen with this mark; it came into full use only when the Bell privy mark superseded the Portcullis on 27 June 1634. At that time the master punch for the "Portcullis bust" was condemned and redesigned: the new bust strongly resembles the Portcullis bust, but the king's nose is less prominent, the nostrils differently shaped, the moustache shorter, and nearly all the features

are more elegant (PI. XVI, 12).

The two bust varieties which now occur from the Bell mark onwards became an established design which was used for many years. The earlier bust² can be traced through all the initial marks period until the end of Anchor (4 July 1639). The later bust³ runs from privy mark Bell to the end of privy mark (P) (15 July 1644) and unites bearing this Parliamentarian privy mark occur almost exclusively with that portrait. I should perhaps mention here that I have not been able to trace a specimen bearing the Triangle-in-Circle mark (15 July 1641– 29 May 1643) with this bust. However, there is no reason to assume that none were struck. It was around the middle of the year 1635, soon after the introduction of privy mark Crown, that Sir Robert Harley surrendered his patent as mint master and was replaced by Sir Ralph Freeman and Sir Thomas Aylesbury. Aylesbury had already been commissioned in 1632 to make and assize the money weights and this patent was renewed to him and his son in 1637. The financial terms of the patent of the new joint mint masters remained unchanged. They were paid on the basis of the same fixed salary which Harley had received.

Privy mark Tun superseded the Crown in February 1636 and remained in force for over two years. No changes in the unites have been recorded, but the execution of many of the coins with this initial mark is rather careless. The deterioration in the standard of workmanship coincides with Briot's absence from London to supervise the Scottish mint. However, another event may have "cast its shadow before", as it were: Briot may have spent a certain amount of time with his engines and presses, and prepared new sets of puncheons for himself: the second "battle of the mill" started in June 1638, soon after the privy mark Anchor had superseded the Tun (8 May 1638).

So far as the unites with the Anchor mark are concerned, no change

¹ Brit. Num. Journ. 1908, p. 204.

Pl. XVI, 13.
 Pl. XVI, 12.

of any description has been recorded. The two existing bust variations remained in use undisturbed by the strange and erratic experiments which the Tower mint made with the king's portrait on other denominations during the Anchor mark period which ended on 4 July 1639.

In the meantime the king had clearly lost patience with the uncooperative attitude of the Tower mint officials and their opposition to the introduction of a mill coinage. In June 1638 he addressed a letter

to the officers at the mint in which he stated that he was:

resolved to have a fair trial what despatch may be made in the fabrique of our moneys by mills and presses moved by Nicolas Briot, in comparison of the ancient way of the hammer, and to that purpose we commanded our pleasure to be signified on the 28th of May last, and have since been moved on behalf of Briot to proceed to this trial according to the commission of the seventh year of our reign, when Sir Robert Harley was our officer in the mint. As the proceeding on that commission will not give such present despatch as we might expect, our pleasure is that the first thing to be done shall be the trial of despatch according to our directions of the 28th of May, and we require you to proceed therein without delay or further excuse on either party, and when this is done, the commission shall be proceeded upon as desired on behalf of Briot. (Cal. State Papers, Dom. 1637/8.)

The terms in which this letter is couched and the manner in which it is stressed that no "delay or further excuse" would be tolerated could hardly fail to produce results. Strangely enough, no documentary evidence about the outcome of the trial has so far been discovered, but there can be no doubt that it was held. We find a reference in the Cal. State Papers, Dom. to "engine presses, mills rollers and other instruments for the fabric of the King's medals and used for the trials of his monies ordered by Charles I" and it is stated that the "Money Tryals not answering his Matys expectation. Those instruments were committed after to the care of David Ramedge [the artificer who made them] for preservation in the Mint."

None of the original trial pieces which Bríot struck in 1638 seem to have survived, which is not surprising because they were obviously never released for circulation. We are, however, confronted with a very few hammered gold coins for which there was apparently no

authority whatsoever.

That Briot's hammered coinage of 1638 with the Anchor privy mark had official sanction and formed part of the regular Tower output is, of course, beyond any possible doubt. But this applies only to the silver and not to gold coins. Briot was allotted 930 lb. I oz. of silver for coins to be struck under his supervision from the Tower bullion of the indenture, but no gold was released to him.

Briot's "own hammered coinage" of 1638 is already a puzzle. The trial had evidently not been a success and a mill coinage—such as the "Flower and B" series of 1631/2—was not repeated. Since the minting press was not accepted it is difficult to explain why Briot should have been granted authority for a separate hammered coinage of his

¹ Charles II, vol. xxii, no. 182.

² Audit Office Accounts.

own. From the evidence of denominations other than the unites it is clear that the Tower mint was experimenting with new designs. But this should have been a very valid reason for keeping Briot on his normal job of executing master punches and sinking dies. Briot's coinage, admittedly, supplemented the Tower output of silver which was exceptionally low during the privy mark Anchor period¹ and which suffered no doubt from the retooling which was taking place at the time. However, it is difficult to see why an additional production of silver coins should have been assured in such a complicated and irrational manner. Briot's private coinage necessitated a fair number of new tools and the sinking of special dies. This work seems to have been executed by Briot himself or under his extremely close and personal supervision so that he was unable to devote as much time to the regular Tower dies and punches as usual.

However, Briot's own silver coinage of 1638/9 with the Anchor mark constitutes no problem of classification, and the official character of the issue can no more be questioned than the authority for it. But the five known gold coins² with privy mark Anchor of the same bust design with a Briot reverse, struck from dies which were unquestionably made with Briot's personal punches (P1. XVI, 14 and P1. XVII, 32), present major difficulties and it is more than tempting to advance the convenient and apparently obvious explanation that they must be patterns. Unfortunately the numismatic evidence does not let us off so lightly; it is so strongly—so convincingly—against such an attribution that I can think of no alternative but to look upon these coins as forming a very small and extremely rare part of the regular Tower

mint output.

The reasons against a classification of these "Briot-unites" as patterns are the following:

- I. If someone could strike faultless patterns it was certainly Briot. But no special effort was made, in the case of the coins under review, to produce particularly well-struck, proof-like specimens. The striking is good average but no more, and some of the unites have weak patches, in parts. The dies were clearly made by a top-engraver, but they were not executed in the neat, painstaking manner that we know so well from Briot's other patterns: they look like ordinary, well-cut dies for a regular issue of coins. All the normal symptoms of a special die for a special coin are missing and, from the point of view of execution, the coins simply do not make the grade for patterns. The only Briot double crown of this type which has so far been recorded (Ryan sale, item 512) is very carelessly struck, and that a pedantic engraver like Briot should have let such a coin pass as a pattern is unthinkable.
- 2. Of the four Briot hammered unites which are known to have survived, three are from different combinations of two obverse and two reverse dies. It is hardly customary to combine dies in this manner when patterns are struck. Nor can one convincingly advance the idea

¹ Num. Chron. 1910, p. 393.

² Four unites and one double crown.

that at least two almost identical obverse and reverse dies with exactly the same design were cut for the sole purpose of striking a few patterns.

Since the "pattern-theory" simply does not hold water, what then

are these coins and how can they be explained?

It is not, of course, absolutely impossible that Briot did, after all, receive an official issue of gold for coining and that no authority for this has come down to us, but I feel that this is a most refutable explanation which is as convenient as it is unconvincing. It is not only that one would expect gold and silver to be issued together and listed in the same bullion release order if Briot had been commissioned to strike coins in both metals. That silver only was mentioned is rather significant. But the number of gold coins struck from Briot dies in 1638/9 was so small that one cannot really speak of a proper "gold coinage". The issue of a few ounces of gold for coining seems both unlikely and pointless from the point of view of the mint administration, because such a microscopic coinage would have been

futile and complicated.

The only rational explanation for Briot's hammered gold coinage I can think of is very simple and extremely prosaic. When Briot's trial took place, his engines failed to "answer His Majesty's expectations". But Briot's new bust design was to become the standard model for the regular Tower coinage and Briot was thus going to be responsible for the future making of puncheons and dies with this bust well beyond the scope of his own hammered coinage of 1638/9. Since silver coins with the new portrait were struck under Briot's personal supervision, he had ample opportunity to test his master-puncheons and his dies on silver flans. But he was not striking gold and it is quite likely that a painstaking and conscientious man like Briot wanted to give the key puncheons he was making for the future gold coinage a practical test before releasing them for die-cutting and copying to the Tower engravers. So he just made a few dies with his new puncheons and handed them over to the Tower striking benches where they were used—for the purpose of a practical test—within the scope of the ordinary coinage.

Even if these "vanguard-unites" had encountered circulation difficulties it would have been of no importance because the issue of gold coins with the new Briot bust and the Anchor mark must have been exceedingly small. I am inclined to think, however, that they were liable to arouse much less suspicion than Briot's earlier mill coins with their entirely different aspect. His hammered unites strongly resemble the shillings of his 1638/9 coinage with privy mark Anchor and these were struck in sufficiently large numbers to have been universally known and accepted. In any case, by that time the public must have been quite used to the profusion of ever-changing designs especially if denominations other than the unites are taken into consideration. Since 1631/2 there had been so many varieties of the king's bust and the reverse of the coins, and it had become such a regular practice to issue noticeably different portraits within the same privy-

mark period that one variety more or less did not matter.

It seems rather strange, though, that Briot should have cut special reverse dies of his own for the purpose of testing a few obverse dies. One would have thought that any Tower reverse die of the regular unites could have been used equally well. But the module of Briot's unites differed somewhat from that of the ordinary Tower issue, although the coins had exactly the same weight, and the standard Tower reverse dies were probably disqualified for very obvious technical reasons: a test of an obverse die with a new design was not very reliable and satisfactory if the reverse die did not quite fit. Since Briot supervised his own coinage of 1638/9 at the time, he must have worked predominantly in his own rooms at the Tower, and so it is not surprising that he used his private tools for the reverse dies. Actually, we find that they were made with the same tools which he employed for his mill coinage of 1631/2, except for the privy mark Anchor, of course.

I am fully aware of the fact that I am going to the extreme limits of legitimate speculation, and I am advancing my views not as a theory which can be substantiated, but as a possibility which seems to me more likely than any other explanation and which is consistent with the numismatic evidence. For I feel that one cannot shirk the issue and simply ignore the intricate problem which these hammered gold coins from Briot's personal dies place before us without at least making an attempt to deal with them and to offer a possible

explanation.

Nothing short of the discovery of an assured Briot/Tower mule in gold would really confirm my views. For if Briot's dies were handed to the Tower workmen for use within the scope of the regular Tower coinage, they could have been muled with a normal Tower reverse die if an original Briot reverse die had broken. In the unites series, the difference of module makes such muling perhaps unlikely, but not impossible. I know at least two Tower reverse dies with privy mark Anchor which are rather smaller than average and would have matched a Briot obverse die fairly well. But an obverse die of Briot's double crown could certainly have been "married" with almost any standard Tower reverse die, and, as we shall see in Part II of my paper, perhaps it was.

A gold coin of Charles I with a Tower obverse and Briot's reverse could hardly fail to attract attention because the shape and the garnishing of the shield are strikingly different. However, a coin with

¹ The diameter of Briot's hammered unites is not smaller than that of all the Tower unites of Group D. Actually, we find that, in these series, unites of the same weight differ often considerably in size. For example, coins with the Bell mark are usually larger than the average Portcullis unites. Within the Crown privy mark, coins of the same weight have a surprising variety of sizes. Unites bearing the Tun mark are, as a rule, rather smaller than average whereas those with privy mark Anchor of the normal Tower issue are nearly all exceptionally large. I checked Messrs. Spink & Son's Briot unite against a corresponding Tower specimen of the same weight and privy mark and found that the diameter of the coins differed by exactly $\frac{1}{8}$ inch. On the other hand, that same Briot coin has much the same size as several Tower unites with privy mark Tun, and it also tallies exactly with the diameters of the Tower unites of Group F.

Briot's obverse and a Tower reverse¹ is almost bound to pass unnoticed unless the owner has made a special study of Briot's peculiar punch for the Anchor mark, and unless he notices the Briot legend MAG BRIT FR ET HIB on a unite or a double crown² which does not occur on

ordinary Tower gold coins during the Anchor mark period.

Any gold coin with Briot's bust and the Anchor mark is a priori suspicious, but even coins with Triangle and Briot's legend require closer inspection, because his own coinage of 1638/9 reaches for a few weeks into the period during which the Triangle mark was used. And Briot may have been in no hurry to test his bust punch for the double crowns (and, possibly, gold crowns), knowing that the existing tools of the current design for the smaller denominations would meet the Tower mint requirements for some considerable time, and that his

own punches would not come into use straight away.

I know of no hammered gold crown with the Briot bust, and it is frequently argued that this was never struck because—unlike the unites and double crowns—the design of the gold crown remained unchanged and the new Briot bust of 1638 was never adopted. However, I am inclined to think that this is far from being conclusive. It is true, of course, that the gold crown does not always follow the lead of the larger gold denominations. But when Briot redesigned the king's bust in 1638 it is evident that this new model was not meant to be confined to his own coinage of 1638/9. A priori, there is no reason to assume that Briot excluded the gold crown from his new design because it was a perfectly normal current coin which qualified basically for the new bust, and a die or two may have been tested as well.

The fact that the Group D bust was maintained on the gold crowns until the end of Charles's reign was probably an economy measure. Small punches have a much longer life than large ones and those which existed in 1638/9 did, in fact, suffice for the dwindling Tower mint output of gold crowns for a great number of years.

Angels of Briot's design³ were probably not struck in 1638/9 because the Angel had really ceased to be a current coin at that time and was

struck for the king's personal use only.4

The Anchor privy mark was replaced by the Triangle on 4 July 1639, and Briot's new bust now appears on coins of the regular issue, side by side with the previous bust design. Because of the basic change in the design of the king's bust I am placing the coins bearing

² This is also the probable legend of a Briot gold crown, if this was struck.

¹ If a test die with Briot's obverse had become unserviceable it is hardly likely that any attempt should have been made to keep the corresponding reverse die in use, because this would have served no useful purpose.

³ Briot's pattern Angel, illustrated in Brooke's English Coins, pl. xlv, no. 6, is a mill coin. If it belongs to a Briot coinage at all, it would come within the scope of the 1631/2 coinage with "Flower and B", but it is quite possible that the model was made hors serie and can, therefore, not be exactly dated.

⁴ Cf. Brit. Num. Journ. 1915, Miss Helen Farquhar's paper on "Royal Charities".

Briot's new bust¹ into a separate Group (Group F).² The reverse of the coins remained completely unchanged. Actually, the old bust design of Group D lingered on for some considerable time and the existing punches were used until they became unserviceable. Even when the Triangle mark was superseded by privy mark Star on 26 June 1640, the Group D bust still occurs. It was only with the introduction of a Triangle-in-Circle as privy mark on 15 July 1641 that the old bust design gave way completely—or almost completely—to the new Briot bust of Group F which was in use when Parliament assumed control of the Tower mint on 10 August 1642. Sir Robert Harley was recalled to the office as mint master in May 1643. He held the appointment until the end of the coinage in the king's name but was evicted because of his refusal to strike coins other than those with a king's portrait and legend. It is typical of the vindictiveness of the Cromwellian administration that Harley was ordered to pay the costs of the first Commonwealth pyx trial in 1649.

At the very end of the period a strange change in the style of the Group F bust occurs.³ This slightly modified portrait of Charles I has been tentatively assigned by Miss Farquhar to the hand of Thomas Simon, presumably on account of the artistic quality of the design. I am afraid I find it impossible to subscribe to this view: the portrait is clearly a copy, and a very close copy, of Briot's bust. The workmanship of the bust punch is rather more crude and lacks the elegant style as well as the extraordinary precision in the execution of details which we find in Briot's and Simon's work. I agree with Miss Farquhar that this "mock-Briot" bust does not strike one as having "the Briot touch" regardless of the fact that it was really a complete crib of his design —and that he probably did not engrave or correct it himself. It is, in my opinion, either the work of a less skilful engraver or, alternatively, an existing earlier Briot punch was somewhat crudely cleaned and recut by an under-graver. For the corresponding bust on some of the shilling pieces⁵ discloses the existence of better bust punches of this "mock-Briot" type which maintained many of the typical Briot characteristics and shows no basic change of design other than a straighter profile which is less pleasing. As we shall presently see, documentary evidence explains why Briot's normal work at the Tower should have suffered; it may have been almost completely interrupted around the middle of 1642 so that other engravers performed the duties of the Frenchman.

The "mock-Briot" bust variety occurs on and off over a period of roughly 2½ years. I have only recorded two specimens with this bust bearing the privy mark \(\Omega \) and three unites having (P) over \(\Omega \) on the obverse.

¹ Pl. XVI, 15.

² Group E is not known in the unite series and such coins were probably never struck. They would have had the so-called "Aberystwyth bust", which we find on other denomi-³ Pl. XVI, 16.

⁴ Brit. Num. Journ. 1908, p. 208. ⁵ See illustration in Brit. Num. Journ. 1908, p. 208.

The very few unites bearing the privy mark (R) which was introduced a fortnight after the Battle of Marston Moor in July 1644 are only known with the "mock-Briot" bust which was subsequently abandoned. The bust punch deteriorated so much on the way that it did not even make the grade for the poor standard of workmanship

which we find on most coins struck after 1642.

Although we are quite used to the simultaneous issue of two bust varieties in the unite series, the case of the (P) privy mark which was used between 29 May 1643 and 15 July 1644 is so unorthodox that it must be commented upon. Apart from what must have been a very few coins struck from "left over" dies of the previous privy mark \bullet with the mock-Briot bust variety, the (P) unites I have seen have the old bust of Group D, and all appear to have been struck from dies for

which old and recut bust puncheons were used.

The obvious explanation for the use of bust puncheons which were, at that time, definitely out of date is the shortage of tools and the lack of skilled engravers. Edward Greene was quite old now, Briot after what appears to have been a serious illness in May 1642¹ had received orders from the Secretary of State, Sir Edward Nicholas, in a letter dated 21 June 1642, to proceed to York. The instructions were that Briot was to send or take with him the necessary irons and presses for the York mint and Briot seems to have neglected his duties at the Tower almost completely and concentrated on the preparations for his departure. In July 1642 a ship carrying Briot's heavy minting equipment and his personal baggage was stopped by a Parliamentary patrol ship off Scarborough. The Commons sent for Briot in order to examine the case, and this brings us to the question as to whether or not Briot subsequently collaborated with Parliament.

The subsequent and last unite bust² can be followed through privy mark Eye (introduced on 12 May 1645), Sun (introduced on 10 November 1645), and Sceptre which came into use on 15 February 1646 and had the exceptionally long run of over $3\frac{1}{2}$ years. It came to an end on 9 November 1649, some ten months after the king's execution. This last portrait is still strongly influenced by Briot's style, but is so different from Briot's usual work³ that it can hardly be attributed to him.

The numismatic evidence points towards the fact that the end of Briot's supervision of the Tower coinage coincides roughly with the outbreak of the Civil War. Can we assume that this constitutes, in itself, irrefutable evidence of Briot's passive resistance to collaboration

with Parliament?

Miss Farquhar has dealt with this question at considerable length (Num. Chron. 1914, "Briot and the Civil War") after Mr. Henry Symonds had published extremely interesting material in the Numismatic Chronicle of 1913 ("English Mint Engravers of the Tudor and

¹ Num. Chron. 1914, pp. 183 ff.

² Pl. XVI, 17.

³ Briot had reigned supreme at the Tower for so long that there was clearly something in the nature of a "Briot school" of engravers at the Tower.

Stuart Periods''), which, prima facie, seemed to cast considerable doubt on Briot's loyalty to the king. Miss Farquhar has reviewed the problem in her excellent paper and, after mustering the evidence for and against Briot, she left the case in the best Scottish tradition as "not proven" but badly shaken for the prosecution. Strangely enough she has only marshalled the evidence of the coins struck in the Royalist mint establishments in the provinces in Briot's favour. Although this is unquestionably a very important factor, I feel that this evidence, although strong, is not conclusive so long as the opening of the York mint is in doubt and so long as it must be admitted that Rawlins at Oxford, who was Briot's pupil and strongly influenced by his style as well as an expert at copying Briot's models, might have made master puncheons after Briot's designs which look convincingly like Briot's own work. For that matter, the Tower mint artisans and workmen whom Parkhurst took with him from London to Oxford in 1642 were largely trained by Briot and might have included a first-class copyist, who was used to executing Briot's models.

So far as the question of Briot's loyalty to the king is concerned, the negative evidence of Briot's work in the Tower mint is, in my opinion, much more relevant than the existence of Briot-type coins in the Royalist provinces. For it seems to me that one can no more accuse Briot of full collaboration with Parliament at the Tower mint, in the absence of a profusion of dies, models, or master puncheons which can be convincingly dated after the outbreak of the Civil War and assigned to him, than one can press a murder charge against someone in the

absence of a body.

It would not be surprising if Briot had done a modicum of work at the Tower in connexion with the ordinary coinage to justify his existence there—and, for that matter, his salary. This would not have made him a collaborator in the accepted sense of the word. What is, in fact, surprising is that we find so very little evidence of his work at the Tower after the outbreak of the Civil War. That some of Briot's models continued to be copied afterwards and some of his puncheons remained in use goes, of course, without saying, but I would be more than reluctant to assign to him any constructive and creative work after Parliament assumed control of the Tower mint.

Briot's adventures during the Civil War, the "Scarborough incident", and his difficulties with the Parliamentarian authorities have been very fully covered by Miss Farquhar. This has no direct bearing on the coinage itself, and falls, therefore, outside the scope of my

paper.

No reliable documentary evidence which solves the riddle of Briot's activities in the Tower mint between the outbreak of the Civil War and the beginning of the year 1644 seems to have come down to us. However, circumstantial evidence strongly supports the generally accepted view that Briot kept very quiet in London and that he paid stealthy visits to the royalist mint establishments at Oxford and York.

[&]quot; "Briot and the Civil War", Num. Chron. 1914.

He may have made master punches for the provinces and smuggled them out of the Tower. The profusion of Briot designs in the royalist mint establishments certainly points towards this, and, although Briot's personal presence in the provinces is perhaps not the only possible explanation, it is certainly the most plausible. Mr. R. D. Beresford-Jones, who has recently reviewed the Oxford gold coins of Charles I very thoroughly and published extremely valuable information on this subject, submitted that the manner in which the shortcomings and defects of the Oxford coinage were periodically amended was almost certainly due to "a visit from London". His conclusion that the "visitor" could only have been Briot is, of course, unescapable, and, although the dates which Mr. Beresford-Jones suggested for Briot's visits to Oxford were inevitably arrived at by deduction and are, therefore, debatable, he has certainly put up a very good case. Also, the evidence contained in Esther Briot's petition to Charles II in respect of arrears due to her late husband² cannot be brushed aside as totally unreliable because of a minor technical inaccuracy.³ Madame Briot stated in her petition

That during the late Warres, he not only continued in his Loyalty to his Maty, for wch he suffered very much, and lost all his fortune, but even in the worse of times, as long as he lived, he from time to time did goe to York, and Oxford at his Maty's commaund (and during his absence the Mint Tools were seised upon out of the Ship and his Wife and Children thrown out of their dwelling in the Tower) and notwithstanding, with very great danger to his person, he furnished still the Mint at Oxford with the necessary Stamps and Puncheons, as it is well known both to Sr Edward Nicholas and to Sr Wm. Parkhurst.⁴

At the time the petition was filed, not only were Sir Edward Nicholas and Sir William Parkhurst still alive but they held office under Charles II. The same applies to Rawlins, to Sir Ralph Freeman, and Sir Anthony St. Leger who were all unimpeachable royalist witnesses, and to check up on Madame Briot's account of her late husband's movements and conduct would not have presented the slightest difficulty. It is really inconceivable that Esther Briot should have run a perfectly unreasonable and unnecessary risk with her petition⁵ by making statements about her husband's visits to the provincial mints which could have been easily disproved.

The evidence of the coins, the old traditional belief that Briot assisted the royalist mint establishments in the provinces, and Esther Briot's petition account for Briot's work and movements until 1644 in a fairly satisfactory manner. Afterwards, however, Briot's activities remain in almost complete darkness. We find no evidence of new

¹ Brit. Num. Journ. 1954, p. 334, and forthcoming issue.

² State Papers Domestic, Carl. II, vol. lv, no. 100.

³ She referred to her husband as "chief Graver of his Maty's Mint of England". The appointment was actually held by Edward Greene, but considering Briot's position in the Tower mint, the mistake is pardonable.

⁴ Quoted by Miss Farquhar in Num. Chron. 1914, p. 211. 5 Which was granted according to Mr. Wroth in his article on Briot in The Dictionary of National Biography, which is usually a reliable source.

punches, dies, or designs anywhere which can be attributed to him

with any likelihood.

As we know, Briot was in Paris in April 1644¹ but it seems unlikely that he stayed in France for any length of time. He would hardly have received his salary at the Tower if he had been absent until shortly before his death. Was Briot's health failing after 1644? Or was his salary a pension rather than a retainer? In 1644 Briot was almost exactly 65 years of age and it is not impossible that he went into semi-retirement. For one cannot possibly assume that Briot confined his activities after 1644 to a general supervision of the Tower mint output. Considering the extremely poor workmanship and striking as well as the shocking portraits of the late silver coins which gradually deteriorated to nothing short of caricatures, Briot's supervision would have amounted to blatant sabotage, and it is not very likely that he should have exposed himself in such an open and stupid manner.

In December 1646, just before Christmas, Briot died in London. Since the Parliament authorities had removed him from his house in the Tower, he had taken lodgings in the Parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields but his burial stone in the crypt of that church, which Miss Farquhar and Mr. Symonds saw, does not seem to have survived two major restorations. I went to St. Martin-in-the-Fields recently and was informed that the crypt was completely dug up after the First World War and used as an air-raid shelter in the Second, so that most

of the old burial stones have disappeared.

THE PUNCHES

By reason of the fact that all the major bust and shield varieties are illustrated, I would refer the reader to the plates rather than attempt lengthy and perhaps confusing descriptions of the various portrait and

shield designs.

At first the bust was made up of four or possibly five punches: the king's crown, the face, the ruff collar, the armour, and perhaps the king's hair. I, personally, believe that separate punches were used for the hair, but it is difficult to establish this beyond doubt, and it is

possible that face and hair formed one single punch.

Excepting the coins of Group A which are often carelessly executed, the punches are, as a rule, remarkably well fitted together. In the Group B series a few irregularities can still be found, especially in the earlier issues, but Briot's training and supervision soon assured an almost perfect fit everywhere. This applies to an even greater extent to the Group C unites.

The bust of the unites belonging to Groups D, F, and G appears to be made up of three punches only: the king's crown, head, and armour. The break in the hair above the lace collar is just traceable on most

coins.

The only possible exception to the rule are Briot's unites of his own

¹ Mazerolle's Medailleurs, vol. i, pp. 127-8.

mill coinage of 1631/2. The absence of bust varieties makes research very difficult here: the king's crown was certainly a separate punch because there is an almost microscopic difference between variety 2 and variety 3 in the manner in which it was placed on the king's head. But one single punch may have been used for the king's portrait and the bust truncation. This would be unusual, because there is no apparent reason why Briot should have departed from the normal Tower practice of using separate punches when making the dies for his own mill coinage. All I can say is that I have not been able to detect the slightest discrepancy in the king's bust on the various coins, and the uncanny precision of the Frenchman's work leaves some doubt on the question whether one or two punches were used for the king's head and bust.

The principal varieties of the king's crown are all illustrated. It is obvious that more than one punch was used within most groups and classes and that we have as many minor technical differences of execution for the king's crown as we have punches, but since they are of no

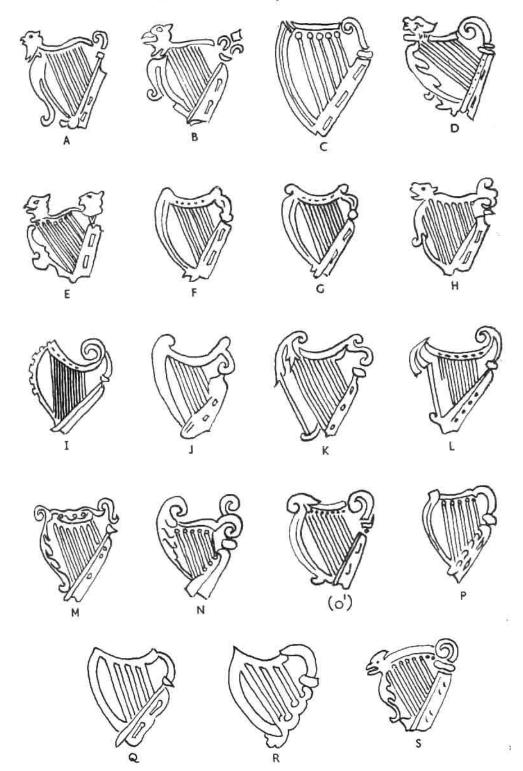
significance I found it pointless to record them.

On the reverse of the coins, the main varieties of the crown above the shield are also illustrated, and here again we have innumerable small and unimportant differences of execution. I need not deal with the varying shape and size of the shield and its garnishing because the illustrations are much more explicit than a description, but there are noteworthy changes in the heraldic punches which were used during

the reign of Charles I.

In the first quarter of the shield, the size of the French fleurs-de-lis varies considerably, and this is not only due to the change from a square to an oval shield, in which the size of the first and the fourth quarter is somewhat reduced. The first reduction in the size of the fleurs-de-lis coincides more or less with the introduction of the Group B coins which still have the square shield. When the oval shield came into use, the lis punches became smaller still and yet there was hardly enough room for the three fleurs-de-lis, with the result that one of them was sometimes partly or almost completely obliterated by the frame of the shield. We even find coins with only two lis in the first quarter: the unites with privy mark Portcullis occur frequently so, but the anomaly can also be found elsewhere. The size and the design of the English leopards changes during the reign of Charles I but not in a spectacular manner and the varieties are largely technical.

In the second quarter we find, apart from a great number of small varieties in the size of the Scottish lion, several changes in the shape of the frame which surrounds the arms of Scotland and these are largely due to the varying design of the shield. For Group A and Group B with the square shield, the lion of Scotland was placed in a square frame and there are no noteworthy varieties until privy mark Heart was introduced. From then onwards we find, on and off, a smaller punch for the Scottish arms with a much more elaborately garnished rame (Pl. XVII, 28). During the Group C period the lion punch is



noticeably larger and placed in a frame which is shaped like an early Gothic arch. Excepting, of course, the coins of Group F, Class I, which have Briot's own reverse and are a law unto themselves, all the unites of Group D, F, and G have the Scottish lion inside a frame which was adapted to the shape of the shield and resembles a fully drawn bow with the string forming a right angle. After the introduction of the Bell mark, the arch of the bow becomes usually somewhat flatter and in a few extreme cases the frame is almost triangular.

The third quarter of the shield with the ever-changing design of the Irish harp has attracted—and puzzled—every student of the coinage of Charles I. To assign any real numismatic importance to the Harp varieties would, in my opinion, be wrong. Ever since the introduction of the Irish harp in the royal arms at the beginning of James I's reign, any harp design could be used for Ireland, and, down to the present day, every king or queen of the United Kingdom has used new and different harp designs in the Irish quarter. There is clearly no such thing as an "established" harp design even nowadays. However, no other reign has known anything approaching the profusion of harps which confront us on the coins of Charles I. If I have listed only 20 harp designs for the unites alone, which are illustrated separately, it is because I have reduced the number to what I consider the bare essentials. In most cases, more subdivisions than one would be possible for each harp type, but I have ignored all the varieties which can be regarded as accidental. Since the criterion as to what does and what does not constitute a change of harp design is inevitably somewhat arbitrary and a matter of opinion, it would perhaps be useful to illustrate two punch varieties of Harp A:





HARP A

The drawings indicate approximately the extreme limit of what I regard as technical differences of execution within the same type of harp design. To go into further details would mean to list every punch, and the harp varieties in the Tower gold coin series of Charles I would probably run into three figures. Unless my ideas about the real numismatic significance of the harp varieties are entirely wrong, such a record would be as tiresome as it would be irrelevant. But I should perhaps add a word of warning in connexion with damaged harp punches: the absence of, say, a very small scroll or other decorative motive which was broken off, and particularly a chipped griffin's head, changes the aspect of the harp to a sometimes astonishing extent.

Below is a drawing of Harp O before and after the punch was damaged, and this demonstrates the potential danger of isolating "new" harp designs which can clearly not be regarded as varieties:



Since the arms of the first quarter are repeated in the fourth quar-

ter, no more need be said about the shield.

It will perhaps be regarded as unorthodox that I am not dealing with the lettering and the punctuation of the coins at great length. However, I feel that a full survey would be as pointless as to record the innumerable varieties of the waves designs of the English nobles and angels. The system of using letter punches and punctuation for privy marking had long been abandoned, and if they provide a clue

it is purely accidental.

In fact, considerable caution seems indicated in respect of the idea that a closer study of the letter punches and particularly of the punch for the letter A would identify Briot's work for the regular Tower coinage. Even his admittedly typical A punch with the slanting top cannot be regarded as constituting a criterion of Briot's workmanship —in any case not for coins struck after 1631/2. Briot changed the style of his letter A slightly at that time, the slant became more prominent and the top of the letter more pointed. However, the previous "Briot A" occurs on Tower coins of the regular issues: it must, therefore, be assumed that Briot had either released some of his puncheons for general use at the Tower, or that his set of letters was copied. His later A punch which is so strongly slanted with such a sharp point at the top that it sometimes looks as if there were almost a nick in the slanting top occurs on all Briot's hammered coins of 1638/9. After 1639, however, we find it also on very many dies of the regular Tower issue until about 1645 when the letter sets were completely worn and replaced by new puncheons with a straighter A. Here, again, it seems certain either that Briot made letter puncheons for general use after 1638/9 or that his lettering was copied, for Briot could not possibly have made practically every die after 1639. We should, therefore, guard against regarding coins with the "Briot A" as Briot-made dies in the issues of the normal Tower output of coins. And it must also be remembered that Rawlins as well as Simon used a letter A punch which was practically identical with Briot's.

If I am using the term "privy mark" rather than the universally

adopted expression "initial mark" all through this paper, it is because Dr. Brooke's somewhat unfortunate term "initial mark" is simply paradoxical in respect of coins which bear the privy mark almost exclusively at the end of the reverse legend.

THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE UNITES

Group A

This tallies with Kenyon's Type I and includes all the unites bearing

privy mark Lis and some with the Cross Calvary mark.

There are two bust varieties of Edward Greene's design which I have listed as Bust I (PI. XVI, 1) and Bust Ia (PI. XVI, 2). The main difference lies in the entirely different shape of the king's crown. Two shield varieties have been recorded: Shield I is very fully garnished (PI. XVII, 25) and this variety is distinctly uncommon. Shield 2 (PI. XVII, 26) has the standard garnishing of the Group A coins.

Both bust varieties occur with privy marks Lis and Cross Calvary, and, during the Lis mark period, the two bust varieties are known with both shield varieties. The evidence that both bust models were used side by side—for some time, at any rate—is therefore conclusive. This is, of course, almost the rule during the reign of Charles I, and the generally accepted view that Bust Ia superseded Bust I around the end of the privy mark Lis period is clearly erroneous. Bust I must have existed at the very beginning of the coinage, because the pattern double crown with privy mark Trefoil^I has this design. However, a closer inspection of the punches and the evidence of die links disclose that Bust Ia cannot have been issued much later, and it may well have been used simultaneously with Bust I.

I have subdivided Group A into Class I and Ia, which are rare and have the fully garnished shield reverse, and Class II and IIa with the

standard shield of which Class II is particularly common.

Since my criteria of classification are the changes of the king's bust and the varieties of the shield design, the order is obviously not quite

chronological.

In fact, the correct sequence in which the unites bearing the Lis mark were issued constitutes a problem which I have not been able to solve beyond some measure of doubt because the numismatic evidence is open to more interpretations than one and the coins available for research do not allow an uninterrupted chain of die links to be established. No attempt at placing the coins in their proper order has hitherto been made in existing literature, and I noticed that students, collectors, museums, and dealers are nearly all classifying the Lis unites in a different manner. Since I find myself in disagreement on some points with all of them except perhaps Mr. Derek Allen,² I must review at least some of the confusing evidence.

¹ Murdoch sale, lot 287, illustrated in the catalogue on pl. ix.

² If the manner in which he had originally arranged the coins of the Clarke-Thornhill bequest in the British Museum trays reflects his considered opinion of the chronological order of issues.

The punctuation offers no helpful clue. The same applies to the lettering, the position of the privy mark on the reverse of the coins,

to the inner circles, and the legend varieties.

It is true that the colon stops and the single pellet punctuation link up with the last laurels of James I. But colon stops are still found on Group A unites with the Cross Calvary mark. They must therefore have been used, on and off, all through the privy mark Lis period. Single pellet stops between the words of the legend are known on unites with Shield I and Shield 2 on obverse and reverse, and point therefore in no particular direction.

A study of the lettering yields no result. So far as damaged letter punches occur, they were certainly not deliberately chipped or broken within the scope of a coherent system of privy marking: we find them here and there without rhyme or reason. Since the letter punches were no longer used for marking issues they had lost all their importance and were frequently punched into the dies in a very careless manner. This makes research exceedingly difficult, because—unless a punch is specially marked or deliberately given a characteristic shape which is not the case for the tools under review—the contours of the letters change simply out of recognition according to the angle at which the puncheons were applied and the force with which they were punched into the die.

The last laurels of James I read MAG BRI FRA ET HI. I have not been able to record one single unite of Charles I with the Lis mark having this legend. Considering the impressive number of legend varieties, it is almost incredible that it should not exist. But even if a coin with that legend should be discovered, it would hardly be valuable for research because the legend identity would have to be regarded as accidental since there is no coherent group of unites with this legend

which could be linked up with the laurels of James I.

The position of the privy mark on the reverse of the unites seems relevant, at first sight. The late Mr. Sam Spink was, I think, the first to suggest that this may have a chronological significance, and many students have held this view since. Unfortunately, however, it is inconsistent with the rest of the numismatic evidence: if we were to assume that the privy mark at the end of the reverse legend is an early feature and that the later unites have the privy mark before the word FLORENT, we must assign all the unites with Bust ra and all the coins with the elaborately garnished Shield 2 to a late issue. This is impossible unless the position of the privy mark is arbitrarily singled out as the sole criterion, regardless of the fact that we have no reason whatsoever to assume that it is.

It is certainly not common practice to place the privy mark sometimes at the beginning and sometimes at the end of the reverse legend

¹ When I read this paper to the Society, I submitted a considerably fuller account of my research work on the punches than is published above. I feel, however, that whereas this was perhaps exhaustive it was also liable to be exhausting for the reader and I have therefore decided against publishing it. But the complete evidence could be made available to a student on request.

in a completely haphazard manner. And yet, this seems to be the case for the unites of Charles I right down to the period when privy mark Castle was in force. This takes us into the year 1628, and the date happens to coincide with the *de facto* retirement of Gilbert as Joint Chief Engraver. It may be pure coincidence that, after Gilbert's retirement from the Tower mint, the privy mark is never again found at the beginning of the reverse legend. To suggest that the dies with the privy mark so positioned were engraved by Gilbert—who, prompted by the animosity which existed between him and his fellow Joint Chief Engraver, wanted to differentiate his work from that of Greene—would be entirely conjectural but not impossible. For that matter, the place of the privy mark on the reverse of the coins may have had a significance of a technical or administrative nature in the mint. We have obviously no right to assume that the significance—if any—is necessarily a chronological one.

Another feature is perhaps worth examining: Bust Ia is not nearly as often seen as Bust I. But it may be significant that around the end of the Lis period a comparatively greater number of unites with Bust Ia appear than before and that quite a few of these survived the change of the privy mark. In fact, nearly all the unites of Group A bearing the Cross Calvary mark have the Bust Ia design, and in many cases the Cross Calvary was punched over the Lis. These coins were, no doubt, regarded as a make-shift: the new type (Group B) was already in preparation, so that the existing and still serviceable dies with the Lis mark were altered and used up, while Greene was work-

ing on the new master punches. This was a major undertaking because the new sets of tools for the entire silver and gold coinage had to be

made. That Greene dropped out as die-cutter for several months seems therefore quite likely.

Greene was the more active and prominent of the two Joint Engravers. This is certain and fully substantiated by documentary evidence. It would seem plausible, therefore, that he concentrated mainly on cutting obverse dies and that he was responsible for Bust I, whereas Gilbert made the dies with the Bust Ia design and a comparatively larger number of reverse dies. That Bust Ia is so much less common than Bust I could well reflect Greene's leading position in the mint. It looks, however, as if Gilbert had stepped into the breach, cut more obverse dies and become generally more active when Greene was otherwise engaged.

Although this explanation is consistent with the numismatic evidence and accounts for the sudden break in the use of the Bust I variety at the very end of the Group A period, it is perhaps not necessarily the only plausible answer to the problem. But it proves what I am trying to substantiate: that the traditional belief in the chronolo-

¹ The only exception to the rule appears to be an isolated reverse die of Group C with privy mark Feathers which has the privy mark at the beginning of the legend. This is no doubt an odd anomaly like the placing of privy mark Anchor below the king's bust on a single obverse die during the Group B period and a curiosity which is, in itself, meaningless.

gical significance of the privy mark position on the reverse is probably wrong; that the abundance of unites with Bust ra at the end of the Group A period constitutes no evidence that this is a late bust variety; and that the unites with the fully garnished Shield r do not have to be given a chronological place between the two bust varieties.

If I have listed the coins with the Shield I reverse first and classified them as the earliest variety, it was because I consider this to be their most probable and logical place. But it is admittedly not their only possible place: an experiment with a more elaborately garnished shield design on the reverse could have been made at any time during the Lis mark period. However, research experience has shown in the overwhelming majority of cases where the chronological order was in doubt that an experimental design such as Shield I is almost invariably early. It forms part of the gradual processing of a design through various stages until it finally settles down to a firmly established type. Apart from that it is not really very probable that the first unites should have had the reverse with the standard shield garnishing (Shield 2), that subsequently the elaborately garnished Shield I should have been adopted, and that the reverse design should have been finally switched back to Shield 2.

We have to face facts: since the privy marks had become date marks to all intents and purposes, there was no need for special marking of the coins beyond the requirements of the pyx trials. We cannot assume, therefore, that there is a key to the chronological order in

which coins bearing the same privy mark were struck.

Group B

This large Group corresponds with Kenyon's Type Ia and includes unites with the following privy marks: Cross Calvary, Blackamoor's Head, Castle, Anchor, Heart, and a portion of the coins with the Feathers mark.

Class I (P1. XVI, 3) shows the new bust, presumably based on a model made by Abraham Vanderdort. The king's crown is rather too small and the profile somewhat unfortunate. It is often referred to as the "sheep-faced" portrait. The reverse of the unites was also redesigned and the shield garnishing becomes less elaborate (Shield 3) (P1. XVII, 27).

Class Ia and Ib. These two varieties are so closely interlinked and there are so many borderline cases between Class Ia and Class Ib that a complete subdivision would only lead to confusion. The unites of Class Ia have the basic bust design of Class I but a larger and better-designed crown on the king's head (Crown 3a) and a vastly improved master punch for the profile was used (P1. XVI, 4). The earlier coins with the privy marks Blackamoor's Head and Castle occur only with this bust which I have recorded as Bust 2a in my list and belong to Class Ia. During the privy-mark periods of Anchor and Heart we find in addition to this bust model a slightly altered portrait: the King's

profile becomes a little longer with the crown on the king's head somewhat higher (Crown 3b) and the bust truncation more prominent. This is Bust 2b (PI. XVI, 5) of Class Ib, the "elongated portrait" as it is often called, and the design of the king's bust has now reached dimensions which make it almost imperative to place it farther down on the coin so that it divides the legend. But this is not a hard-and-fast rule: prior to the introduction of the Anchor privy mark the bust truncation cut the inner circle almost invariably and was often deeply driven into the legend without, however, dividing it. Coins with the Anchor and the Heart mark have the legend usually divided, but there are quite a few exceptions for both bust varieties, which were—as so often during the reign of Charles I—used side by side: on Anchor and Heart unites we find several unites of the Bust ža variety with a divided legend but there are also, here and there, coins having Bust 2b and an undivided legend. The criterion for distinguishing between varieties must therefore lie in the difference of the busts. A divided or undivided legend provides no reliable test. The subsequent privy mark, Feathers, seems to occur with the "elongated bust" of the 2b variety only.

So far as the reverse design is concerned, there is no change, but the different crown punches above the shield affect the aspect of the coins slightly. Crown I (PI. XVII, 25, 26, 27), which we know from all the Group A unites, disappeared completely when privy mark Heart superseded the Anchor. After the Anchor mark came into force a double-arched crown with jewelled inner arches (Crown 2, PI. XVII, 29, 30) occurs above the shield, and this can be found on many coins until the introduction of the Triangle mark in 1639. But after the privy mark Heart period we find Crown 2 side by side with a further crown variety (Crown 3, PI. XVII, 28, 31, 33) which is similar but has no jewels on the inner arches. Crown 3 remained in use until the end of the coinage

in the name of Charles I, in 1649.

Class Ic. Soon after the introduction of the Feathers mark a slightly different garnishing was placed round the shield (P1. XVII, 28, Shield 3a). However, the die links establish beyond doubt that Shield 3 was used, together with Shield 3a, until the very end of Group B.

The Mules of Groups B/C and C/B $Group \ B/C$

There was clearly a surplus of serviceable obverse dies of Group B when a different design of the king's bust and a completely new reverse came into use. However, muling between the old Bust 2b and the new reverse with an oval shield and the royal initials C - R next to it (Shield 4, P1. XVII, 29) was not extensive in the unites series. I have recorded ten such specimens. There are bound to be a few more in private collections to which I have no access, but these coins are quite rare and occur with the Feathers mark only.

Kenyon listed a mule of this variety¹ with a "plain, thick inner circle on obv." in the British Museum. None of the Group B/C mules in the National Collection seem to answer Kenyon's description² but I have seen three such coins, all from the same obverse die, which tally perfectly with Kenyon's record. Only the "plain, thick" inner circle is a fallacy. The inner circle was unusually deeply engraved on the obverse die in question so that it was struck up in exceptionally high relief on the coin and therefore immediately wore smooth and flat. Under a magnifying glass the beading of the inner circle at the base is clearly visible.

Group C/B

Muling "the other way round" must have been a great exception and such coins are of the highest rarity. One of the three new portrait models of Group C (Bust 3a, P1. XVI, 7) with a shorter bust, confined within the inner circle and showing more armour, is found with a reverse having the last shield variety (3a) of Group B. The coin comes from the Catford find and is in the British Museum. This is perhaps not unique. I have seen a specimen with a Shield 3 reverse and Irish Harp K which seemed to be a Group C/B mule, but the coin was so worn and so badly damaged with a large piece broken out of the legend and the bust truncation that it defied certain identification.

Group C

This is Kenyon's Type II. The coins were redesigned around the end of 1630 or the beginning of 1631 when privy mark Feathers was still in use.

Class I

We have already seen the pattern unite with privy mark Heart

1 Gold Coins of England, p. 152.

² Since Kenyon has recorded a certain number of coins for the National Collection which are, in fact, not in the British Museum, the opinion is frequently expressed that his descriptions are rather unreliable. I am not prepared to subscribe to this view. There are admittedly mistakes in Kenyon's book: the almost inevitable mistakes in a book of this kind and scope which was written over 70 years ago and which is today hopelessly out of date. But I doubt if Kenyon's records are as fanciful as some of the illustrations and dates published in Ruding's Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain, because in quite a few cases (this applies by no means only to the series of Charles I) coins which are incorrectly listed as being in the B.M. are known to exist elsewhere. As we know, Kenyon had access to several important private collections including that of Sir John Evans and Mr. Montagu when he wrote his book. It seems to me that Kenyon mixed up his notes at one time so that coins which he had recorded from a private collection were erroneously listed as being in the B.M., and perhaps vice versa. Mr. Albert Baldwin showed me a Group B/C mule of a unite of Charles I from Dr. Carter's collection which had previously been in that of Mr. Montagu, and the coin answered Kenyon's description in every detail. This could, of course, be pure coincidence, but it is not an isolated case and we must, I think, cater for some confusion between the B.M. and predominantly the Montagu collection in Kenyon's book. We should perhaps also remember that little or no importance was assigned to the provenance and the whereabouts of coins when the notes for The Gold Coins of England were compiled, and that Kenyon paid probably hardly any attention to ownership. But an error of ownership cannot be regarded as a fanciful record, a priori, because there are no signs of negligence in Kenyon's book.

(P1s. XVI, XVII, 18, 19) presumably made by Briot in preparation of this new issue. Exactly the same portrait, made with the same master punches, occurs on a number of proofs with privy mark Feathers, and they would hardly have been struck if the new portrait of the pattern unite had not been approved. However, this bust which I have listed as Bust 3 (PI. XVI, 6) is chiefly known from a few proofs and not many coins with this portrait can have been struck for circulation. The variety which I have classified as Class I and which occurs with privy mark Feathers only is distinctly rare, and the few coins I have seen are unusually well struck. So well, that it is tempting to speculate whether Briot did not try out his engines with the dies which were, I think, all engraved by him. For it will be remembered that Briot was now getting ready for his private coinage with the "Flower and B" privy mark.

It is certain that at least one of the obverse dies which was used to strike the proofs was subsequently released for general use; we find it with a normal reverse die of Group C, Shield 4, which occurs on one of the Group B/C mules in the British Museum, and the latter coin must unquestionably be given to the normal issue struck for general circulation. Why Bust 3 was discontinued so very soon after its introduction is difficult to say, because the portrait is excellent. The most likely explanation is, perhaps, that the face punch for the king's portrait broke or was damaged and since there were sufficient punches of a very slightly different design in existence, and Briot busy setting up his engines and getting ready for his trial, the face punch was not repeated. On the obverse the king's crown (Crown 3c, Pl. XVI, 6) is quite similar to that of the previous issue (Bust 2b with Crown 3b)

but the crown is somewhat broader and better executed.

Class II

The second bust variety is undoubtedly an early one. I have listed it as Bust 3a (P1. XVI, 7) and this is by far the commonest portrait of Group C. The face punch differs from that of Bust 3 in several minor details and is rather larger. So is the king's crown (Crown 4) which has a higher dome and frequently touches and sometimes cuts the inner circle (PI. XVI, 8).

The evidence for Class II rests on a single coin, which was possibly struck earlier than nearly all the other unites of Group C. It was not without considerable reluctance and without obtaining the opinion of

¹ One of these is illustrated in the Ryan catalogue, Part I, pl. xiv, item 445.

³ This is by no means unusual in these series. Several dies which were used to strike the proofs with the Bust 3*a* portrait were subsequently used to strike coins of the regular

issue.

² Tempting but probably wrong, because Briot must have used rollers for his mill coinage of 1631/2, and nearly all the coins in question show slight traces of double striking; this excludes the roller as a minting device. It would not, perhaps, necessarily exclude an early seventeenth-century screw press, and both Briot in his personal capacity and the Tower establishment proper had such presses which were used for special purposes. But to suggest that they were used within the scope of the regular coinage here and there is, I think, beyond legitimate speculation.

other students that I have decided to place the coin in a class of its own. It has a perfectly normal obverse with Bust 3a and the reverse is in every respect similar to the standard design for the unites of Group C with Shield 4 which I have already described when dealing with the unites of Group B/C. However, the royal initials C-R next to the shield are missing. The coin is certainly not a pattern: the execution is by no means above standard, there are weak patches and we find clear evidence of triple striking. Also, as will be seen on the illustration of this shield variety which I have classified as Shield 4a (Pl. XVII, 30), the flan is somewhat faulty on the reverse, particularly between the right side of the shield and the inner circle. Nothing short of a discovery of at least another coin from a different reverse die without the initials next to the shield, or, alternatively, the discovery of a unite struck from the same reverse die but with the initials added will settle the obvious problem: Is this an early Group C reverse in an experimental stage linking up with the reverse design of the previous issue of Group B which has no initials in the field? Or is it simply an omission and a meaningless error on the part of the die-sinker? Valid arguments could be advanced in support of both theories, but the explanation that the coin looks like an early experimental model of the Group C reverse seems the most likely one. It is true that the pattern with privy mark Heart which was made in preparation of the Group C coins (Pis. XVI, XVII, 18, 19) must have been struck earlier than the coin under review and this already has the C-R initials. However, in these series where the simultaneous issue of noteworthy design varieties is common practice the evidence of the pattern is far from being conclusive. The absence of the C-R initials next to the shield is so very striking that one feels this could not possibly have passed unnoticed if it had been an omission.

Actually, on most Group C unites the c-R initials are rather badly squeezed into an inadequately small space between the shield and the inner circle so that an experiment with a design in which the c-R initials were deliberately left out would not be at all surprising.

I am not so certain, however, that the experiment was necessarily made at the very beginning of that portion of the Feather mark period which covers the issue of Group C coins. Some of the later coins of Class III have considerably smaller c-R initials next to the shield and on many unites belonging to Class IIa the smaller initials appear as well. This seems to point towards the probability that at any rate some of the die-sinkers found the large initials awkward in the very small space which was allowed for them, and that they subsequently used smaller letter punches for the royal initials, as Briot had done earlier when he had made his pattern unite with privy mark Heart. It is at this stage—probably around the end of the Feathers period—that the experiment with one or with a very few dies without initials may well have been made. The obverse die of the only known unite of Class II cannot be conclusively dated in the absence of a die link.

However, the evidence in support of Class II being a comparatively late issue during the Feathers mark period is not strong enough, in my opinion, to justify a change in the classification. But we have a perfectly possible alternative.

Class IIa. This includes unites bearing the privy mark Feathers and Rose. The coins have the 3a bust which I have already described (PI. XVI, 7, 8) and the normal shield reverse of Group C with the C-R initials next to it (PI. XVII, 29).

Class III includes a few late unites with the Feathers mark and extends to the end of the privy mark Rose. It is clear that this Class III runs for quite some time parallel with Class IIa. The bust (Bust 3b) becomes noticeably different now (PI. XVI, 9): it is distinctly smaller, showing a change in the king's dress, the profile is redesigned with a rather narrower head, and the king's crown (Crown 5) is accordingly reduced at the base. The reverse of the Class III

unites remains unchanged.

What is puzzling about the entire Group C is the abundance of pellets and groups of pellets which we find next to the privy mark and in the field on the reverse of nearly all the coins. There is almost without exception a pellet to each side of the crown on the reverse (PI. XVII, 29, 30), and frequently a further pellet on each side of the shield. Pellets occur also at times in the field above or below the C – R initials, or even both. I have recorded up to six pellets in the field on the reverse and it is difficult to believe that this strange form of privy marking should have had no significance at all. However, there is in these series no necessity for privy marking, nor is there any rhyme or reason for the haphazard manner in which the pellets were used. For example, privy marking, in the accepted sense of the word, is not only unusual but nonsensical on a pattern. And yet, Briot's pattern unite with privy mark Heart (Pls. XVI, XVII, 18, 19) has the pellets. On the other hand, on the proofs which were struck from dies made with the same punches as this pattern, the group of pellets next to the privy mark on the obverse are omitted. To assign all the obverse and reverse dies with the pellets to Briot's own workmanship is impossible. It is not only that Briot was not in the habit of marking dies he made for the regular Tower coinage and that such a practice would probably not have been tolerated. But we find a group of pellets on a half-unite next to the privy mark Lis¹ which was obviously struck prior to Briot's appointment at the Tower, and pellets occur on coins with other privy marks here and there. They are not exclusively confined to coins of Group C but I can think of no plausible explanation for their use unless they served the purpose of checking up on the output of working teams or testing the life of dies and comparing the result with Briot's rollers, in which case they may have been marked not unlike the early Victorian gold coins which have a die number on the reverse.

¹ In Miss Helen Farquhar's collection.

Group D

This is Kenyon's Type III and there was a very clear break between Groups C and D in the gold coins at the Tower: I know of no muling in the regular issues.

Class I includes the varieties with privy mark Harp and the very early unites with privy mark Portcullis. Since I have already dealt with the various changes in the position of the king's bust on the coin, it will be sufficient to refer to the illustrations on P1. XVI, 10 showing the Class I bust (Bust 4) with the king's Crown 6 and the new reverse with the differently garnished shield and the crowned C-R initials next to it (PI. XVII, 31). From now onwards until the end of the coinage in the king's name, the inner circle which had hitherto been sometimes beaded and sometimes beaded with a wire-lined inner circle (guiding line) on either side or both sides next to it, becomes standardized: only the beaded inner circle is used and guiding lines were abandoned.

Not many coins with the Class I portrait can have been struck during the Portcullis mark period and the specimens I have seen are from altered Harp dies.

Class II is known with privy mark Portcullis only and includes certainly the bulk of the unites bearing this mark. For the Portcullis unites of Class I and of Class IIa are distinctly rare and these varieties have only touched the fringes of the Portcullis period at opposite ends. The Class II portrait (Bust 5 with Crown 7) is illustrated on P1. XVI, 11. The reverse of the coins remains unchanged.

Class II a and b is known with privy marks Portcullis, Bell, Crown, Tun, Anchor, Triangle, Star and (\hat{P}) . As in the case of Class I a and b of Group B, it would be pointless and confusing to subdivide this class, although we have two different portraits which were issued side by side. Class IIa has Bust 6 with Crown 7 (P1. XVI, 13); it was introduced at the very end of the Portcullis mark, and abandoned when privy mark Triangle came into use. Class IIb has Bust 5a with basically the same crown (Crown 7) (P1. XVI, 12) and runs from privy mark Bell to (P), but no unites of this variety have been recorded with the • mark. This Class IIb bust was derived from the Portcullis portrait of Class II just as the Class IIa bust was derived from the privy mark Harp unites of Class I. It is obvious that during the exceptionally long life of the Class IIb bust several master punches were made and that we find a number of small differences of a purely technical nature. Especially on the unites covering the privy mark periods Anchor, Triangle, Star, and (P), the face punches are often very slightly smaller and the king's nose less prominent, but this does not look like a deliberate modification of the king's portrait and can hardly be regarded as constituting a separate type variety. The reverse design was maintained during this period.

Group E

Unites having the "Aberystwyth Bust" (as it is often called, because it became the standard design for the coins struck at the Aberystwyth mint establishment) are not known. This portrait, however, occurs on double crowns and crowns.

Group F

This forms part of Kenyon's Type III and is usually referred to as the "Briot Group" because the king's portrait is identical with the bust design which Briot used for his hammered coinage of 1638/9. Group F includes unites with the privy marks Anchor, Triangle, Star, (P), and (R).

Class I

Privy mark Anchor (1638/9) both sides. Bust similar to the corresponding shilling pieces of Briot's own coinage of 1638/9 and to the normal Tower unites with privy mark Δ, Star and Θ of Group F. Rev.: Briot's shield similar to the shield used for his mill unites of 1631/2, variety (3) with crowned C-R next to it and diamond stops below. The crown above is unjewelled and has no apex cross. The large Harp variety for Ireland (Briot Harp 2) is used. The privy mark, the typical long Anchor puncheon of Briot, is placed at the beginning of the reverse legend. The four specimens from varying combinations of two obverse and two reverse dies which have so far been recorded differ only in minute details, so that no subdivision is indicated.

Class II occurs with Triangle, Star, and \odot only, and on the illustration (P1. XVI, 15) we recognize the Briot bust (Bust 7 with Crown 8) which we already know from Class I. The reverse design of group D remains unchanged and P1. XVII, 31 still holds good.

Class IIa is known with privy marks Θ , (P), and (R) and if history and political events were the sole criteria the coins of Class IIa should be placed in a separate group because they were struck under the authority of Parliament. The difference between the Class II and Class IIa portrait has already been described and the Class IIa unite with the 7a bust (Crown 8 remains unchanged) is illustrated on P1. XVI, 16. There is no change in the reverse design (P1. XVII, 31).

The meaning of the strange privy marks (P) and (R) is not certain. There are several possible and plausible explanations, but failing the discovery of contemporary references to them it is perhaps best not to express an opinion. The privy mark (P) is almost universally explained as meaning (P) arliament and (R) is frequently and quite erroneously regarded as standing for (R) ump Parliament. The explanation for (P) is quite probable and satisfactory, but (R) could not

¹ Pl. XVI, 14 (obv.) and Pl. XVII, 32 (rev.).

² Supra, p. 353.

possibly have stood for the Rump: Pride's Purge took place on 6 December 1648, and privy mark (R) was superseded by Eye on 12 May 1645.

Group G

This forms part of Kenyon's Type III and could be described as the "Simon and Wade group", for all the unites of this group were struck after the death of the Chief Engraver Edward Greene at the end of 1644, and Thomas Simon and Edward Wade were now jointly holding the office of Chief Engravers. I have subdivided Group G into two classes solely on account of the shield variety which we find in this group.

Class I occurs with privy mark Eye only. The new portrait (Bust 8 with Crown 8) is illustrated on P1. XVI, 17. The reverse of Class I has still the old shield 5 (P1. XVII, 31).

Class II is known with privy marks Sun and Sceptre. On the obverse of the unites, Bust 8 with Crown 8 is maintained but the coins with the sceptre mark have a very slightly different profile, owing to the fact that the face punch was touched up. This is clearly not a deliberate change. The new reverse of the coins with shield 5a, showing a smaller, rounder shield and different garnishing, is illustrated on PI. XVII, 33.

A statistical chart on which the various groups and classes with the principal obverse and reverse varieties are entered against the privy

marks is added to the general list.

My classification which groups the main bust and shield varieties obviously does not strictly follow the chronological order. However, as the Pyx trials have given us a completely reliable key for the dating of the coins, the chronological sequence of issues presents problems in only a very few cases which have been dealt with. To let the portrait varieties and the differences in the shield design provide the criterion for classification is the only way to clear up the chaotic pattern of the unites in a more or less coherent manner.

Briot's Mill Coinage, 30 November 1631-30 November 1632
26 lb. II oz. of Crown gold were issued to Briot for his personal coinage.

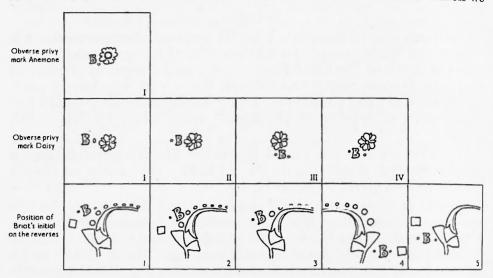
I have subdivided the unites into three varieties:

Variety 1. Obv. Privy mark (I) Anemone + B: Rev. Initial B (1). I have placed this first on account of the puncheons used on the reverse of these coins which tally with Briot's dated patterns of 1628 and 1630. The reverse crown is obviously of an early design which can be found on Briot's patterns prior to his mill coinage of 1631/2. The small Irish harp also links up with earlier patterns by Briot.

The difference between privy mark Anemone+B and Daisy+B has not been previously commented upon in existing literature, and

PI. XVII, 22 (obv.) and P1. XVII, 34 (rev.); showing obv. anemone I: rev. B, I.

so I have made drawings of the varieties of the Briot privy mark "Flower" and the position of his initial B next to it. The position of Briot's B on the reverse is indicated and the varieties which we



find in the design of the Irish harp have also been drawn. The numbering of these varieties corresponds with the numbering used in my general list of Briot's mill unites.

Variety 2. Obv. Privy mark Daisy+B (I and II): Rev. Initial B (2, 3, and 4).¹

The obverse remains virtually unchanged except for the privy mark which becomes a Daisy from now onwards, and one of the obverse dies reads HIBER instead of HIB. On the reverse we find several new features: the first die² still maintains the early, small Irish harp of Variety τ , and the apex cross above the crown is not yet broken off. But the stops below the king's initials c-R are absent and the







Briot Harp 2.

lion of Scotland which had hitherto been placed in a double frame fleurdelisé on the inside is now found in a plain, thick frame without fleurs-de-lis in the field. The second reverse die¹—and all subsequent reverses—have the later and substantially larger Irish harp, the

¹ P1. XVII, 23 (obv. Daisy+B, II) and P1. XVII, 35 (rev. initial B 3).
² Known from the Shand sale, 1949, lot 125.

jewelling of the inner arches of the reverse crown is becoming less elaborate and the apex cross on top is missing. Briot's initial B forms practically part of the jewelling of the reverse crown. The third reverse die is almost identical with the second and was made with the same irons; only the position of Briot's initial B changes from the left to the right of the reverse crown.1

Variety 3. Obv. Privy mark Daisy+B (III and IV): Rev. Initial $B(5).^2$

Two obverse varieties from very similar dies are known; only the B initials are differently placed below the Daisy and the legends read HIB or HIBER. I know of only one reverse die: the large Irish harp is maintained and the apex cross on top of the crown missing, as before. The arches of the reverse are unjewelled. The diamond stops below the C - R initials appear again and so does the double frame in the arms of Scotland. However, this is now rectangular instead of square, a different and rather smaller Lion punch appears, and there are no fleurs-de-lis in the field.

The references used in the General Lists all through the various parts of my paper are the following:

	A. H. Baldwin & Son, Ltd.	JCSR	Dr. J. C. S. Rashleigh's sale, 1953.
Ash.	Ashmolean Museum.	JS	Jacques Schulman, Amsterdam.
BNP	Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris.	ĽR	(Lockett record) Recorded from
BRB	Bibliotheque Royale, Brussels.		notes made by the late Mr.
Cun.	Cunningham sale, 1951.		R. C. Lockett.
ECC	The late Dr. Ernest C. Carter's	Mont.	Montagu sale.
	collection.	Mur.	Murdoch sale.
Fitz.	Fitzwilliam Museum.	OECT	O. E. C. Theobald, Esq.
FW	Frederick Willis, Esq.	PC-B	The late Major P. W. Carlyon-
Glen.	The Rooms of Glendining & Co.		Britton's collection.
	Ltd.	Ray.	Raynes sale, 1950.
HLF	The late Miss Helen L. Far-	RCL	The late Mr. R. C. Lockett's
	quhar's collection.		collection.
HSF	The author's collection.	Sp.	Spink & Son, Ltd.
Hunt.	Hunterian Museum.	Sy.	B. A. Seaby, Ltd.
	VJER Ryan	n sale, r	950.

No special reference is given in respect of coins represented in the National Collection in the British Museum, which are recorded with a +. Varieties which do not occur in the National Collection have a reference in the remarks column or initials listed above. In this case I have confined myself to one convenient reference outside the British Museum, and the absence of others is not necessarily an indication of great rarity.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS ON PLATES XVI-XVII

- (Sp.) Obverse of Group A with Bust 1. Privy mark Lis. Occurs: Class I and Class II.
 (BM) Obverse of Group A with Bust 1a. Privy mark Lis. Occurs: Class Ia and Class IIa.
 (ECC) Obverse of Group B with Bust 2. Privy mark Cross Calvary. Occurs: Class I.
- - ¹ This variety is illustrated in the catalogue of the Drabble sale, 1939, lot no. 184.
- ² Pl. XVII, 24 (obv. variant 2) and Pl. XVII, 36 (rev. variant 2) with Daisy IV on the obverse and B initial 5 on the reverse.

- 4. (ECC) Obverse of Group B with Bust 2a. Privy mark Castle. This is Class Ia of Class Ia/Ib.
- 5. (BM) Obverse of Group B with Bust 2b. Privy mark Anchor (below the bust). This is Class Ib of Class Ia/Ib.
- 6. (HSF) Obverse of Group C with Bust 3. Privy mark Feathers. Occurs: Class I.
- 7. (BM) Obverse of Group C with Bust 3a. Privy mark Feathers. Occurs: Class II and Class IIa.
- 8. (Sp.) ditto Class IIa, Privy mark Feathers, legend var. 2, showing group of 5 pellets before privy mark and king's crown pierces inner circle.
 9. (ECC) Obverse of Group C with Bust 3b. Privy mark Rose. Occurs: Class III.
- 10. (Fitz.) Obverse of Group D with Bust 4. Privy mark Harp. Occurs: Class I. King's crown pierces inner circle and interrupts legend.
- 11. (Fitz.) Obverse of Group D with Bust 5. Privy mark Portcullis. Occurs: Class II.
- 12. (HLF) Obverse of Group D with Bust 5a. Privy mark Bell (large). This is Class IIa of Class IIa/IIb.
- 13. (Fitz.) Obverse of Group D with Bust 6. Privy mark Crown. This is Class IIb of Class IIa/IIb. The coin has an unusual group of four pellets before a very small privy mark Crown.
- 14. (Sp.) Obverse of Group F with Bust 7. Privy mark Prostrate Anchor. From Briot's personal die. Occurs: Class I.
- 15. (Sp.) Obverse of Group F with Bust 7. Privy mark Triangle-in-Circle. Normal Tower die. Occurs: Class II.
- 16. (Glen.) Obverse of Group F with Bust 7a. Privy mark Triangle-in-Circle. Occurs: Class IIa.
- 17. (RCL) Obverse of Group G with Bust 8. Privy mark Sun. Occurs: Class I and
- 18+19. (BM) Obverse and reverse of what is probably Briot's pattern with privy mark Heart (prostrate on obverse) in preparation of the Group C Unites.
- 20+21. (AHB) Obverse and reverse of what is probably Briot's pattern with privy mark Feathers in preparation of the obverse of the Group D unites. The reverse is Group C.
- 22. (Ash.) Obverse of Briot's mill unite with privy mark Anemone and initial B. Variety I. 23. (HLF) Obverse of Briot's mill unite with privy mark Daisy and initial B. Variety 2
- (2), with Daisy+B, II on obv.). 24. (Ash.) Obverse of Briot's mill unite with privy mark Daisy and initial B. Variety 3 (2).
- 25. (BM) Reverse of Group A with Shield 1, Crown 1, Harp A. Privy mark Lis. Occurs: Class I and Class Ia.
- 26. (Fitz.) Reverse of Group A with Shield 2, Crown 1, Harp A. Privy mark Lis. Occurs: Class II and Class IIa.
- 27. (ECC) Reverse of Group B with Shield 3, Crown 1, Harp A. Privy mark Castle. Occurs: Class I and Class Ia/Ib.
- 28. (ECC) Reverse of Group B with Shield 3a, Crown 3, Harp H. Privy mark Feathers. Occurs: Class Ic.
- 29. (BM) Reverse of Group C with Shield 4, Crown 2, Harp K. Privy mark Feathers. Pellets in the field. Occurs: Class I, Class IIa, Class III.
- 30. (HSF) Reverse of Group C with Shield 4a, Crown 2, Harp K. Privy mark Feathers.
- Pellets but no initials in the field. Occurs: Class II. 31. (Fitz.) Reverse of Group D with Shield 5, Crown 3, Harp M. Privy mark Harp. Occurs: all classes of Group D. All classes of Group F, except Class I. Also used for
- unites of Group G, Class I. 32. (HLF) Reverse of Group F, Class I. From Briot's personal tools with Briot's Crown 3 and Harp 2, similar to the punches used for his mill coinage. Privy mark Prostrate
- Anchor. 33. (RCL) Reverse of Group G with Shield 5a, Crown 3, Harp S. Privy mark Sun. Occurs: Class II.
- 34. (Ash.) Reverse of Briot's mill unite with Briot's Crown 1, Harp 1. Variety 1. 35. (HLF) Reverse of Briot's mill unite with Briot's Crown 1, Harp 2. Variety 2 (2). 36. (Ash.) Reverse of Briot's mill unite with Briot's Crown 2, Harp 2. Variety 3.

UNITES OF CHARLES I

Principal Obverse and Reverse Varieties Classified by Groups

		Busts	:	I	Ia	2	2.4	2b	3	3a	3b	4	5	6	5a	7	7a	8	Shield:	1	2	3	3a	4a	4	5	5a	
Lis				A	A															A	A							
Cross Ca	lvary			A	Λ	В															A	В						
Blackan	ioor's	Head				\mathbf{B}	\mathbf{B}															В						
Castle							\mathbf{B}															В						7
Anchor							\mathbf{B}	\mathbf{B}														В						The Contract of the Contract o
Heart							\mathbf{B}	В														В				• •		
Feathers	3					٠.		B, C	С	$B_{\underline{L}}C$	C			• •				• •				B, C?	\mathbf{B}, \mathbf{C}	C	B, C	• •		\Box
Rose				٠.						С	С	• •			• •	• •	• •						• •		С		• •	320
Harp				• •							• •	D	• •	• •	• •										• •	D	• •	96
Portcull	is			• •			• •					D	D	D		••	• •	• •		• •	• •	• •	• •		• •	D	• •	4
Bell				• •				• •			• •		• •	Ď	D	• •	• •	• •		• •	• •		• •	• •		D	• •	\mathcal{G}
Crown	•				• •	• •	• •		• •	• •		• •	٠.	Ď	D	• • •	• •	• •		• •	• •	• •	• •		• •	D	• •	10
Tun	•					• •	• •		• •		• •	• •		D	D	n nntom	• •	• •				• •	• •			D	• •	8
Anchor	•		•	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •		• •	• •	• •		D	D	F, BRIOT	• •	• •		• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	D	• •	0
Triangle			•	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •		• •	• •	• •	• •	n	F	• •	• •		• •	• •	• •	• •	• •		D, F	• •	4
Star	: 0.		•	٠.		٠.	• •	• •	• •		• •	٠.	• •	• •	D	F		• •		• •	• •	• •	• •	• •		D, F	• •	0
Triangle	-ın-Cı	rcie	•	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •		• •	T)	F	F	• •		• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	F	• •	ha
	•	•	•	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	D	••	F F	• •		• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	D, F	• •	7
(R)	•	•	•	• •	• •	• •	٠.	• •	• •	• •		• •	• •	• •		••	г				• •	• •		• •	• •	F	• •	le
Eye	•	•	•		• •	• •		• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •		••		G		• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	G	G	S
Sun	•	•	•	• •	• •	• •			• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •			• •	G G		• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	••	Ğ	\vdash
Sceptre	•		•	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •		٠.	• •	• •	• •		••		G		• •	• •	• •	• •	• •			G	

UNITES OF CHARLES I

The Principal Combinations of Obverse and Reverse Varieties (Busts and Shields)

			O. R.	O. R.	O. R.	O. R.	O. R.	O. R.	O. R. 2b 3	O. R.		O. R. 3a 3	O. R. 3a 3a	O. R.	O. R.	O. R.	O. R. 3b 4	O. R.	O. R.	O. R.	O. R.	O. R.	O. R.	O. R. 8 5	O. R. 8 5a	
Lis .		. 1	×	×	×	×	- 3					J** J	34 34	3 4	34 44	34 4	30 4	4 3	3 3		54 5	, ,	7.0 3			
Cross Calvary	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,				×	×	×																			
Blackamoor's		bee.		Grou			×	×																•••		L 1
Castle .		<i>-</i> 444						×		•••					••				••	• •	• •	• •	••	••	• •	7
Anchor	•	•	••	••		••		×				••	• •		• •			• • •	• •	••	••	• •	• •	••	••	6
Heart .	•	•			•••				×					••	••			• •	• • •	• •	• •	• • •			• •	
Feathers	•	•		••	••	• •		×	×			• • •			••			• •	• •	• •	• •			• •		\Box
		•	• •		••				×	×	×		×	×	×	×	×	••	• •	• •	••	• •	- •	• •	• •	шo
Rose .		•	• •	• •	• •			Gro	ир В			Mules:				×	×									6
Harp	•	•			• •			• • •				roups E			Grou	ір С		×								63
Portcullis												Groups C	/B					×	×	×						\mathcal{G}
Bell .																				×	×					9,
Crown																				×	×					2
Tun																				×	×					~
Anchor .																				×	×	×/BRI	OT.			of
Triangle .																		1			×	×				~
Star																					×	×				\sim
Triangle-in-Ci	ircle									••												×	×			7.7
/TD\				• •	••		• •			• •		•••	••		• • •		• • •	1			× ×		×	×	×	7
(R)	•	•	•••		• • •	••	• • •	• •	• •	••		••	••		••	••	• •	··-	Cuon	- 17	^				^	16
	•	•	••	••		• •	• • •	••	• •	• •		• • •	• •	• • •	••	••	• •		Grou	рЪ			×	1.		S
Eye		•	••	••	••	••	• •	• •	••	• •		• •	• •	••	• •	• • •	• •	• •	• •			Grou	ip r	×		I
Sun	•	•		• •	••	••	• •	• •		• •	• •	• •	• •		• •	• •	• •	• •							×	
Sceptre .		•	• •			• •	• •					• •													×	
																								Grou	ıp G	

Florer+B on Obv.} B on Rev.}	Flowe + B on Obv.} B on Rev.}	Flove + B on Obv } B on Rev	
××	×××	×	Briot's unite bust
::	:::	н	Privy mark Anemone
III	HHI	:	Privy mark Daisy
VARIETY 3 (Obv. PI XVII 24 for yot. cr. Pew. PI, XVII, 36) I. MAGN BRITANN FFAN ET HIB Cr. HIBER	VARIETY 2 (Obv. Pl. XVII, 23 for var. 2; Rev. Pl. XVII, 35 for var. 2) 1. MAGN BRITANN FRAN ET HIB 2. 3. 3.	VARIETY 1 (Cbv Pl. XVII, 22: Rev. Pl. XVII, 34) MAGN BRITANN FRAN ET HIB	
××	×××	×	Briot's unite reverse shield
15 15	ннн	н	Reverse crown
ии	нии	н	Irish Harp
ယယ	a a a	н	Arms of Scotland
××	:::	×	Stops below C - R
::	::×	×	Apex cross on reverse crown
O. O.	0 W 4	н	Briot's initial
Same reverse die.	Shand sale, 1949, no. 125. Drabble sale, 1939, no. 184.	Ruding, iii, pl. xiv, no. r, reads BRITAN but this is probably a mistake.	

THE TOWER UNITES GROUP A

	Bust	King's crown	Beaded inner circle	Wire-lined + beaded inner circ's		Shield	Reverse crown	Pri y mark begin- n ng of legend	Privy mark end of legend	Beaded inner circle	Ecaded + w re-lined inner cir le	Irish Harp	
Lis	ı	ı		×	Class I (Obv. Pl. XVI, 1: Rev. Pl. XVII, 25) MAG BR FR ET HI	ī	ı	×			×	A B (RCL)	King's crown sometimes larger and broader—from a rather crude and defective punch. There are technical
Lis	ıa	2		×	Class Ia (Obv. Pl. XVI, 2: Rev. Pl. XVII, 25) 1. MAG BRI FR ET HI 2. BR	1	ĭ	×		Ø,	×	A	differences in the execution of Harp punch A.
Lis	ı	ı		×	Class II (Obv. PI. XVI, I: Rev. PI. XVII, 26) I. MAG BRIT FRA ET HIB 2. HI (Fitz.) 4. BRI FRAN HIB 5. FRA 6. FR 7. BR HIB 8. HI	2	1	×	×	×	×	А, В	Hilton-Price no. 198 is alleged to have read REGNI but this is perhaps a printing error. Variety (2) cf. Rash- leigh sale, 1953, no. 49.
Cross Calvary	(RCL)	(RCL)		RCL	MAG BR FR ET HIB (RCL)	(RCL)	(RCL)	RCL			RCL	E (RCL)?	Privy mark Cross Calvary struck over privy mark Lis on rev. Possibly a variety of Harp E with fleur-de-lis at back, similar to Harp b of double crowns.
Lis	ıa	2		×	Class IIa (Obv. Pl. XVI, 2: Rev. Pl. XVII, 26) 1. MAG BRI FR ET HI (AHB) 2. BR	2	ı	×			×	A B (ECC)	Occurs with rev. legend reading REGINA instead of REGNA (AHB).
Cross Calvary	1a	2	×	×	I. MAG BR FR ET HI	2	1	×		×	×	A, B	Privy marks on both sides often struck over privy mark Lis. This produces not unfrequently a shape of privy mark which strongly resembles a Blackamoor's head. Occurs with rather smaller rev. Crown I (ECC). A much smaller punch for the privy mark Cross Calvary is known (HLF).

	Bust	King's crown	Legend divided	Legend not divided	Beaded inner circle	Berde 1+ un e line.	Triple inner circle		Shield	Reverse crown	P voy mark begin- nin; of legend	P. ivy mark end of lego td	Beaded inner circle	Brade 1+wire-lined	Triple inner circle	Irish Harp.	
Cross Calvary .	2	3	Sp.	×	×			Class I (Obv. PI. XVI, 3: Rev. PI. XVII, 27) 1. MAG BRIT FRA ET HI 2. BRI HIB (AHB) 3. HI 4. BR 5. FR (ECC)	3	r	×	×	×			A, D E (RCL)	King's crown sometimes pierces inner circle. Occurs reading FLRENT (AHB).
Blackamoor's Head	2	3		×	×			6. BR/FR (Sp.)' MAG BRIT FRA ET HI	3	1	×		×			Ā	King's crown sometimes pierces inner circle.
Blackamoor's Head	24	34		×	×			Class Ia/Ib (Obv. (2a) PI. XVI, 4: Obv. (2b) PI. XVI, 5: Rev. PI. XVII, 27) I. MAG BRI FR ET HIB 2. HI 3. BR HIB 4. HI	3	1	×	×	×			A	King's crown sometimes pierces inner circle. The bust is often deeply driven into the legend and obliterates some of the letters almost completely, but the legend is not actually divided.
Castle	24	За		×	×			I. MAG BRI FR ET HI 2. BR FRA (Mont.) 3. FR HIB 4. HI	3	I	×	×	×	;		A	King's crown sometimes pierces inner circle. Bust often driven deeply into legend (as for Blackamoor's Head). Occurs with privy mark struck over Blackamoor's Head on obv. (PC-B) and on rev. (Mont. 227). Obverse also known from a shilling die with legend 4 (FW). Occurs with larger and smaller privy mark Castle from puncheons of different design. For variety (2) cf. Montagu sale, no. 228.
Anchor 🔭	2a, 2b	3a, 3b	×	×	×			I. MAG BRI FR ET HIB (Sp.) BR BR/FR MAG/BR FR HI MAG BR FR H (AHB) MAG BR FR HI (RCL) BR/FRA HIB (RCL) BR/FRA HIB MAB BR/FRA HIB MAB BR/FRA HIB MAB BR/FRA HIB	3	I, 2		×	×			A, D, F C (Sp.)	Occurs with a somewhat larger variety of R. Crown 2 (FW). Known with privy mark struck over privy mark Castle on both sides (Sy.). The shape of the Anchor privy mark differs:

The Tower Gold of Charles I

Feathers	Feathers .	Feathers .	Feathers .		Heart	Below Bust	6	
						J.,	Ŧ	
34	22	25	20	,	12		(EILF)	Bust
+	36	36	36		ş	36	(HLF)	King's crown
:	×	×	×			×	:	Legend divided
×	:	:	:		×	:	HLF	Legend not divided
:	×	×	×		×	×	HLF	Beaded inner circle
×	×	×	×		×	:	:	Beaded+wire-lined inner circle
:	:	:	×		:	:	:	Triple inner circle
(Ot v. PI, XVI, 7: Fev. (3a) PI, XVII, 28) MAG BRIT FR ET HIB	Mules Group B/Group C (Obv PI XVI, 5: Fex. PI. XVII, 29) 1. MAG/BRIT FR ET II 2. MA BRITS BR/FR HI 3. Mules Group C/Group R Mules Group C/Group R	Class 10 (Obv. Pl. XVI, 5: Rev. Pl. XVII, 28) 1. MA BR/FR ET HI 2. BR/FR HIB.ECC)	I. MA BR/FR ET HI 2. BR/FR HIB (Sp.)		MAG/BR FR BT HI	II. MAG/BRI FRA ET H	10. MAG BR FR ET HI (HLF)	
34, 3?	4	34	ω		ω	ω	HLF,	Shield
ω	ы	Çs.	ω		4	р Б С	(HIF)	Reverse crown
:	:	:	:		:	:	:	Privy mark begin- ning of legend
×	×	×	×				best .	Privy mark end of
			^		×	×	HLF	legend
:	:	×	×		×	×	HLF HLF	Beaded inner circle
: ×	; ×	×						
			×		×			Beaded inner circle Beaded + wire-lined
×	×	ECC	×	(1861)	× × :	× :	HLF	Beaded inner circle Beaded + wire-lined inner circle

Rose .	Feathers	Rose .		Feathers	Feathers	Feathers	
38	30	la R		32	(HSF)	(HSF)	Bust
u	s	*		4	(HSF)	(HSF)	King's crown
RCL	ж	×		×	:	;	Crown piercing inner circle
×	×	×		×	HSF	HSF	Crown not piercing inner circle
Fitz.	:	×		×	:	:	Beaded inner circle
×	×	×		×	нSғ	HSF	Beaded+wire-lined inner circle
MAG BR FRET HI	Class III (Obv. Pl. XVI, 9: Rav. Pl. XVII, 29) MAG BRT FR ET HIB	I. MAG BRIT FR ET HIB 2. BRI FRA 4. BR FR	4. F1 SH	Class IIa (Obv. Pl. XVI, 7-8: Rev. Pl. XVII, 29) I. MAG BRIT FI, IT H B I. MAG BRIT FIA HIB 3. BRI FIA HIB 3. BRI FIA HIB	Class II Obv. Pl. XVI, 6: Rev. Pl. XVII, 30) MAG BRIT FR ET_HIB (HSF)	Class I (Cbv PL XVI, 6: Fev. PL XV.1, 29) MAG BRIT FR ET HIB (HSF)	
+	*	+		4	(HSF)	H. F	Shield
2 (FW)	w	n To		in Po	(HSF)	(H£ F)	Reverse crown
:	:	:		×	:	:	Privy mark begin- ning of legend
×	×	×		×	HSF	HSF	Privy mark end of legend
×	×	×		×	:	:	Beaded inner circle
:	:	×		×	HSF	HSF	Beaded+wire-lined inner circle
:	:	:		:	:	:	Triple inner circle
×	×	×		×	HSF	HSF	Pellets in the field
RCL	:	×		Fitz.	:	:	No pellets in the field
D, H	I AFCI	F, K, J, L		I K (RCL) F (FW)	K HSF	K (HSF)	Irish Harp
P vy nark known struck over leathers. Occurs with arger or smaller privy mark Rose on ch her side or both sides. Size of C-R In tials varies.	Size of C-R initial varies.	Irivy mark frequently struck over Feathers on either side or both sides. See of fray mark Rose en lot C-R intinis vares considerably coccurs to left of pily mark on the Slight va ieths of fee and cryin puncles on our.	of C-R flit als varies of C-R flit als varies on ideally, and three are mall varieties in the kings armout Known with an objectnek. rom a stilling de (Ryan s. le no. 445).	Cooms will small sile grivy mark en 12". Fre, windy ii. In (it er side et both e doe of niver mark Side		Rev. die identity with a Mue of Group B/G oup C, agend van r in FM.	

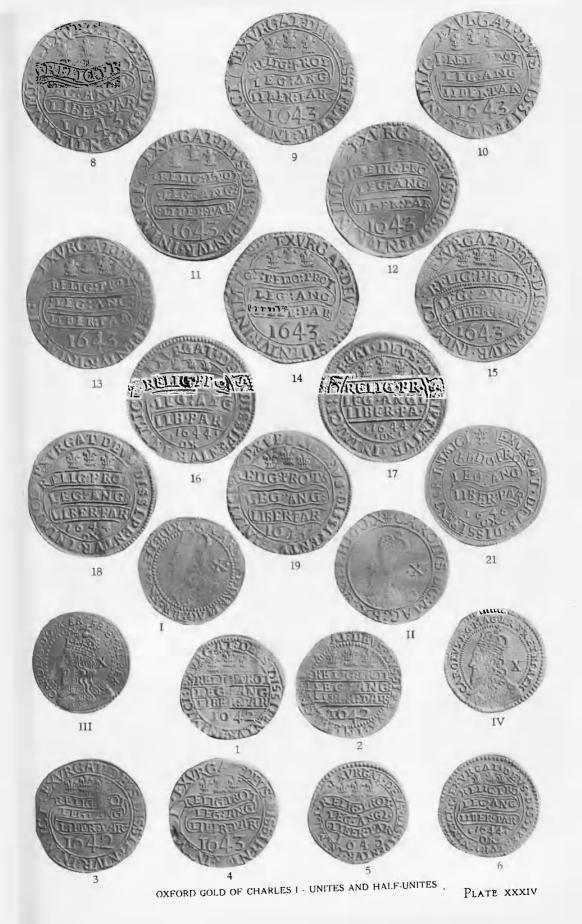
		Bust	Crown	Crown piercing inner circle	Crown not piercing inner circle	The inner circle is always beaded	Shield	Crows	Нагр	Privy mark always at end of legend. The inner circle is always beaded. There are no pellets in the field
Harp .		4	6	×	Sp. RCL	GROUP D Class I (Obv. PI. XVI, 10: Rev. PI. XVII, 31) I. MAG BRIT FRA ET HIB 2. HI (VJER) 3. BRI HIB (RCL) 4. FR (VJER) 5. BR	5	2, 3	I, L, M F (RCL)	King's crown usually pierces inner circle and reaches frequently almost to the edge of the coin, sometimes displacing and interrupting the legend. Coins with legends 1 and 3 have a continuous legend and the bust is either completely confined within the inner circle or the king's crown just cuts the inner circle. There are minor technical differences in the execution of Bust 4 and Crown 6 for the coins with legend 3. Legend 2 is extant as a proof (BM). Cf. Ryan sale no. 451. For legend (4) cf. Ryan sale no. 450. Known with ',' before Harp on rev. (Sp.). Privy mark Harp has predominantly "Harp with Griffin's Head" but occurs also with "Harp with scroll" on either side or both sides. A coin reads possibly: MAG BRI FRA ET HI (AHB).
Portcullis		4	6	×		MAG BRIT FRA ET HIB	5	3	F	King's crown pierces inner circle but does not interrupt the legend. Privy mark struck over (partly removed) Harp on rev. and next to partly removed Harp on obv.
Portcullis	٠	5	7		×	Class II (Obv. PI. XVI, 11: Rev. PI. XVII, 31) I. MAG BR FRA ET HIB (?) LR FR HI MA HIB	5	2 (ECC)	F. L. O' K (LR)	Legend I is a rather doubtful Lockett record of a Clarke-Thornhill coin and perhaps a clerical mistake. No such coin is in BM or has been recorded elsewhere. Occurs with privy mark struck over Harp on rev. (PC-B).
Portcullis		6 (RCL)	(RCL)	,	RCL	Class IIa+IIb (Obv. (IIa) Pl. XVI, 13: Obv. (IIb) Pl. XVI, 12: Rev. Pl. XVII, 31) MA BR FR ET HI (RCL)	(RČL)	(RCL)	N (RCL)	
Bell .		5a, 6	7		×	1. MAG BR FR ET HIB 2. HI	5	3	G O¹, O² (RCL)	Size of privy mark Bell varies considerably. Privy mark frequently struck over Portcullis on either side or both sides. Legend 2 occurs reading FLORRENT [six]
						3. MA HIB 4. HI				on rev. (AHB). Shape of punch for Scottish arms changes from now onwards and becomes more triangular.
Crown		5α, 6	7		×	I. MAG BRI FR ET HI (RCL) 2. BR HIB 3. HI 4. MA BRI HIB 5. BR HI (Fitz.)	5	2, 3	G N (AHB)	Size and shape of privy mark Crown varies considerably. Occurs with privy mark struck over Bell on rev. Known with group of 4 pellets : before and one pellet after privy mark on obv. (Fitz.).
Tun .		5a, 6	7		×	1. MA BR FR ET HIB (ECC) 2. HI 3. H (Ray.)	5	2, 3	G	Size of punch for privy mark Tun varies. Occurs with privy mark struck over crown on rev. (Sp.). Occurs with privy mark struck over crown on obv. Legend 3 (Raynes sale no. 242) is stated to have "reverse legend blundered".

\$+\$+\$+	:	:		5a, 6	7	••	×	z. MA BR FR ET HIB (Ray.) 2. HI	5
₹.	•	•	•					4. (AHB)	
٠.	•	•	•					3. 4. (AHB) (++) 5. (ECC) (+-) 6. (+-)	
45			•					6.	
26								7.	
Triangle					~		,	_	
Triangie		•	•	5 <i>a</i>	7		×	MA BR FR ET HI	5
Star .				5 <i>a</i>	7		×	MAG BRIT FRAN ET HIB	5
(P) .				5 <i>a</i>	7		×	MAG BRI FRA ET HIB	5
								GROUP E (Not known for unites) GROUP F (The Briot Group) Class I	
+)				7	8		×	(Obv. Pl. XVI, 14: Rev. Pl. XVII, 32) MAG BRIT FR ET HIB	
-								Class II	
Triangle				7	8		×	(Obv. PI. XVI, 15; Rev. PI. XVII, 31) MAG BRI FRA ET HIB	5
Star .				7	8		×	I. MAG BRIT FRA ET HIB	5
Δ.				7	8		×	MAG BRI FRA ET HIB	5
۵·				7a (Glen.)	8 (Glen.)		Glen.	Class IIa ("Mock Briot" Bust) (Obv. PI. XVI, 16: Rev. PI. XVII, 31) MAG BRI FRA ET HIB (Glen.)	5 (Glen.)
(P) .				7a	8		×	MAG BRI FRA ET HIB	5
(R) .				7a	8		×	MAG BRI FRA ET HIB	5
								GROUP G (Simon+Wade Group) Class I (Obv. PI. XVI, 17: Rev. PI. XVII, 31)	
Eye .				8	8	••	×	MAG BRI FRA ET HIB Class II	5
Sun				8	8		×	(Obv. PI. XVI, 17: Rev. PI. XVII, 33) MAG BRI FRA ET HIB	5a
Sceptre				8	8		×	MAG BRI FRA ET HIB	5 <i>a</i>

2, 3	G, P	For legend r cf. Raynes sale no. 243. Kenyon records (p. 153) a specimen in the Thorburn collection reading: MA B FR ET HI followed by a group of 4 pellets. From now onwards Bust 5a occurs, on and off from a very slightly different master punch: the face is somewhat smaller and the top of the nose less prominent.
3 (RCL) 3 3	G (RCL) G F, G Q (Sy.)	Occurs with privy mark struck over on obv. Also on rev. (Sp.), also on both sides (LR). Known with privy mark struck over Triangle on obv. (Sp.).
		From Briot's personal dies. Rev. Briot's own design. Known with privy mark struck over Anchor on rev
3	P	Known with privy mark struck over Anchor on rev.
3	G	Known with privy mark struck over Triangle on obv. (Sy.). Occurs reading REGN on rev. (Montagu sale no. 244).
3	G	One specimen has possibly privy mark struck over Star on rev. (BM). Occurs reading FLORRENT (Murdoch sale no. 35).
(Glen.)	G (Glen.)	Glendining's Rooms, sale 22 Sept. 1953.
3	G? (RCL) P	Privy mark on obv. Struck over (Δ). Probably a somewhat smaller variety of Harp G in RCL.
3	G	G III XOZ.
3	S G (Sy.)	Privy mark occurs struck over (R) on rev. A somewhat smaller punch for the Scottish Arms and for Harp G occurs on this (Sy.).
3	S, R	Harp punch R is very small and was perhaps borrowed from a set of tools of another denomination (double crown or sixpence). Privy mark occurs struck over Eye on either side or both sides.
3	S	Bust punch slightly retouched.



OXFORD GOLD OF CHARLES I - UNITES



THE GOLD COINAGE OF CHARLES II

By H. G. STRIDE

ABOUT the middle of the fourteenth century a gold coinage became a permanent feature of the British currency. This event was occasioned by the needs of international trade for which at that time coin was the principal medium of exchange. The smallest gold coin was a quarter-noble having a face value of 1s. 8d. This was equivalent to a full week's wages of an agricultural labourer and would have purchased about 3 bushels of wheat, a sheep, or five gallons of ale. Thus the ordinary man had little use for gold coins and most men were reluctant to accept one. Holinshed speaking of the sixteenth century says "the farmers cared not for gold because it was not so ready payment and they were often enforced to give a penny for the exchange of an angel". The value of the pound depended chiefly on the silver coins and the gold coins were often appraised in sterling according to their bullion contents, their face value being ignored.

Up to the time of Queen Elizabeth I the relative value of gold and silver bullion fluctuated only to a small degree. Further, little difficulty presented itself in preserving the relative value of the gold and silver coins according to the price of the precious metals in the market owing to the gold coins constituting but a small part of the currency of the kingdom and to the comparatively small extent of the commerce with foreign countries. Consequently, as the price of silver rose, and the weight of the penny was reduced in order to give a greater quantity of current money for the pound of silver bullion, the weights of the gold coins were reduced to a corresponding degree. The following table shows the close relationship which was maintained between a pound's weight of silver coins and a pound's weight of gold coins.

Date	Silver	Gold	Relationship	
	\not s. d .	$\not\in$ s. d.		
1344	I 2 2	13 3 4	1:12	
1346	1 2 6	14 0 0	1:12.4	
1351	I 5 O	15 0 0	1:12	
1411	I IO O	16 13 4	I:II·I	
1464	1 17 6	22 IO O	1:12	
1526	2 5 0	27 0 0	1:12	
1572	3 0 0	36 o o	1:12	

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, however, English commerce was developing, wealth was increasing, the demand for money was growing, and large quantities of gold and silver bullion were flowing into Europe from the New World. Silver was coming in far greater quantities than gold with the result that its value in relation to gold was depreciating rapidly. The development of English commerce and the increasing wealth of the country brought into use both for overseas trade and domestic purposes much greater quantities of gold. During the forty-four and a half years of Queen Elizabeth's

reign about £800,000 of gold was brought to the Mint for coinage but in the twenty-two years of James I £3,666,400 of gold was coined. Further, with the circulation of gold and silver coins concurrently and the influx into Europe from the New World of large quantities of gold and silver in varying proportions the problem of maintaining a sufficiency of coin was complicated by the growth of a bi-metallic system of currency. In practice the country was still on a silver standard and, in order to meet the situation, the weight and value of the silver coins were stabilized according to the rate fixed by the Mint indenture of 1601, i.e. at 62s. by tale to the pound troy. During the next twenty years, therefore, the value of the coins made from a troy pound of gold gradually increased with a consequent reduction in their weight. Under the indenture of 1601 the sovereign of 20s. was coined at the rate of £33. 10s. by tale and thus had a weight of 171.9 grains but by 1619 the unite of twenty shillings was reduced to 140.5 grains or exactly 41 to the pound troy. The weight of the twenty-shilling piece remained constant at 140.5 grains throughout the reign of Charles I and the Commonwealth and was continued by Charles II under the indenture made with Sir Ralph Freeman on 20 July 1660.

Steps for the new coinage following the Restoration had, however, been taken earlier, for on II June 1660 an order had been given to the joint Wardens of the Mint, Sir William Parkhurst and Sir Anthony St. Leger, to "cause Thomas Rawlins our Gravour to grave and cause to be engraved all such irons with our Effigies, Titles and Inscriptions according to such directions and commands as you shall receive from us". Thomas Rawlins, who had served Charles I during the Civil War, had been appointed by royal warrant in April 1645 "chief graver in the Tower of London and elsewhere in England and Wales", an appointment which the king was in no position at that time to make. Charles II, however, honoured his father's patent and at the Restoration therefore Rawlins found himself for the first time filling the post for which he had been designated fifteen years before. But during the period of the Commonwealth Rawlins had fallen on evil times, having suffered poverty and imprisonment, and according to Evelyn was no longer the strenuous worker of the Civil War days. On 4 August 1660 an order was given to the Mint officers that "some speedy course be taken to sett in hand the making and imprinting of our moneys" and for "Thomas Symonds to draw and grave . . . all such Paternes and Irons with our Effigies, Titles and Inscriptions". Thomas Simon was "Sole Chiefe Graver of Irons" and "Chiefe Engraver of Mynte and Seales" under the Commonwealth and at the Restoration he implored pardon "because by order of Parliament he made their Great Seal in 1643 and was their chief graver of Mint and Seals".

Charles II was eager to get his own coins into circulation so that he could withdraw the coins of the Commonwealth, described in the Proclamation of 7 September 1661 as "stamped not only without but against Our Authority and intended by the late Usurpers as a high contempt of Us Our Crown and Dignity". He was also desirous of

having his coinage struck by the "Mill and Presse" and Simon having worked closely with Peter Blondeau on the milled coinage of Cromwell was in a position to further the king's wishes in this respect. As Simon was in actual possession at the Mint and Rawlins had been found wanting it was therefore expedient to employ Simon for the time being. The preparation of the dies for the new coinage was a matter of great urgency for the king, and his impatience was expressed in an order dated 18 August 1660 in which he complained of the "great public inconvenience and damage that ariseth from the standing still of the Mint and the occasion of it being alleiged to be that Mr. Symonds had not yet fitted the Stamps and Tooles". This was followed by "a peremptory and absolute order" to Simon direct "that he should forbeare all other services until he hath perfected all things . . . for setting the Mint presently at worke". Within two months of this order the dies were ready and 110 pounds of gold and 543 pounds of silver were coined during November and December 1660. The gold was minted in 22 carat only and in accordance with the terms of the indenture was struck at the rate of f41 by tale to the pound troy, giving the twenty-shilling piece a weight of 140²⁰ grains.

Despite the king's eagerness to get his coin into circulation and so enable the objectionable coin of the Commonwealth to be withdrawn, little bullion was brought to the Mint. The price of gold had been rising during the period of the Commonwealth so that now the gold coins were undervalued in terms of silver. Following the small coinage in November and December 1660 no gold was brought to the Mint during the first seven months of 1661. On 26 August therefore a proclamation was issued raising the currency value of the gold coins by about $6\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. The unite which had been introduced as a twenty-shilling piece by James I to mark the union of the crowns of England and Scotland and of which the current price had been raised to 22s. in 1611 now became 23s. while the later unites circulating at

20s. became 21s. 4d.

The proclamation stated that "we are well informed and it is visible that great quantitys of our coyn of gold do pass so ordinarily in payments in foreign nations that our gold at this time is more stirring abroad in parts beyond the seas than here at home in our own Island", and explained the "cause of this evil to be the great gain which the merchant (especially the stranger) maketh by ye exportation of our gold which gain ariseth out of ye disproportion between the price of our coynes of gold which is higher abroad than here within Our Own Kingdoms". The effect of this measure was to give twenty shillings of coin a theoretical weight of 13129 grains, but the view that coins of this weight were made or at that time even projected is incorrect. The proclamation itself makes this quite clear, viz. "We resolved (preserving still the weight and fineness of our standard) to raise the price of our gold . . . " and again "because it may appear to ye world that in this our proceeding we are not bent upon any benefit of Ourself (which might accrue to us by the Coynage if we had set this increase of price upon such coynes only as should have been newly stamped) . . . we have given ye price as well of gold heretofore Coyned as hereafter ".

That the country was still on a silver standard is also clearly recognized by the proclamation in which it was declared "not to make any manner of alteration in the price or otherwise of Our Silver with which all trades and payments are so much driven and made as the raising the price thereof would give both colour and cause to raise the prices of all commodities and things vendible which we seek by all means to avoid".

Following the proclamation small amounts of gold were brought to the Mint in August and again in October but only 95 pounds in all were coined during 1661. The omission of values on the coins led to protest, so on 20 November 1661 the Mint was ordered to "marke and imprint all our moneys with such several marks of valuation as formerly were ordered". So far as the gold coins were concerned this order did not take effect until March 1662, for no gold was coined dur-

ing the months from November 1661 to February 1662.

In the meantime Blondeau had been brought back from France and preparations made for coining by machinery. Evelyn records in his diary under date 10 January 1662 that he held the candle "when Mr. Cooper, ye rare limner, was crayoning of the king's face and head, to make the stamps for the new mill'd money now contriving". The milled money was to bear letters or grainings on the edge and for this purpose would be substantially thicker than the hammered coins. Consequently, with the weights remaining the same, the diameters of the new coins would be reduced and new dies become necessary. On 17 January 1662 an order was made "His Majesty being present in Council" for the payment of the sum of "£1,400 to Sir William Parkhurst and Sir Anthony St. Leger, Wardens of the Mint . . . to be employed for erecting of houses, mills, engines and other materials for the coyning of money by the mill". A week later, on 24 January 1662, an order was issued that "no graver shall henceforth grave or worke any original or master punches, matrices, stamps and dyes or any irons for coyning in any place but in His Majesty's Mint in the Tower", and Thomas Simon was required to bring in and deliver to the officers of the Mint all his "counter-punches, charges, letters and dyes and all other tools and engines for coining". This was followed on 31 January and again on 3 February by orders to "Thomas Symons to make Stamps for the new Coyne . . . laying aside all other Our service". For this purpose he was "put in possession into the dwelling house and outhouse that Nich. Briot deceased enjoyed . . . and the same be forthwith clered and fitted with worke rooms and other accommodations for the immediate dispatch of these services". The orders to Simon arose from the king's eagerness to see specimens of his coin made by machinery. The "counter-puncheons..., and all other tools and engines for coining "would include the apparatus used by Blondeau and Simon at Drury House to produce the portrait coins of Oliver Cromwell and would thus provide the means for striking the specimen coins now urgently required by the king. On 28 February 1662, a month after Simon had received the order "to make stamps for the new Coyne", the officers of the Mint were instructed to receive and coin with all possible speed "for Our use by the way of the Presse and Screw" gold which was to be delivered by Stephen Fox, the Army Paymaster. The gold was to be coined into "pieces of 20 Shillings only according to ye Standards of Our Crowne Gold in weight and fineness observing the course directed by the Indenture of Our Mint and making the said twenty shilling pieces lesse in compasse than formerly for better taking of the Impression of the Stampes". These coins were therefore to be of the same weight as the hammered twenty-shilling pieces, i.e. they were to be made at the rate of £41 by tale to the pound troy or 140²⁰ grains each. Owing to their greater diameter by comparison with the milled coins the hammered twenty-shilling pieces became known later as broads. The design of the milled coins was to comprise "Our Figure and Inscriptions . . . as usually and with Our Armes quartered as Anciently in plain Escutcheon adding the yeare of Our Lorde above the Crowne upon the Armes and leaving out the Letter C. on the one side and the letter R on the other side of the Escutcheon of Our Armes". As the heavy mills for rolling the metal were not yet available it was arranged "to passe or cause to be passed the plates of such our Gold" at the "Water Mill in St. Katherines neere unto the Tower of London long since erected for the passing of plates for the presse".

In accordance with these arrangements Stephen Fox delivered a little over 167 lb. of gold to the Mint on 24 and 27 February and by 9 April some 82 lb. had been coined and delivered, representing 3,374 pieces. Some difficulty over the dies must then have arisen for on 8 April the Mint officers were instructed that "forasmuch as the dyes made by Thomas Symons for that worke hath hitherto proved insufficient for Our present Service Our Will and Pleasure is that you coyne and cause to be couned by the way of Hammer the Seizell and defective pieces of such gold as our said servant Stephen Fox hath delivered into Our Mynt into pieces of 20s, and of 10s, with such marks of valuation (for more plaine distinction sake) as we have formerly apoynted". The balance of the gold amounting to about 85 lb., i.e. a little over 50 per cent. of the whole and representing a normal amount of scissel and rejected pieces, was coined and delivered on 19 April 1662. The milled coins struck on this occasion are usually described in numismatic works as Simon's patterns but in view of the circumstances under which they were coined, as described above, and of the close similarity of their designs with those of the corresponding hammered coins, they would not conform with Brooke's definition of patterns as "trial pieces which were not accepted for the coinage".

Simon had barely started on the dies for this coinage before two new engravers, John and Joseph Roettiers, were introduced into the Mint and Simon was required by the following order to pit his skill against the Roettiers for the purpose of deciding who should make the

dies for the new coining machinery:

"7 February 1662. Whereas Wee have given order to Tho. Symon one of Our Chiefe Gravers and also to John and Joseph Roettiers, Gravers, to make the Stamps for Our Moneys by way of the Presse Our Will and Pleasure is that they severally first make a triall piece of 5 Shillings in Silver according to Each others draughts of heads and arms shewed unto Us with all convenient speed that may bee and that noe persons be suffered to disturb or oversee their worke untill ye same shalbe perfected and presented to Us for Our Judgment therein." On 27 March 1662 Sir Ralph Freeman, the Master of the Mint, and Henry Slingsby his Deputy were authorized to provide "tools and necessaries for the use and support of John and Joseph Roettiers gravours especially appointed by Us in our service of the Mint and in the making of Medals and Seals for us".

The result of the contest of skill between Simon and the Roettiers was soon decided in favour of John Roettiers, for on 19 May 1662 he was appointed to be "one of the chief engravers of the Mint" and was commanded "to prepare all the master puncheons letters and charges for silver and gold coins to be made by mill and press and to

make dies for coining according to directions".

Two days earlier, i.e. on 17 May, the Mint officers were instructed as follows: "Having resolved for the preventing of culling, clipping, casting and otherwise counterfeiting our current moneys to make our gold and silver moneys for the future by way of the Mill and Press... and having appointed and retained Buildings, Horsemills, Tools and Engines to be made and sett up in Our Mint Our Will and Pleasure is and We do hereby require and authorise you when the said Buildings Tooles and Engines shalbe ready and fitt for Our service to coyne or cause to be coyned in the said new way the severall sorts of silver and gold coynes hereafter mentioned", viz.:

Silver 5s., 2s. 6d., 1s. and 6d. Gold £5, 20s., and 10s.

The order also made provision "to make the twenty shilling piece of gold coined by way of the mill and presse just twenty shillings in value . . . after the rate and value allowed by our late Proclamation for the raising of the price of gold". The intention was therefore to coin a milled twenty-shilling piece of $131\frac{29}{41}$ grains, but as several months were to elapse before the Mint was equipped for coining by machinery this intention was not fulfilled. During 1662 only 713 pounds of gold was brought into the Mint and by October supplies had ceased. Consequently when "the Buildings Tooles and Engines" were set up and ready for coining in February 1663 the only bullion available for coinage was the silver obtained by the sale to the French king of the town and citadel of Dunkirk. The order for the designs of the new coin was issued on 5 February and provided only for the silver coins of 5s., 2s. 6d., 1s., 6d., 4d., 3d., 2d., and 1d. The designs were "according to the draughts lately made for our new silver moneys by John Roettiers".

It was not until December 1663 that the first gold since October 1662 was brought to the Mint for coining and the amount received during the month was 101 lb. 8 oz. of which 27 lb. 8 oz. was coined and

delivered by 31 December 1663.

The order of 17 May 1662 had provided for an alteration in the weights of the gold money when the "mill and press" had been brought into use, and consequently when gold commenced to be coined in the new way in December 1663 a special warrant was addressed to the Mint officers on 24 December 1663. The warrant began by stating that "Our Will and Pleasure is and We do hereby require and authorise you to cause to be covned all such gold and silver as hereafter shalbe brought into Our Mint and delivered unto you in the name of and for the use of the Company of Royal Adventurers of England trading into Africa with a little Elephant in such convenient place upon Our gold and silver coins respectively as you shall judge fitting which We intend as a mark of distinction from the rest of Our gold and silver moneys and an Incouragement unto the said Company in the importing of gold and silver to be coyned." At a time when so many different coins were circulating, the gold pieces with the little elephant were soon distinguished, from the place of origin of the metal, as guinea pieces although officially they did not receive this appellation until

1717, some fifty-four years later.

The warrant continued: "And that Our Twenty shilling piece of crown gold to be couned by the Mill and Presse may be even twenty shillings in value after the rate commanded and allowed by Our late Proclamation for the raising the price of gold in this Our Kingdom of England or as near as conveniently may be Our further Will and pleasure is and We do hereby likewise command and authorise you to cause the pound Troy of Our Crown gold hereafter to be cutt into forty and fower pieces and a half the whole piece being to pass for twenty shillings and the half for ten shillings and so the rest of Our gold coins accordingly in proportion." Under the terms of the warrant therefore the guinea was introduced in December 1663 and had a weight of $129\frac{39}{89}$ grains. The statement hitherto accepted that the weight of the guinea was at first 13129 grains and in 1670 was reduced to 12039 grains is incorrect. At the Trial of the Pyx held on 9 July 1663 all the gold coins submitted were tried in accordance with the indenture of 20 July 1660 and were thus judged by the standard of £41 by tale to the pound troy with a remedy allowance of 40 grains to the pound. The actual weight of a pound of gold coins was found to be equal to f.41. is. 6d. by tale, i.e. I pound by tale of coin weighed $10\frac{1}{2}$ grains less than I pound troy and was thus well within the remedy.

At the Trial of the Pyx held on 4 August 1669 the gold coins were tried in accordance with the terms of the warrant of 24 December 1663 and a pound of gold was found to be equal to £44. 13s. $7\frac{1}{2}d$. by tale or 3s. $7\frac{1}{2}d$. above the standard value (£44. 10s.) of the pound troy. The remedy allowance of 40 grains to the pound troy is equal to an

allowance by tale of 6s. 2d. above or below the standard of £44. Ios. and the coins were accordingly within the prescribed limits of weight. Owing to the rising price of gold the guinea, although issued as a twenty-shilling piece, never went for twenty shillings. In January 1665 it was priced at 21s. 4d. in circulation, and in April 1667 at 21s. 1od. Later the price of silver rose above the Mint price of 5s. 2d. an ounce with the result that the milled silver coins were melted up by gold-smiths and others and the old hammered coins continued to be clipped. The effect of this adulteration of the silver coinage was to enhance the price of guineas and to initiate the transfer of the currency from a silver to a gold standard. By the time of the great recoinage of the silver coin during 1696–8 the price of guineas had reached 3os., but as the recoinage progressed the price was brought down to 22s. Finally in 1717 the price was fixed at 21s. and the name of the coin officially recognized as the guinea. One hundred years later the guinea was superseded by the sovereign with a weight and value 20/21 of the guinea so that the standard of weight and fineness prescribed by the warrant of 24 December 1663 has been perpetuated to the present day.

A NINETEENTH-CENTURY MANUSCRIPT BOOK ON COINS

By ROBERT J. SHERLOCK

THE following coins, except nos. 5a and 5b, are figured in a manuscript book which was bought about 1952 at a Minehead shop by Mr. P. M. Rivers and which has since been acquired by Mr. C. E. Blunt. The book was written by Harriet Sophia Bockett and appears to have been begun in August 1840, the date on the fly-leaf. The main part is a transcript of a manuscript entitled "A Brief Account of the Saxons and their Coins" by B. Mackerell. Benjamin Mackerell was Librarian of the Norwich Public Library, 1716–32, and died in 1738. His manuscript, as it is transcribed, contains second-hand information and drawings of coins that are mostly copies, and these inaccurate ones, of Fountaine's plates in Hickes's *Thesaurus*. But occasionally amusing phrases occur, reflecting the prejudices and feelings of his day, as for instance where Mackerell writes of Offa:

He was the first Fool who granted a perpetual tax to the Pope out of every house in the Kingdom, when he was in Rome, and after his return he gave very bountifully to the Clergy, by way of penance for his sins.

However, the part of the Bockett MS. of interest to the numismatist is that at the end, separated from the transcript by the following paragraph:

Thus far I have copied Mackerell. The following were drawn from the actual coins with the exception of those mentioned [no. 10 only] as having been taken from impression in sealing-wax. I drew each coin, as it came into my possession, or, was kindly lent me by my friends, without attempting to arrange them according to their dates. Haret Sopia Bockett.

Oct. 1848.

The drawings that follow are beautifully executed in pen-and-ink and their observation of detail and the artist's knowledge, as revealed by the number of correct identifications, inspire confidence in their reliability. Only occasionally the inscriptions, as recorded, seem to

diverge from those that might be expected.

To have drawn the coins once required the utmost patience. What is more remarkable is that nearly all the coins in this second part of the manuscript were drawn again with the same amount of care in another manuscript. This second manuscript was bought a few years ago in a Brighton book-shop by Mr. J. D. A. Thompson and remains in his possession. It is a catalogue of "Ancient British and Saxon Coins in the Collection of Mrs. F. H. Buckeridge by Harriet S. Bockett. M.dccc.xlix". The contents of the two manuscripts are practically the same but the catalogue is without Mackerell's drawings and his dissertations on coins and, in the list of actual specimens, nos. 5a and 5b are included and nos. 1-3, 5-8, and 16-17 are omitted. The catalogue bears a Reading bookseller's stamp, and Reading is likely to have been

Harriet Bockett's home for this reason and because it and places nearby are referred to with particular frequency. Mrs. Buckeridge, wife of the vicar of Little Bedwyn, Wilts., 1843-62, was "my sister Buckeridge" and this explains the connexion between the two women.

THE ST. MARY'S, READING, HOARD, 1839



This and the manuscript in Mr. Thompson's possession are our only record of a hoard, unpublished prior to Mr. Thompson's Inventory of British Coin Hoards, found at St. Mary's, Reading, in 1839.

Of the coins illustrated above (nos. 1-8) Miss Bockett writes:

These coins with several more were found in a coffin, in the churchyard of St. Mary Reading on the South side, May, 1839. When taken from the coffin they were all

adhered together and in separating them many unfortunately were broken.

The first five belong to Burgred King of Mercia, A.D. 852–874.

The two next are Æthelbearht's, King of Kent and of West Saxony, A.D. 856 to 866. The last must belong to Eadmund, King of the East Angles, commonly called St. Eadmund, A.D. 855 to 870.

Besides these there was one of Æthelred so much broken I could not draw it. But by placing the fragments together, I could see the legend to be Æthelred Rex. The

reverse was like the coins of Burgred.

Mr. Thompson's manuscript adds that the coffin was "supposed to have been that of a Saxon Lady". It also contains drawings of two

more coins of Burgred: B.M.C. "a" (moneyer Heawulf), and B.M.C. "d" (moneyer Wulfeard). (Nos. 5a and 5b.)

The composition of the hoard (so far as recorded) is therefore as

follows:

King of Mercia—Burgred 7
King of East Anglia—Eadmund I
Kings of Wessex—Æthelbearht 2
Æthelred I I
II

Æthelred I reigned from 866 to 871 so that the coins could not have been deposited before 866. Mr. J. D. A. Thompson dates the hoard to c. 875 and if he is right it was formed after the Danish raid of 871 which resulted in the temporary capture of Reading. Mr. R. H. M. Dolley, however, points out that the find as reported contains no coins of the "reform" coinage of c. 873. If in fact it contains no coins of Alfred either, he sees no good reason for rejecting a date of deposit as early as c. 870. It is worth remarking that the reform of c. 873 was accompanied by a thorough "call-in" of the old coinage—no coins of the types then called in occur in the great Cuerdale hoard. Mr. Dolley further remarks that the new principles of dating arrived at on the basis of the Swedish hoards generally suggest slightly earlier dates than those hitherto regarded as probable.

The Danish raid of 871 evoked the first documentary reference to the town of Reading and the discovery of the coffin suggests that St. Mary's Churchyard was already a hallowed site in the ninth century.

OTHER ANGLO-SAXON COINS

The coins that follow are, for the reason given by Miss Bockett, not in any order.

KENT

Cuthred (798-807) Brooke 2 = B.M.C. 1st series.

9. +EVDRED REX LANT Bust dividing legend.
Rev. +EABA YONETA (Eaba) Cross and wedges.

"The coin was in fine preservation, it was in the collection of my sister Buckeridge and was sent from Salisbury."

This coin, though uncommon, is known to-day from some dozen specimens. It is not possible to identify which this is.



WESSEX

Ecgberht (802-39) Brooke 17 = B.M.C. xx.

10. +ELGBEORHT REX Rev. +EXNPALD MONETA (Eanwald—Winchester).

"The impression of this coin in sealing-wax was given me, and came from Salisbury."

This is one of the rarer types of Ecgberht of which probably only two specimens (both by this moneyer) and a fragment (by the moneyer Ifa) were known to exist. One of the Eanwald coins was from the Middle Temple hoard (found about 1894) and so cannot be the one here illustrated. The other is illustrated in B.M.C. ii. 5, and differs in one or two material respects from this coin which may, therefore, be taken to be a specimen hitherto unrecorded.

WESSEX

Æthelstan (925-39) Brooke 5 = B.M.C. v.

II. +EĐEĽŚTĂŇ REX TO BRIF Rev. +REGNALD MO EFORPIC (Regnald— York).

12. +/EÐELSTAN REX TOT BRIT Rev. +IOHAN MO CISSAN CIVI (Johan— Chichester).

Provenance not stated. This would appear to be the coin in the Lockett collection, ex Carlyon-Britton sale, 379.

The rest of the Anglo-Saxon coins drawn are of no special significance and can be summarized as follows (in the order in which they appear).

Pennies

1-3. Alfred. B.M.C. xiv. From the Cuerdale hoard.

4-9. St. Edmund Memorial Coinage. Two identified as from Cuerdale.

10. St. Peter Coinage of York.

11. Æthilbearht of Wessex.

12-13. Æthelred II.

12. B.M.C. iid. Leofwine, London.

iiia. Boga, Chester. 13.

14-15. Cnut.

14. B.M.C. xiv. Wulnoth, York. 15. ,, xvi. Boga, Dover.

15. ,, xvi. Boga, 16-21. Edward the Confessor.

16. B.M.C. xiiia. Swartcof, York.

iva. Ælfsig, Gloucester.

iii. Brihtred, London.

vii. Leofwine, Sandwich.

" ix. Brihtwold, Oxford.

iia. Arngrim, York.

Stycas

1-6. Eanred.

7-13. Æthelred II.

"Some [although which ones are unspecified] were found in Ripon while digging, and others were taken out of an old drain at York."

14. Uncertain (legends blundered).

"This styca was dug up in a cottage garden in the City of Ripon."

15. Osberht.

16-17. Wigmund.

MISCELLANEOUS COINS

Several pages later in the volume contain drawings of miscellaneous coins most of which are without interest. An Edinburgh groat of David II, 1329-71, however, deserves mention. It "was found in a bog in Ireland near Tullamore, King's County. In the same find were some London and York groats of Edward the third, all as black as the soil they were found in, but most of them in good preservation." Mr. Thompson does not list in his *Inventory* a hoard found at this place.

ANCIENT BRITISH COINS

Finally there are drawings of a number of Ancient British coins. With one exception the types are well known, but a number of provenances add value to the drawings:

The Regni and Atrebates. Gold Stater.
 Weight: 89 gr. Evans B-IO = Mack 59.
 "It was found in the neighbourhood of Reading, and was in good preservation."

 The Catuvellauni, Cunobeline. Gold Stater. Weight: 83 gr. Evans IX-7 = Mack 212. "It was found near Abingdon."

3. Tasciovanus. Gold Stater.

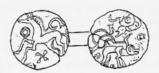
Weight: 84 gr. Evans VI-II = Mack 156. "found at Dorchester, Oxon. . . . In beautiful preservation."

4. Probably belonging to Sussex. Silver.
Weight: 20 gr. Evans F-II = Mack 89.
"dug up at Lewes, Sussex, with several more."
["turned up by the plough, near Lewes"—Catalogue.]

5. Corcyra. Silver Stater.

Weight: $152 \text{ gr.} + [152\frac{1}{2} \text{ gr.} - \text{Catalogue}]$. Rev. Square between P and O. Cf. B.M.C. 68. 450-400 B.C.

"Supposed to be British from its rude workmanship, it is cast, and the rough marks of the mould are not removed." This information and the insufficient weight suggest that the specimen was a nineteenth-century forgery. Provenance unstated.



6. Brass. Weight: 33 gr.

Obv. Horse galloping left, annulet enclosing pellet in front, a curved object behind and an X below.

Rev. An unintelligible design: "some animal, a pig, dog, or a stag, and among other things, not to be described, I think are the letters, C.A.V".

Not in Evans or Mack.

"It came from Sonning near Reading, but I could not learn if it was found in the neighbourhood."

As no. 1. Weight: 91 gr.
 This and the following four coins were from the hoard found in Whaddon Chase, Bucks., Feb. 1849.

 The Catuvellauni. Whaddon Chase Type. Gold Stater. Weight: 88 gr. Evans C-6 = Mack 134.

9. As nos. 1 and 7. Weight: 91½ gr.

10. The Catuvellauni. Whaddon Chase Type. Gold Stater. Weight: 91 gr. Evans C-8 = Mack 133.

II. As no. 8. Weight: $88\frac{1}{2}$ gr.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Mr. C. E. Blunt, into whose hands the book passed after this paper had been written, helped by assessing the extent to which the manuscript was an original document and by giving his opinion on many numismatic points; Mr. J. D. A. Thompson kindly enabled the two manuscripts to be compared by lending the one in his possession, and Mr. R. H. M. Dolley checked the contents of the paper and made an important addition to the conclusions about the date of deposit of the Reading hoard.

MISCELLANEA

A FINE ANCIENT BRITISH COIN FROM COLCHESTER

A REMARKABLY fine specimen of an Ancient British bronze coin has recently been found at Kelvedon, Essex, in a ditch of some size, accompanied by Belgic pottery. By the kindness of Mr. M. R. Hull, M.A., F.S.A., Curator of the Colchester and Essex Museum, I am able to publish it here. The coin has been given to the Colchester Museum by Mr. M. J. Campen, the finder, and an electrotype has been placed in the British Museum. It is reproduced below enlarged and on Pl. XXV, 4 in its natural size.



The coin is a new and perfect example of the type found at Braughing, Herts., and published by Sir John Evans on plate xxii. 14 of his Ancient British Coins. That specimen, now in the British Museum (as no. 498), is defective, but a better specimen was found during the excavations at Camulodunum and was published in the official report (page 140) as no. 112, plate xviii. 12. By the kindness of the Excavation Committee, no. 112 is also in the British Museum (as no. 400), while another specimen, no. 113, in poor condition, was retained in Colchester Museum. No. 112 is also reproduced by Commander R. P. Mack on plate xiv of his Coinage of Ancient Britain as no. 224. So far as I am aware, these four are the only known specimens of this coin. The two specimens in the British Museum are from different reverse dies and possibly different obverse dies, while the new coin is from the same dies on both sides as the Evans coin. The weight of no. 498 is 29.3 grains, of no. 499 27.2 grains, and of the new specimen 30 grains precisely.

We can now for the first time give a reliable description of this remarkable type. As Evans observed, the obverse consists of a ram's

head and a coiled body, tightly packed in a circular frame. This frame consists of two concentric circles joined by numerous arcs. On the reverse a spirited animal prances to the left; it has the body of a horse, the head of an eagle, and apparently the cloven hooves of an ox. The head is turned back and shows a knotted mane in front, while the thin S-shaped tail is erect. Above the horse's back is another ram's head, rather smaller, but otherwise almost exactly like that of the beast on the obverse. As ornaments there are a pellet above the back and a ring ornament below the tail. Beneath is a legend as clear as could be wished, CML. Other specimens show the reverse type to have been surrounded by a beaded circle.

While the obverse has been intelligible from previous specimens, the reverse has been described in various ways, and the legend has been a matter of speculation. Evans read it as CNI, the Camulodunum Report gives it as CVP, i.e. CUNO in monogram, while Mack read it unashamedly as CVN. My own notes, taken before the war, read the Evans specimen as CNI.O. It is now certain that the legend on all the specimens is the same as on the new one, CNL, an obvious monogram of Camulodunum, and that the coins do not display the name of

Cunobelin.

There are, of course, a large number of coins with the name of Cunobelin and a few with that of Tasciovanus which have on them also the name of the mint city, Camulodunum; but, unlike coins of Verulamium, which often have no ruler's name, it is extremely rare to find the inscription Camulodunum alone. Indeed the only other one of which I know is a unique quarter-stater, similar to known coins of Tasciovanus and, if the corresponding stater, which it closely resembles, is anything to go by, another specimen might show that the complete legend on the die included the name of Tasciovanus. There is no space on the new bronze coin where another legend might

have gone, and I can only assume there never was one.

I find it difficult to be positive whether this type should be attributed to Tasciovanus or to Cunobelin. The form of monogram is not identical with that on the only two Tasciovanus types of Camulodunum, Mack nos. 186 and 187, where it appears as CAL, but the beast on the reverse is similar in character to the Tasciovanus horse and the ram's head above is arranged precisely as is the bucranium on the more common staters of Tasciovanus, Mack nos. 149-50. The surrounding circular cage on the obverse, without parallel on coins of Cunobelin, is reproduced precisely on a bronze type bearing the name RVIIS (i.e. RUES), a legend which on another type is linked with Verulamium and hence with Tasciovanus. There is, therefore, some connexion between the new coin and Tasciovanus. On the other hand the Camulodunum legend is identical with that on what must be the first gold stater of Cunobelin, Mack no. 201. The ram-headed animal on the obverse provides a link with a silver coin of Cunobelin, no. 214. also from Colchester, the reverse of which bears obvious affinities to the stater and quarter-stater of Tasciovanus with the Camulodunum legend; its legend is, however, unambiguously CVNO. All we can say of the new bronze coin is that it must fall either at the end of the period of Tasciovanus or at the beginning of that of Cunobelin at Camulodunum.

Mr. Hull has made the ingenious suggestion with regard to the obverse type that it represents a fleece, a not unreasonable possibility, as wool was for long one of the main products of Essex industry. If the coin stood by itself I would be inclined to accept this view; taken with Mack no. 214, however, which appears to show two similar ramheaded devices intertwined, in a comparable guilloche border, I would prefer the view that it represents, to the best of the engraver's skill, a ram-headed serpent coiled. This beast is a familiar subject of Celtic art, occurring on a number of Gaulish monuments as well as, several times, on the Gundestrup vase. Moreover the serpent is often shown with a spotted body, as if the curly quality of the ram's fleece had overflowed on to the smooth skin of the reptile. On British coins there are several likely or certain representations of ram-headed serpents, for instance, beneath the horse on the staters of Vosenos, Mack no. 297, or on the

strange silver coin from Braughing, Mack no. 445.

The ram's head, presumably repeating the serpent, also occurs as an emblem on the reverse of the coin. The mythological beast here has, however, no precise parallel; it is a griffon without wings, almost as unnatural to heraldry, even of the Celtic type, as is a griffon to nature. Winged griffon are plentiful on British coins. It may be that this animal needed no wings because it was a draught-griffon. There is a hint of this in the two bands of beads across the neck and the shoulders. This is a decorative feature of a number of Ancient British coins. It is best known on silver coins of the Iceni, both inscribed and uninscribed, either as two bands or two rows of dots; it is also seen on rare bronze coins of Cunobelin, Mack no. 261, and on a unique uninscribed small silver coin from Colchester, Mack no. 272a. The animals on the obverse of the former, also with turned-back head, and on the reverse of the latter seem to be horses, but are in other respects close to our wingless griffon. (The quarter-stater incidentally is, I think, to be associated rather with Dubnovellaunus than Addedomaros; compare Mack no. 285, but the last three coins are all linked by the use of the magical * symbol, not a common ornament on British coins though known on Gaulish coins.) These recurring bands on neck and shoulders appear to have their origin in the harness of a type familiar from classical monuments for the attachment of thongs to draw carts or chariots. I know of no monument which connects these with Britain, but a good example of this kind of harness is on the horses from the pinnacle of the tomb of Mausolus in the British Museum. Of course in the fanciful form of a coin such as this they make no pretence to accurate representation, but I have little doubt that that is where their origin lay. I have wondered similarly whether the origin of the large ring which so often decorates the horse's shoulder on Ancient British coins lies in the metal roundel which undoubtedly formed part of the trappings of a saddled horse on parade at this time, as seen for instance a little later on several Roman tombstones of auxiliary horsemen found in Britain (e.g. at Colchester and Cirencester). However, the decoration of the haunches and shoulders of animals had by this time a respectable history of several centuries in the annals of Celtic art.

This fine new specimen is a good example of the partly romanized art of south-east Britain very early in the first century A.D. Neither obverse nor reverse could possibly be considered a Roman work, and yet neither could have been devised by a Celtic artist unless he were more than superficially familiar with the classical tradition. The ram-headed serpent of the obverse is a purely Celtic theme, while the wingless griffon of the reverse belongs to a fairly large class of moreor-less correctly borrowed fabulous classical beasts; indeed they are amongst the commonest subjects on Ancient British coins. Small, but beautifully preserved, this coin is as fine an illustration as has survived of the artistic and mythological concepts of the age when the country first began to emerge from the mists of prehistory.

D. F. Allen

A SURFACE FIND OF THREE SILVER COINS OF THE DOBUNI

By the courtesy of Mr. H. Morrison of Colerne, Wilts., I am able to illustrate three silver coins found lying on the surface of a field at Northwood Farm near Chippenham. The three coins were not found together, but there would seem little doubt but that they are the "scatter" from a hoard disturbed by the plough either recently or in the past, and other coins may well come to light. The first of the three coins (P1. XXV, 1) is of the inscribed type, and corresponds to Mack 387 (Evans I. 8), and, although chipped, weighs 16.5 grains. The other two coins both approximate to Mack 382 (Evans F. 8), although they are very different in style. The slightly heavier (13.5 grains) (P1. XXV, 2) illustrates admirably the triple-tailed horse that is so characteristic of coins of this area, while the lighter (13.2 grains) (Pl. XXV, 3) is notable for the straight treatment of the neck which is held almost vertical. Both the uninscribed coins have an uneven but by no means unattractive greenish patina, and would appear to have a certain copper content in addition to a fairly high proportion of silver. Neither, however, would appear to be a plated forgery as that term is usually understood by the student of the Dobunic series.

In putting on record a new find-spot for two classes of Ancient British coin, I would like to put in a plea for the making of a comparable record of the find-spots of Anglo-Saxon pence, and especially the so-called "common" two-line type of the tenth century. The plotting of single finds of these may throw considerable light on the problem of which prolific moneyers of Edward the Elder are to be

associated with which major mints.

R. H. M. D.

pdB 6185

A CONTEMPORARY FORGERY OF A DOBUNI COIN FROM WILTSHIRE

MR. F. K. Annable, of the Wiltshire Archaeological Society Museum at Devizes, has kindly supplied particulars of a plated forgery of a silver coin of the Dobuni found in July 1956 by a Mr. Reeves on Clarke's Hill, approximately one mile north-east of Sandy Lane, in the parish of Colne Without (N.G. Swindon, Sheet 157, 974693). The coin has been presented to the Devizes Museum. Mr. Derek Allen has also seen the coin and has helped in identifying it.

The type is Evans I. 9 = Mack 389 = Allen (Arch. 1944), Pl. IV. 12. It is virtually identical with a forgery found in the Bagendon excavations in 1955 and could even be from the same reverse die. The core is of iron and copper, largely iron, and the plating is of base silver, which combine to give the coin a red interior and a greenish

exterior. It can be dated c. A.D. 30-40.

SOME UNPUBLISHED SAXON AND NORMAN COINS

I. Sceatta (Pl. XXV, 5).

Obv. Small standing facing figure of Victory with wings expanded.

Rev. A form of cross with circle of dots enclosing pellet in the angles, a pellet in centre, somewhat similar to B.M.C. iii. 25.

Parson sale, lot 102.

2. Sceatta (P1. XXV, 6).

Obv. Very crude facing head, perhaps derived from B.M.C. Type 31.

Rev. Dragon-like animal to the left with head turned to right, very similar to B.M.C. Type 40. Many pellets in the field.

3. Offa penny (P1. XXV, 7).

Obv. Bust to right, hair in Saxon-style curls very similar to B.M.C. Pl. v, 9, and Lockett Pl. vII, II OFFA.

Rev. Cross with trefoils between links, four ovals dividing the legend. Similar to B.M.C. Pl. v, 12 and Lockett Pl. vII, 3. + \diamond VD.

An unpublished combination of types. From Drabble sale, 1939, lot 319.

4. William I Type I of Norwich. Variety without sceptre.

Obv. + PILLEMV REX I

Rev. + MAN ON NORĐPI

A new moneyer for Norwich for this reign. From Ryan sale, lot 872.

5. William I mule types 1-2 of Stafford.

Obv. + PILLEMVS REX

Rev. + GODPINNE ON SI/EI

Appears to be from the same obverse die as a coin of type I

of Stafford (GODPINE ON ST/EF) in the Carlyon-Britton sale 1913, lot 1194. Unpublished mint for this mule. From Ryan sale, lot 873.

6. Henry I type 15 of Sandwich.

Obv. + hENRIEVS:

Rev. + X[] ON SXNDP

Possibly Adalbot. Unpublished mint for this type.

R. P. MACK

A NEW TYPE FOR ARCHBISHOP CEOLNOTH

In the Supplement to Brooke's *English Coins*, on revising the Anglo-Saxon portion of which I assisted Mr. C. A. Whitton, I suggested, not without some misgivings, the inclusion of a fragment of a penny of Archbishop Ceolnoth which formed lot 324 of the Montagu sale, 1896. This was described in the catalogue as having a tonsured bust facing, with, as reverse type, a floriated cross with a leaf in each angle; the cataloguer noted that certain rare coins of Æthilberht have a similar reverse. Misgivings about the coin arose from the fact that it had been "passed" in the Montagu sale, normally a sign that its genuineness was suspected, but a manuscript note in my copy of the catalogue read "Only a piece, passed over" which suggested that this might not be the case here.

It is therefore a pleasure to be able to record not only that the coin has now turned up again and proves to be undoubtedly genuine, but also that, through the generosity of Major R. M. Simon, it has been presented to the British Museum. With it Major Simon presented a number of other coins "passed" at the Montagu sale, all of which seem rightly to have been condemned as forgeries.

The Ceolnoth coin reads:

Obv. +ce-----Chiep-Rev.-----LDMONET (Pl. XXV, 12).

The Montagu catalogue says that "the moneyer's name is undoubtedly <code>cenveald</code> as on Æthilbert's coin". This may well be so: Cenweald was a moneyer of Ceolnoth's on the "moneyer's name on cross" type as well as of Æthilberht's. But a moneyer Herebeald also struck the floriated cross type for Æthilberht and one cannot rule out the possibility that he was responsible for the Ceolnoth fragment.

It does not appear to have been sufficiently recognized what an important reform in the coinage was marked by Æthelwulf's introduction of the "moneyer's name on cross" type. For the first time a uniform coinage, common both to the kings of Wessex and to the Archbishop of Canterbury, was introduced. This practice continued until some time in Alfred's reign when once again a variety of types appears, though what may be called a basic type, the one with a cross on the obverse and the moneyer's name on the reverse, was then

introduced and continued alongside the more varied types for nearly

another century.

Meanwhile Æthelwulf's uniform type was continued initially by his successor Æthilberht, but towards the end of his reign he changed it to the floriated cross type here recorded as of Ceolnoth also. Æthilred, who succeeded Æthilberht in 866, four years before the death of Ceolnoth, introduced the so-called "lunette" type which was also struck by Ceolnoth and the Mercian king Burgred and continued by Alfred. This appears to have been a substantial issue in the regal series, though the coins of the Archbishop have survived in few specimens.

That a reform calling in this type must have taken place is suggested by the fact that it is seldom found in hoards mixed with later types. The great Cuerdale hoard, with its 920 coins of Alfred, had none of the lunette type. The reform was doubtless prompted by the debased

state of the coinage.

The uniform coinage was not, however, abandoned on the reform taking place. Alfred's type V is also found struck by Ceolwulf II of

Mercia and by Archbishop Ethered.

We thus get a period dating from about 855 to perhaps 880 during which only four reverse types, all struck consecutively, are found in middle and southern England. The first two were struck by the Wessex kings and the Archbishop of Canterbury; the last two by the Mercian kings also. The legislative measure that resulted in this uniform coinage has not survived, but one is justified in believing that it marked a major attempt at monetary reform. It may also be significant that East Anglia was not a party to this currency union.

C. E. BLUNT

THE EARLIEST COINS OF THE MINT OF ROCHESTER

This note is no more than a vindication of an attribution made by Rev. Daniel Haigh as long ago as 1869 but since then so completely ignored by later writers as to lead anyone who chanced to light on it to believe that it must be untenable. Writing in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for that year¹ Mr. Haigh said: "I am not aware whether the unique coin of Ceolwulf (I), once in the cabinet of the late Mr. Cuff, with the reverse legend Dorobreblia Cibitas, has ever been correctly assigned, as it ought to be, to Rochester." This coin (P1. XXV, 13) is now in the British Museum (B.M.C. 112).

His grounds for this attribution were, of course, that Dorobrevia was the British name for Rochester just as was Dorovernia for

Canterbury.

Among subsequent writers Kenyon, in the third edition of Hawkins's Silver Coins of England,² attributes the coin to Canterbury and does not mention the possibility of Rochester; Keary in the first volume of the British Museum Catalogue does the same;³ so does

Brooke¹ who goes further and says "incidentally the form of the name, *Dorobrebia Cibitas* (with the last three letters used to form the design in the centre of the coin) is of interest but as an example of the interchange of the letters B and V (or F), which we get also in Fotred for Botred, and later in Albred for Alfred, and as an instance of the use of the field of the coin for the completion of the legend, as in Merci-oru(m) and quite commonly, Monet-a(rius)". Oman² appears at first sight to be supporting Haigh when he refers to a rough-looking coin of Ceolwulf's from Rochester. But he adds that it has a St. Andrew's cross and the apostle's name on the reverse. No such coin is known to me.

Since Haigh wrote, another coin of Ceolwulf I with this mint reading has come to light in the Middle Temple hoard.³ The reading Dorobrebla is consistent with the Cuff coin but Civitas (or Cibitas) is omitted. Instead, the field contains the letter A. These appear to be

the only two specimens known.

The absence of a moneyer's name markedly differentiates these two coins from all Ceolwulf's other issues and would, of itself, suggest that they came from a one-moneyer mint. Conversely the presence of the names of the various moneyers on coins of Egbert with the Dorob C monogram and on those of Æthelwulf with the letters Dorible tends to suggest that Haigh's doubt⁴ as to whether these coins belonged to Canterbury or Rochester is unjustified. The fact that most of Æthelwulf's coins with these letters read Cant on the other side might of itself have been expected to allay it.

Haigh was aware of two coins of Ecgberht of Wessex with the reverse legend Scs Andreas (B.M.C. 13 and one similar to B.M.C. 12) and rightly attributed these to Rochester on the grounds that St. Andrew was the patron saint of the cathedral there. These coins likewise have no moneyer's name. Since his time another specimen of each type has appeared $(B.M.C.\ 12$ and $B.M.\ Acqns.\ 325)$ and, in addition, a new type which reads Scs Andreas Apostolus, the last six letters being in the field (B.M. Acqns. 324). Brooke attributes, somewhat tentatively, yet another coin of Ecgberht to Rochester, one that has on the obverse a monogram which he reads as a double "A" and suggests may indicate Andreas Apostolus. This coin has a moneyer's name, that of Beagmund, and so differs, in this material respect, from the coins that unquestionably bear the name of St. Andrew. Brooke feels that the Beagmund coins of this and the following reign may be of Rochester and adds "It is not necessary to assume that a mint was opened at Rochester; the coinage may have been struck in Canterbury."5 If he had said that the dies may have been prepared in Canterbury it would be easy to agree with Brooke. It is less easy to accept that the valued privilege of coining would have been allowed to take place outside the immediate control of anyone fortunate enough to possess it. Not only would the profit be difficult to check,

¹ English Coins, p. 23. ³ B.M. Acqns. 118.

² The Coinage of England, p. 25. 4 N.C. 1869, p. 193.
⁵ Op. cit., p. 42.

but abuses, for which the penalties were heavy, might also occur. I prefer therefore to leave this coin among those of Ecgberht for which no certain mint can be given, though Canterbury is their likely provenance. The monogram is, in any case, doubtful. In the Montagu catalogue it was read as double "MM?" though this seems unlikely.

But whatever one may say about the Beagmund coin, it does nothing to disturb the idea that a mint existed at Rochester in Ecgberht's reign and it is consequently in no way surprising to find a coin of the same mint struck by the Mercian king who ruled in Kent a year or two before Ecgberht conquered it.

C. E. Blunt

A SUSPECT "TOWER" TYPE PENNY OF KING EDWARD THE ELDER

RECENTLY the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum has been able to acquire a "tower" type coin of Edward the Elder of which the authenticity has been impugned, and apparently not without justification inasmuch as the price realized at the Ryan sale (lot 750) could only suggest that there was nobody in the room prepared seriously to dispute the remark of the cataloguer "This coin appears to be a cast". The Hon. R. W. H. Erskine, however, was convinced that the coin was genuine, and his belief is shared in full by the present writer. That our opinions are disinterested should be guaranteed, we trust, by the fact that the coin (Pl. XXV, 14) has now passed to the National Collection for precisely the same purely nominal sum that

was paid in the open market in 1952.

The coin in question was first listed in a major sale-catalogue in 1895 when as lot 597 in the Montagu collection it fetched £5. 10s., a price which argues that there was then no doubt concerning its authenticity. It was described as from the Yorke Moore and Brice collections, and would seem to have passed privately to Montagu with the rest of Brice's coins. In 1916 the coin was in the Bliss sale and as lot 89 fetched f5, which again suggests that it was still accepted as genuine. In November 1930 another specimen from different dies was sold at Glendinings (lot 58) and reached the price, surprisingly high for the period, of £50. It is now in the Lockett collection. Certainly there could be no doubt as to authenticity in this case as it was an open secret that all the coins in the sale were from the Vatican hoard. The Lockett coin, incidentally, is so different in treatment as almost to constitute another variety, but it does provide welcome corroboration of the fact that Eadwald was a moneyer of the "tower" type which in the last year or so has been associated with the Chester area and the decade c. 915-25.1

As Mr. Blunt has shown recently, by the middle of the nineteenth century there were forgers who *could* have produced plausible dies for a penny of Edward the Elder, but the suggestion that has been made is that the Ryan coin was a cast and not a struck forgery. Casting,

¹ Chester Archaeological Society's Journal, xlii (1955), 5.

however, presupposes the existence of an original from which the copy can be cast, and *prima facie* it is not likely that this original would be destroyed. A most thorough check through twentieth-century sale-catalogues and other relevant literature has established that the only two "tower" type coins of Edward the Elder by the moneyer Eadwald are the Lockett and Ryan specimens, and we have seen that there is absolutely no possibility of the one being cast from the other. To find records of a possible third specimen we have to go back to Ruding's plates and Bryer's transcript dated 1813 of Taylor Combe's manuscript corpus of Ancient British and Anglo-Saxon coins to which reference has been made before in these pages. From these two sources we learn that a coin corresponding in every way to the Ryan coin had been sketched before 1803 by Taylor Combe, but without indication of its whereabouts, presumably because he had been shown it in confidence.

As early as 1803, then, there was in existence a coin, accepted by Taylor Combe himself as perfectly genuine, which is either the Ryan coin or an original from which the Ryan coin could have been cast. At that early date we are reluctant to postulate a forger skilful enough to have *fabricated* a plausible set of dies for a penny of Edward the Elder, and so it must be conceded that if the Ryan coin is cast it is from a genuine coin and not from a concoction. That this concession is reasonable seems further borne out by the fact that the Ryan coin has all the appearance of an overstrike—one is scarcely prepared to believe that an eighteenth-century forger in the Anglo-Saxon series would have gone to all the trouble of engraving traces of an undertype. It would be remarkable, too, that he should have hit on a type which we now know to be consistent with a sequence of striking demanded by consideration of hoard evidence not then available.¹

The essential problem, therefore, is quite simply whether or not the Ryan coin is a cast. If it is a cast, we have to explain the disappearance of the original—though a note by Commander Mack in this very number of the Journal does demonstrate the possibility of a coin published in the seventeenth century escaping both Taylor Combe's net two centuries later and Brooke's a century later still.2 If, on the other hand, the Ryan coin is not a cast, there can be little doubt but that it is the piece sketched by Taylor Combe, and I am grateful once again to my colleague Mrs. J. S. Martin for establishing what must surely be its full pedigree. The coin first appears, without provenance, in the plates that accompany Snelling's Tracts published in 1762, and we would stress that it is conspicuously absent from Speed, Gibson, and Fountaine. It recurs in the 1803 Taylor Combe plates, again without provenance, and is first recorded in the sale-room in 1824 when it formed lot 610 at the Dimsdale sale. It was bought by Young for Barrett and passed to the Dymock collection. In 1848 it formed lot 61 at the Dymock sale where it was purchased by the Rev. Dr. Neligan. In 1851 it was again in the market, and as lot 17 in the

The undertype appears to be a penny of "two-line" type on the small flan characteristic of Edward the Elder coins from the Cuerdale find.

2 Infra, p. 411.

Neligan sale passed to Sir Thomas Tobin, whence it came privately to Yorke Moore. It formed lot 84 in the latter's sale and was bought by Webster for Brice. Unless therefore the Ryan coin is a cast, the presumption must be that the full provenance is "from the Ryan, Bliss, Montagu, Brice, Yorke Moore, Tobin, Neligan, Dymock and

MAGNIFIED 350 DIAMETERS



Dimsdale collections, and engraved for Taylor Combe and Snelling by Parsons and Hill respectively". The one weak link in the chain is the transition between Tobin and Yorke Moore, but it would be an extraordinary coincidence if one unique coin disappeared at some date after

1851 and its die-duplicate appeared before 1879.

Fundamentally, then, the question is a simple one. Is or is not the coin from the Ryan sale a cast? If the answer be that the coin is struck, its authenticity seems established beyond reasonable doubt, and fortunately the advance of modern technology enables a clear-cut answer to be given by the scientist. The coin in question was submitted to the authorities of the Royal Mint, and I am indebted to the Deputy Master for permission to quote Mr. Dunning's report as communicated to me in a letter dated 23 August 1956:

It is not a cast coin as can be seen from the attached photomicrograph. The small equi-axed grains indicate that it has been annealed, and the twinning within some of the grains that it has been worked. The structure is not inconsistent with what might be expected from what is believed to have been the Anglo-Saxon coining procedure. According to Mr. Stride, this consisted of pouring the molten metal onto a stone slab, hammering the resulting sheet—possibly while still hot—to the required thickness, cutting out the blanks and then striking.

The intergranular constituents show that the silver from which this coin was made was impure, and this is confirmed by a density determination which gave 9.96 as

compared with 10·49 for pure, and 10·35 for 925 silver. If all the impurities were present as copper, this density would correspond to a fineness of about 680, an alloy which would show a large amount of lamellar Ag-Cu eutectic. No eutectic whatsoever was seen on the section examined. It seems improbable that silver which might have been used for a modern counterfeit would contain diluents, other than copper, to the extent that this coin does.

Having no standards with which to compare the coin, it is not possible to establish

whether it is genuine or not, but it is certainly not cast.

The photomicrograph reproduced here seems even to the non-scientist decisively to endorse Mr. Dunning's verdict, while the numismatic evidence already adduced seems conclusive that the coin is not merely "not cast" but authentic. On the other hand it would be idle to pretend that the coin in question does not have a thoroughly cast appearance—and especially about the obverse. It is my belief that this is to be explained partly by overstriking, and partly by "scrubbing" when the coin was first discovered in the eighteenth century.

R. H. M. Dolley

AN UNPUBLISHED PENNY OF EDMUND FROM THE COTTON COLLECTION

In the spring of 1956 I purchased a penny of Edmund of the Norwich mint by the moneyer Eadgar. I knew Eadgar was an unrecorded

moneyer for Norwich for this reign.

I showed the coin to Mr. Dolley who identified it immediately as a hitherto missing coin from the Cotton collection and referred me to his article in B.N.J. vol. xxvii where he had written (p. 304) referring to losses that had occurred from the Cotton collection, probably in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries—"Even so, the National Collection is the poorer for lacking the Pembroke Cynethrith (now in Lockett), not to mention the unpublished moneyer of Norwich for Eadmund."

Sir Robert Cotton, the famous antiquary and contemporary of James I, formed what was probably one of the earliest collections of Anglo-Saxon coins. It eventually passed to the British Museum and was catalogued by Samuel Pegge in the middle of the eighteenth century. It is probable that the collection suffered losses from pilfering after Cotton's death, the Edmund penny of Norwich being one of the coins stolen, for it is amongst the nineteen coins engraved by Speed which Pegge claimed to have once been part of the Cotton collection (see *B.N.J.* vol. xxvii, pp. 303 and 312) but which are now missing from the B.M. trays.

The coin, which on the obverse reads +EADMVND REX and on the reverse + EADEAR Mo Nordpt (P1. XXV, 15), is of Brooke type 4 with crowned bust to the right and small cross on reverse. It is illustrated on page 381 of Speed's *Historie of Great Britaine* (1611) and on plate VI opposite p. cxxxix of Gibson's edition (1695) of Camden's

Britannia.

It would be interesting to know the circumstances under which it came to be missing from the Cotton collection and in whose hands it has been all the intervening years, but these details are not forthcoming. It is only to be hoped that most of the missing Cotton coins will eventually come to light and perhaps one day return to their rightful place in the British Museum.

R. P. MACK

AN ALLEGED AGNUS DEI PENNY OF THE WAREHAM MINT

RECENTLY the writer's attention has been drawn to a passage in Charles Warne's *Ancient Dorset* which seemed to provide good evidence for the existence of an *Agnus Dei* penny of the Wareham mint. The relevant passage occurs on p. 328 under the general heading "Anglo Saxon and Danish Coins struck by Dorset Mints and now in the following Foreign Collections. Additional". It runs as follows:

LUNDEN

Ædelred II, A.D. 978-1016

HALFEAR MO FER Hildebrand, Type G.

On p. 320 we are told that information concerning the coins at Lund had been furnished by a Professor Thorberg of that University.

Warne's Ancient Dorset was published in 1872, and there is internal evidence that the correspondence with Professor Thorberg is to be dated to that year. Consequently the reference to a Hildebrand classification must allude either to the 1846 edition of Anglosachsiska Mynt, or to the same author's comparatively youthful disquisition on the Anglo-Saxon coins belonging to Lund University which was published in three successive fascicules in 1829. The latter possibility, however, seems precluded by the fact that the alphabetical type sequence there proposed does not extend beyond the letter "F". The reference must, therefore, be to the 1846 Stockholm Catalogue, where the classification adopted is the same as that followed in the 1881 edition. Consequently there is a strong prima facie case that we are here confronted with an unpublished coin of the celebrated Agnus Dei issue, a type so rare that fewer than a dozen specimens are known to the numismatist.

The existence or non-existence of this coin is critical for the serious student of the late Saxon series for the simple reason that it would be the first penny of this type to be associated with a mint from Wessex proper. The late W. C. Wells seems to have been the first to recognize the peculiarly "Mercian" flavour of the issue, but unfortunately had to resort quite unnecessarily to some very specious but not very convincing special pleading in order to include the two coins of Malmesbury. There is absolutely no need for the numismatist to speculate on whether this or that county came within Eadric's ealdormanry, and certainly there are few numismatists today who would care to be

associated with the remarkable claim that "there can be no doubt but that the ealdormen held control of the coinage issued in their ealdormanry". Leaving aside, too, the question of the date of the Agnus Dei issue—and the present writer believes that a good case can be made for dating it five years earlier than Wells did—the coins of the period c. 1010-20 themselves make it abundantly clear that the territory north of the Bristol Avon was a sort of no-man's-land as far as the supply of dies was concerned, and that for some reason unknown to us the pattern of eleventh-century administration preserved in this matter at least a memory of the old sub-kingdom of Hwicce with its Mercian and not West Saxon associations. This is seen of course most clearly in the case of the geographical distribution of the variety of the Quatrefoil issue of Cnut which Hildebrand distinguishes as Type E, var. d, but even in the last years of Æthelræd II there is evidence that mints north of the Avon received some at least of their dies from the same centre that supplied Chester and Oxford. Consequently the fact that Malmesbury struck the Agnus Dei type is no argument against the "Mercian" character of the issue.

An Agnus Dei penny from Wareham, on the other hand, would fairly put the cat among the pigeons. A possible way out of the difficulty would be to suggest that the coin is wrongly attributed, and should be given to Warwick. Admittedly the most abbreviated mint-signatures are so similar that confusion is easy, FER and F/ER, but the unpleasant fact remains that the moneyer Ælfgar is known from undoubted Wareham coins of just this period. It is not simply a matter of readings such as FERHX and FERHXM which simply cannot be Warwick, but certain of the coins are of a style which is strictly confined to Wessex.

The answer must surely be sought in quite another direction. The first point to be borne in mind is that Bror Emil Hildebrand knew well the Lund Collection, and in fact added to it during his long career in the Stockholm Coin Cabinet. He was also personally very interested in the Agnus Dei type, and in the 1881 edition of Anglosachsiska Mynt drew up what was obviously intended to be a complete list of all the examples known to him, including for this purpose a coin in Copenhagen and another described in an early nineteenth-century German work. It is, therefore, improbable, to say the very least, that another specimen could have been acquired by the Lund Collection between 1829 and 1872 without being brought to his notice, while the normal operation of the Swedish law of treasure trove in any case should have ensured that the discovery of it came to his official cognizance.

The second consideration is that there is in the Systematic Collection at Lund a Wareham penny of the moneyer Ælfgar which there is reason to believe was there before 1872, and which Professor Thorberg did not bring to Warne's attention. The reading of the reverse legend approximates to that given by Warne, but the type is that of the Crux issue. According to the Hildebrand classification of 1846 and 1881 this would have been described by Professor Thorberg as "Typ. C",

and it is easy to see how a confusion could arise in manuscript between a "C" and a "G". It is the suggestion of this note that the Agnus Dei penny of Wareham is mythical, and that the origin of its existence lies in an error of transcription or in a slip on the part of the printer. Warne obviously was not familiar with Hildebrand's 1846 catalogue, and still less with the classification there adopted. Indeed for most late Saxon coins he resorts to a rather clumsy system of references to Ruding's plates. Consequently it is very doubtful if he would have appreciated the vital import of the letter "G", and the mistake having once been passed in proof—if indeed it was not always present in Warne's copy—its perpetuation was inevitable.

The balance of probability, then, is that the *Agnus Dei* penny of Wareham does not and never did exist. It only remains for the present writer to extend his thanks to Mr. C. E. Blunt for drawing his attention to the Warne reference, Fil. lic. fru Brita Malmer of Lund for doing the same as regards the *Crux* coin otherwise so unaccountably passed over by Professor Thorberg, and to Mr. Elmore Jones who has supplied what may seem the final proof that the solution proposed is

the right one. According to Warne the crucial coin reads:

HALFGAR MO PER

Perhaps the most characteristic epigraphical feature of coins of the *Agnus Dei* type is that the *monetarius* contraction is never used, the reverse legends invariably consisting of the moneyer's name and that of his mint *without* a copulative or with ON.

R. H. M. D.

THE SUPPOSED FINDS AT THWAITE AND CAMPSEY ASH, 1832

There are references in numismatic literature to two finds of Anglo-Saxon coins in Suffolk in the year 1832. One of these was at Thwaite and is referred to, for example, by Hawkins in his Silver Coins of England and in two sale catalogues; the other find has been stated to have been at Campsey Ash and has been instanced by Burn in his Catalogue of London Tradesmen's Tokens, Akerman in Pagan Saxondom, and Lindsay in Coinage of the Heptarchy. Thompson in his Inventory of British Coin Hoards A.D. 600–1500 has listed both finds (nos. 69 and 362). Accounts of both these finds state that the coins were of the eleventh century and included a number of cut halfpennies and farthings.

It would be a remarkable coincidence for two such hoards to be found in the same year and further investigation has shown that there was in fact only one find, namely that at Thwaite. It would seem that the misapprehension arose from a somewhat ambiguous account given

 $^{^{\}rm I}$ Major Sheppard sale, 25 February 1864, lot nos. 86 and 87. Lady sale, 19 May 1885, lot no. 145.

in the Bury and Suffolk Herald of 12 February 1832 which runs as follows:

A few days since, as some labourers on the estate of Mrs. Sheppard of Campsey Ash, were felling an old pollard oak, they discovered two parcels of ancient coins, enclosed in thin lead cases; one of them was quite embedded in the solid part of the root. They are chiefly pennies of Edward the Confessor and Harold II, and amounted altogether to nearly 600 pieces. What appears most singular is, that many of them are divided into halves and quarters, which evidently shew that at that remote period these divided parts were circulated as $\frac{1}{4}a$.

Mrs. Sheppard was indeed of Campsey Ash but she also had an estate at Thwaite some twenty miles distant. Another original account of the find is in the *Essex Standard*, February 1832, which reads as follows:

A short time since, a man employed in removing the butt of an oak pollard, recently felled at Wickham Skeith, near Eye, Suffolk, discovered several packages, containing ancient coins of different kinds. In one of the packets there were as many as 500 of these interesting relics of bygone days; and there were several others smaller, making in all about 700. Unacquainted with their value as antiquarian curiosities, the man took them to the chandler's shop; and, finding that they would not purchase any of those necessaries of which he stood most in need, he liberally distributed them by handfuls to any one that would have them. A gentleman of Colchester, being in the neighbourhood shortly after the discovery procured six of them, all different. An adept in antiquities here has pronounced them to have been coined previous to the Conquest. One of them bears the effigy and name of Canute, who began to reign, A.D. 1017; another is supposed to be of the reign of Edred, A.D. 946; and several bear rude but distinct representations of the fleur de lis. They are all in an excellent state of preservation.

The village of Wickham Skeith adjoins that of Thwaite; and confirmation that Thwaite was the real find-spot comes on various tickets relating to coins in the National Collection, and which were

certainly written before 1838.

It will be noted from the two accounts given above, that while they do not differ greatly as regards the place of deposit the circumstances of discovery are not at all in accord, it is possible of course that the account in the *Essex Standard* is entirely incorrect, for we know that Mrs. Sheppard did come into possession of a considerable number of coins. It is also possible, however, that one of the workmen employed appropriated for his own use some of the coins and disposed of them

as stated by the Essex Standard.

In the Provenance paper published in the *British Numismatic Journal*, 1955, I have shown *B.M.C.* nos. 48, 49, 51, 104, 201, 258, 437, 472, 668, 691, 770, 781, 791, 792, 795, 798, 811, 825, 827, 828, 861, 878, 888, 1090, 1224, 1245, 1378, 1525, 1535, as having been presented by the Hon. Mrs. Wilson (1877). I have now established that the Hon. Mrs. R. Wilson was in fact the very Mrs. Sheppard on whose land the coins were found and I have no hesitation in including these now among the Thwaite coins. This was indeed anticipated by Mr. R. H. M. Dolley in his introduction to the Provenances.

An error for Harold I.

² This is in all probability a misread Edward.

As this note is published merely to remove a long-standing misapprehension I have not felt it necessary to list the known coins individually nor to comment on the hoard as such.

J. S. MARTIN

THE HEAVY CALAIS QUARTER-NOBLE OF HENRY IV

RECENTLY the Rector of Ashurst near Tunbridge Wells, the Rev. A. J. White, submitted to the British Museum for identification a small gold coin which had been found in the churchyard. It proved to be one of the extremely rare heavy quarter-nobles of Henry IV struck at Calais before that mint was closed in 1411. As will be seen from the illustration (Pl. XXV, 17,) the coin corresponds exactly to Mr. C. E. Blunt's description (B.N. J. xxiv. 22-27) and in fact the two coins in the National Collection and that found at Ashurst prove all to be from the same pair of dies. Thus the new coin is welcome not only for providing an actual find-spot—neither of the two coins in the British Museum has a hoard-provenance—but because the fact that the three known specimens should all be from one pair of dies argues strongly that the issue was indeed very limited. The new coin weighs no less than 28.27 grains, appreciably more than either of the specimens previously known, and, although bearing traces of circulation, is generally better preserved, the Walters coin in the National Collection being marred by a chip, while the Webster specimen is cracked and heavily clipped. Consequently it is all the more satisfactory to be able to report that the Ashurst specimen has been acquired for the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

This is perhaps a convenient opportunity for tidying up one loose end in Mr. Blunt's war-time study of the heavy gold coinage of Henry IV mentioned above. Constrained to write on the basis of notes made before the war, Mr. Blunt remarked that he had no record of having seen at the British Museum the Walters specimen of the heavy quarter-noble of London with the French arms consisting of three lis arranged ***. In fact this coin is in the National Collection, having been acquired at the Walters Sale (lot 229) along with the second of the Calais heavy quarter-nobles, and for the sake of completeness it is illustrated here (P1. XXV, 18). It is badly clipped—it weighs no more than 24.4 grains—but it appears to provide a new reverse die as well as a new obverse die for the series, and we thus have two obverse and four reverse dies represented on seven coins, which may suggest that the London issue was substantially larger than that put out from Calais. R. H. M. D.

FOSCOTE (BUCKS.) TREASURE TROVE

On 3 and 4 December 1955 at Foscote, near Winslow, Bucks., Master T. J. Rossiter and Master F. King discovered 198 silver coins of the Tudor and Stuart period (Edward VI-Charles I). Another one was

found by Mr. J. Rush. Denominations represented were half-crowns, shillings, and sixpences, and a single 30s. Scots piece of James I. The latest mark represented was *Triangle in Circle* (1641–3), which was present in such numbers (20 coins) as to show that the hoard had been concealed soon after the start of the Civil War and doubtless in connexion with some early local troop movement. The excellent condition of the coins is noticeable—half-crowns average 230 gr., shillings over 90 gr., and sixpences 42 gr.—and suggests that the severe clipping found in many hoards with coins of this period is a feature of the Restoration epoch; cf. the Yearby¹ and Ashton hoards.²

A coin of exceptional interest is the Charles I shilling of Type 3a, mint-mark Bell. This has been overstruck on a shilling of Type 3¹, of which the head, shield, and Portcullis marks on both sides are clearly visible. This is, so far as I can trace, the first overstrike of this series to have been published, and its raison d'être is not apparent. It may be suggested that it arose through the earlier dies being inadvertently used in the Bell period. The coins thus produced would have been re-

struck with correct dies before leaving the mint.

Reference numbers in square brackets are to H. A. Seaby, *Notes on English Silver Coins*, 1066-1648. Numbers not italicized or in brackets refer to the abbreviations of the royal title, e.g. 323 = ANG FR HIB; 3432 = MAG BRIT FRA (ET) HI.

EDWARD VI. Fine Coinage: Shillings: Tun 3.

ELIZABETH I

Shillings (31): Crosslet (8) 324 1, 323 1, 223 2, 333 3, 322 1. With 3, 2, 1 or no stops after ELIZABETH, Martlet (2), 332 1, 222 1. With 1 or 3 stops after ELIZABETH, Bell (3), 323 3, \(\lambda 2 \): Escallop 5: Crescent 1: Tun 3: Woolpack 3: Key 3: 1 1.

Sixpences (63): Pheon 1561, 322 2, 332 2: 1562 1: 1569 322 2; Lion 1567 2; Coronet 1567 5; 1568 3; 1569 3; 1570 1; Castle 1570 1; 1571 1; Ermine 1572 2; 1573 2; Acorn 1573 2; Eglantine 1575 4; 1576 2; Greek Cross 1578 2; 157 1; Latin Cross 1581 2; Sword 1582 2; Bell 1582 323 2; 1583 1; \(\bar{\lambda} \) 1584 1; Escallop over \(\bar{\lambda} \) 1584 1; Escallop 1585 2; Hand 1590 3; 1591 1; Tun 1592 1; 1593 3; Woolpack 1594 2; Key 1596 1; 1 1602 1; 2 1602 1.

English

JAMES I

Shillings (13): 1st coinage 2nd bust Thistle 3333 1, Lis 3333 3; 2nd coinage 3rd bust Lis 3433 1; Rose 1; 4th bust 2; Escallop 1; 5th bust, Coronet 3432 2; 3rd coinage 6th bust Thistle 3332 1; (plume over shield) 3333 1.

Sixpences (10): 1st coinage 1st bust Thistle 3333 1603 1; 2nd bust Lis 1604 3; 2nd coinage 3rd bust Lis 3433 1604 1; Rose 1605 1; 4th bust 2; Escallop 1606 2.

Scots

Six shillings (1): Thistle 3443 1605 1.

CHARLES I

Half-crowns (6): [Type 3a1]: Crown 2222 I; [3a2]: Triangle 3432 I; 3433 I; [4]; Star 3333 2; Triangle in Circle 3332 I.

¹ B.N.J. xxvii (1952-4), 294. ² See forthcoming B.N.J.

Shillings (60): [Type 3¹]: Harp 2222 I; Portcullis 2223 I; [3a] Bell 2222 I (overstruck on [3¹] Portcullis); Crown 6; Tun 3; [4¹ (but with large XII)] I; [4²] I; [4³] Anchor +3+3 2; I; I; I; I; Triangle 3333 2; [4⁴]: 3433 3; 3432 I; 3333 2; 3332 3; 2332 I; Star 3333 I; 3332 9; Triangle in Circle 19.

		2s. 6d.	Is.	6d.	Total	Face value
Edward VI . Elizabeth I . James I English ,, Scots Charles I .	 	 · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	3 31 13 60	63 10 1	3 94 23 1 78	£ s. d. 3 0 3 2 6 18 0 6 4 I 0
		6	107	86	199	8 5 0

J. P. C. KENT

THE FOSCOTE HOARD CONTAINER



The hoard was contained in an earthenware vessel, which is commonly called a drug-pot. Of Italian albarello form, it measures 4.4 in high and is decorated with bands and chevrons in blue and a pale orange-brown. It was found in many small pieces and has been restored in the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities, British Museum. Although incomplete, there were sufficient fragments to establish the profile and exact shape and size of the pot.

¹ Now exhibited with the hoard in the Buckingham County Museum.

This drug-pot belongs to the category of pottery known as delftware. The name delftware with a small "d" is used to describe all English pottery covered with a tin-glaze, the chief characteristics of which are that it is white and opaque. This glazing technique, which passed from the maiolica of Italy to the rest of Europe, reached England by way of the Netherlands about 1550, but the name is, strictly speaking, misleading, because this type of ware was made in England long before similar pottery was made in the Dutch town of Delft, afterwards renowned for it.

The products of English delftware in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries are almost indistinguishable from those of the Netherlands potteries, mainly because Flemish and Netherlandish potters settled in England and originated the production here. In 1571, two Antwerp potters, Jaspar Andries and Jacob Janson (who later anglicized his name to Jacob Johnson), petitioned Queen Elizabeth and were granted permission to found a pottery in London. A number of Flemish potters and pot-painters later joined Jacob Janson, whose pottery must have grown quite large. The identification of this English delftware is made more difficult by the fact that examples dug up in England may have been imported from the Netherlands. It was only about 1620-30 that delftware of a distinctive character was made in England, and in the previous fifty years English delftware was too much the product of Flemish potters living here to be distinguishable from that made in Flanders and the Netherlands. However, the colours on the English delftware, often painted in blue, orange, green, yellow, and purple, are rather duller than the similar pieces made and found in Flanders. This seems to be the case with the Foscote hoard drug-pot, which was probably made in England in the period c. 1570-1630.

HUGH TAIT

THE CONGLETON (CHESHIRE) TREASURE TROVE—JAMES I AND CHARLES I. GOLD

While carrying out repairs in an old cottage in Moody Street, Congleton, Mr. Aaron Machin discovered eighteen laurels and unites of the period 1623-41. At an inquest held on 10 October 1956 these were declared treasure trove. The entire find was purchased by the

Grosvenor Museum, Chester.

The main interest of the hoard lies in its emphasis on the earliest issues: these appear to be considerably more abundant than the later. None of the coins was much circulated, and there was no marked difference in condition between the earlier and later pieces. The poor state of the latest coin must be attributed to faulty striking rather than long circulation, though it should be remembered that accounts show a ready currency for these "broad pieces" down to their recoinage in 1733.

In the following list the royal title is expressed by the number of letters in each component, e.g. 3332 = MAG BRI FRA (ET) HI (REX)—a convenient system which I adopt with acknowledgements to Mr. B. R. Osborne.

JAMES I

Seven unites (laurels): all have on obverse the 6th "laurel" bust and colon stops, and on reverse no stops and legend terminated by privy mark. All but no. 7 have reverse legend: FACIA/M EOS IN/GENTEM/VNAM.

Privy mark	and date	Royal title	Weight (140·5 normal)
I. Lis (1623-4)		3332	140.6
2. ,,		3333	140.4
3. Trefoil (162.	4-5)	3333	140.7
4. ,,		2333	139.3
5. ,, 6. ,,		3323	141.0
6. ,,		2343	137.7
7. ,,		2342 ¹	140.1

CHARLES I

Privy mark and date	Kenyon typc	Royal title	Obv. stops	Rev. privy mark²	Weight (140·5 normal)			
8. Lis (1625)	I (tall crown)	3222	:	E	137.9			
9. "	,	11	:	23	140.6			
10.	,,	,,	?	В	137.7			
II. "	I (wide crown)	,,	3	E	138.2			
12. Castle (1672-8)	IA	1)	3	В	139.7			
13. Heart (1629-30)	,,	$22 - 22^3$:	E	139.2			
14. Feathers (1630-1)	,,	,,	:	"	137.9			
15. ,,	2	,,	:	,,	138.2			
16. Rose (1631–2)	"	3333	3	,,4	138.6			
17. Anchor (1638-9)	3	2222	?	,,	140.3			
18. Star (1640-1)	,,	3333	<u>5</u>	, ,,	140.9			
				J. P. C.	KENT			

NEW LIGHT ON A HERTFORDSHIRE TOKEN

RECENTLY Miss E. Grosstephan of Tring was kind enough to present to the National Collection an example of the token halfpenny struck at that place in 1668 for William Axtell (Williamson 194). Although in the case of Tring the possibility of misattribution was remote, the coin is the more welcome for having been found locally. Miss Grosstephan, too, has very kindly consulted the registers of Tring Parish Church, and the following entries add information about the issues not available in Williamson.

¹ No. 7: reverse legend: FACIAM/EOS IN/GENTEM/VNAM.
² B = beginning of legend, E = end of legend.

<sup>Nos. 13-15: obverse legend broken by front of bust, BR-FR.
No. 16: no stops in reverse legend.</sup>

William Axtell and Sara Gorton (?) were (?) married the — day of June Anno Domini 1649.

Sara daughter of William Axtell born the third of August 1650. Elizabeth daughter of William Axtell and Sara his wife bapt'd

30 of June 1653.

Son of William Axtill born twenty-fifth of March 1657. John the son of Will. Axtill was born 10th day July 1658. February 1663 William son of William Axtill baptised.

Earlier references to the family include the following:

William Axtill and Joan Cutler married the ninth day of October 1621. Marve daughter of Anthony Axtell (?) bapt'd February 26th 1610.

R. H. M. D.

THE 1667 HALFPENNY TOKEN OF JOHN NEWTON OF MORTON

THREE specimens have recently been found in the parishes of Gedney, Thurlby, and Manthorpe, in south Lincolnshire, of the halfpenny token issued by John Newton of Morton in 1667,

Obv. ΙΟΗΝ. ΝΕ ωτοΝ. A man dipping candles. I.M.N.

Rev. IN. MORTON. 1667. HIS. HALF. PENY.

Williamson attributed the token to Moreton Hampstead in Devonshire² on the ground that Newton was a Devonshire name, though he recognized that it might well belong elsewhere as there were several other Mortons in England. Smith described the token again in 1931 in his Catalogue of Lincolnshire Tokens3 from the specimen in the collection of The Spalding Gentlemen's Society, but was apparently unaware of Williamson's previous attribution to Devonshire.

The three recent finds from south Lincolnshire fully bear out Smith's attribution of the token to Lincolnshire and show clearly that the Morton is Morton by Bourne and not Morton near Gainsborough

in the northern part of the county.

In the registers of Morton by Bourne Parish Church there are no fewer than sixteen entries mentioning the Newton family in the ten years between 1625 and 1634. John Newton who issued the token in 1667 may have been the John Newton who was churchwarden for 1633 or, more probably, the John Newton who was baptized in November 1634 and would have been 33 years old in 1667.4

D. W. MACDOWALL

² G. C. Williamson, edition of Boyne's Trade Tokens Issued in the Seventeenth Century,

vol. i, p. 150.

3 A. Smith, A Catalogue of the Town and Trade Tokens of Lincolnshire Issued in the

Seventeenth Century, p. 38.

¹ The specimen found at Gedney is now in the possession of Mrs. Kunning, who sent it to the British Museum for identification; the token found at Thurlby belongs to the schoolmaster at Morton; and a piece found at Manthorpe, but now unfortunately lost, seems to have been another specimen of John Newton's token. The three examples that I have examined are from the same obverse and reverse dies.

⁴ I am deeply indebted to the Rev. E. G. Close, Vicar of Morton by Bourne, who has given me this information about his parish registers and has drawn my attention to the two specimens found at Thurlby and Manthorpe.

A LATE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FORGER'S PEGGED DIE





Forgers' dies are not infrequently met with, but it is not often that examples can be associated with a particular individual. In my collection, however, there is a pair of pegged dies that is not without interest for the English numismatist although intended for the production of forgeries of a foreign coin. As will be seen from the accompanying photograph of casts made directly from the die-faces, the engraver imitated with fair success the dobra de 4 escudos of John V of Portugal, and collation with the admirable engravings in Moedas Portuguesas by J. Ferraro Vaz (Lisbon, 1948) shows how closely he approximates to the types of the issue of 1741 of the Rio de Janeiro Mint. Portuguese gold coins circulated freely in this country, as is borne out by the frequency with which Kirk's brass weights for them occur, and it is difficult not to see a connexion between my dies and the following passage in Sir John Craig's The Mint (London, 1953), p. 224:

How shocking then that in 1796 a young Mint engraver, John Milton, was found to have supplied dies to counterfeiters of French louis d'or and gold joannes of Portugal. Being dense, he had been misled by the freedom with which he and his

colleagues furnished dies for traders' tokens, or private substitutes for copper coin. He was regretfully discharged under Treasury pressure and the charges against his customers, the counterfeiters, were quietly dropped.

Recent papers in the Numismatic Chronicle by Mr. Philip Grierson (1952, pp. 99-105) and Dr. Paul Balog (1955, pp. 199-201) have discussed the employment of pegged dies, and the new example cited here must considerably strengthen the presumption that the technique is one peculiarly associated with forgery. Dr. Balog, too, has argued that the technique was evolved in the eighteenth century, and some support for this comes from the completely different technique of seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century English forgers as exemplified by false dies in the British Museum and Royal Mint collections (R. H. M. Dolley, B.N.J. 1953, pp. 170-1) and by the forger's dies for the joannes of 1722 preserved in the Bankfield Museum, Halifax (H. Ling Roth, The Yorkshire Coiners, p. 6). These dies are all of "box" type, the square reverse die fitting into a square collar attached to the obverse die-a technique apparently known to the Anglo-Saxons but not employed officially after c. 1130. A similar type of die appears, however, to have been used in a local mint at Shanghai as late as 1857 (H. F. Bowker, The Numismatist, Sept. 1956, pp. 993-4). One of the nineteenth-century square-headed dies from China is in the Victoria and Albert Museum. It is illustrated in the Numismatist, Oct. 1956, p. 1138. There is also a full description, pp. 1138-9.

Two technical details of my dies seem to merit attention. The actual faces are engraved on brass insets let into the iron. In the case of the obverse die which would have rested on a suitable block of wood, the brass core is simply surrounded by an iron ring. In the case of the reverse die, however, which would have received the full force of the hammer, the brass is sunk into a cup of iron. The second feature of interest is that the three pegs are so arranged that only one die-relationship can be obtained, the normal †† of the genuine coin struck in a coining-press. Other pegged dies known to the writer have only two pegs, and in consequence, as Mr. Grierson has remarked,

two opposing die-relationships can be obtained.

It only remains for me to acknowledge the very kind assistance given by Mr. R. H. M. Dolley in the preparation of this note.

F. N. HEPPER

A HOARD OF FORGED BANK OF ENGLAND TOKENS

On I October 1956 a workman, in removing the stump of a wooden post adjoining the house at 117 Foden Road, Birmingham 22a, found a solid mass of coin-like objects at its base. Mr. D. H. Cherrington submitted the objects to the City Museum, Birmingham, for examination and has provided particulars of the discovery. The total number found was 63, 45 by the workman and a further 18 by Mr. Cherrington. The hoard consisted of forged 1s. 6d. Bank of England tokens, dated

1811, and showing no signs of wear (P1. XXV, 20). The originals were struck at the Soho Mint near Birmingham and were intended to weigh 7·30 gr. The average weight of the forgeries is 6·14 gr., and their specific gravity is 8·78. Instead of being of silver, they are of copper with a plating of tin alloy. The same pair of dies was used throughout and the engraving is noticeably good. The only obvious irregularities occur in the lettering, where the G has the limb below the bar projecting downwards and the R has a curled-up tail. No other objects were found with the forgeries, but small fragments of paper adhered to some as though

they had all been wrapped originally. The site of the discovery would in 1811 have lain in the middle of Far Perry Wood. It is half a mile from the farm which William Booth. the forger and coiner, occupied and where he was arrested on 16 March 1812. His trial followed, and at this one of the charges on which he was found guilty and sentenced to death was that of coining forged five-shilling dollars, and three-shilling and eighteen-penny bank tokens. Immediately after the arrest, a search was made of the farm and resulted in the discovery of tools for coining, presses, and dies, while round about was dug up £3,000 in good notes, 200 guineas in gold, and about £600 in bad silver. A description of a counterfeit 1s. 6d. bank token, dated 1811, which was found along with forgeries of regal silver and gold coinage some time before 1871 over a doorway of Booth's old house and which must therefore be associated with the coiner, is given in the Birmingham Daily Post of 31 May 1871. It was "an exquisite specimen of a 1s. 6d. Bank Token, finely executed, and in excellent preservation . . . apparently composed of copper, with a coating of silver".

Probably the forgeries in the hoard that is the subject of this note were identical and if they are the work of William Booth they are likely to have been buried by him or at his direction. A likely date for the deposit is when Booth had most reason to fear a search of his premises and this was between 10 February 1812, about when a servant of his, Job Jones, was arrested charged with uttering a forged Bank of England note,² and 16 March 1812 when Booth's own arrest took place. That some hiding of evidence occurred during this period is indicated by the statements of two of Booth's employees at the trial. One buried a copper-plate wrapped in paper, at Booth's direction, a fortnight before the arrest and another three plates six

days before.3

The forged tokens are now disposed so that 42 have been presented to the City Museum, Birmingham, and 21 are in private ownership.

R. J. SHERLOCK

³ The Trial of William Booth of Perry Barr (pamphlet printed by J. Drewry); Free, op. cit.

¹ Gentleman's Magazine (1812), part i, p. 381. ² The Staffordshire Advertiser, 15 Feb. 1812 (quoted by J. Free, Birmingham Weekly Post, 12 Nov. 1932, p. 17).

REVIEWS

Inventory of British Coin Hoards, A.D. 600-1500. By J. D. A. THOMPSON. Royal Numismatic Society, Special Publications, no. 1, 1956. 358.

I have been privileged to use Mr. Thompson's manuscript notes and have watched this book grow from them into a Dodonean oak which all may now gratefully consult. It offers in concise form the composition of every hoard, in as much detail as the information now available allows. There is a slender hope of recovering some of this lost information, since Mr. Thompson records the disposition of the coins, besides giving full, though not quite impeccable, references to printed sources and occasionally publishing hoards for the first time. Furthermore, some thirty earthen or metal containers are illustrated, mostly according to the usual half-section convention, providing a corpus of those all too rare zone-fossils of archaeology, precisely dated medieval pots. At least as many other pots are mentioned in the text, but, alas, were never recorded properly. There are also photographs of silverware included in the hoards: this is chronologically less valuable, but further justifies the grant from the C.B.A., which subsidized the publication in the service of all archaeologists.

One can have no quarrel with the area, which is more than the title implies. During the period concerned Britain and Ireland were largely an economic unity under the English penny. Though in the terminology used I should prefer "Continental" to "foreign", as against Anglo-Saxon, Oriental (!), &c., the fact that anything more precise (e.g. "French") would involve difficult frontier problems only stresses the economic insularity of the Isles vis-a-vis the continuum of the mainland. "Danish" should be "Anglo-Danish" in an age

when coins of Denmark were not quite foreign.

With the period I am less happy. Although coins are pre-eminently regal things, their natural epochs are not reigns, still less centuries. Centuries are a current plague of archaeology. A powerful, semi-official body that shall be nameless destroyed many of its records simply because they were after the historically insignificant year 1500. The book should not have ended then—possibly in 1526, or even 1464, but preferably in 1544. Likewise, the distribution-map would have been more valuable if the Edwardian hoards had been taken to 1351 rather than 1377.

Nor am I certain that all the hoards are properly so called. The book should have followed the Common Law and distinguished between hoards and grave-deposits. It is true that the immensely important Sutton Hoo purseful comes into the second category. Certainly coins in graves as jewellery or other offerings or *beigabe* survived into a nominally Christian period. Consider, for instance, the Carolingian cemetery at Foissy-les-Vézelay. In this book Nos. 10, 34,

426 Reveiws

43, 54, and 269 appear, among others, to be of the same description. Perhaps all, perhaps only those large enough to resemble hoards, deserve inclusion. In either case there should be consistency. Where is the Sarre necklace, or the coins found by Miss Evison in a partly Christian graveyard at Dover, to name but two instances? On the other hand some products of nineteenth-century church repairs

(44,108) may be assemblages of casual finds.

These criticisms do not affect the main body of this most valuable work. It is tantalizing to think how much better it might have been, had records reflected the best knowledge of their time. There is a sort of unsteady progress, from so many ounces of metal, through so many coins of King x to the full descriptions now happily in force. But it is sobering to think that the earliest find in the book (1611) is among the best recorded, though the coins have not been seen for 300 years—far better than many discovered within living memory. The legacies, such as this, of thorough old antiquaries, are not yet exhausted, and it is unfortunate that the forgotten but morally certain hoards now being reconstituted by analysis of the B.M. acquisition lists are just too late for inclusion. Other museums and old family collections might yield similar results. The Manx Museum in particular needs visiting. Indeed the Manx hoards are inadequately described and then only in peculiarly inaccessible works. Many will be stimulated to follow the queries that by implication Mr. Thompson has raised. Perhaps we may hope to see a supplement to his worthy *Inventory*.

S. E. R.

"Die Ziernadal von Syllöda". By M. Dreijer. Suomen Museo, 1956, pp. 17–31.

On page 30 of this study of some pieces of Viking silver ornament there is published and illustrated for the first time a fragment of a penny of Æthelstan (Brooke Class 5) by the York moneyer Regnald (cf. B.M.C., no. 14). This coin was found at Saltvik in the Åland Islands in 1914 but escaped notice in Nordman's classic Anglo-Saxon Coins Found in Finland on account of its having been earlier classified as German, a natural enough error in all the circumstances. The reviewer believes this is the earliest Anglo-Saxon coin to be found on the territory of modern Finland, and certainly the first penny of Æthelstan to be found so far to the north-east.

R. H. M. D.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, 1956

(For list of past Presidents and Medallists see page 208; for Officers and Council for 1956, see page 219)

ORDINARY MEETING

25 JANUARY 1956

MR. H. H. KING, President, in the Chair

Death

The death was announced of MR. D. S. NAPIER.

Exhibitions

By MR. H. H. KING:

- I. A penny of Æthelræd II's last "Small Cross" type of the Cadbury mint, moneyer Wulfelm.
- 2. A penny of the same king of the Chichester mint, moneyer Eadnoth, an unpublished variety of the Crux type with the "Long Cross" portrait and diadem, with an inner circle on the obverse and an omega copula on the reverse.

By MR. F. ELMORE JONES:

A series of coins of Æthelræd II, Cnut, and Edward the Confessor in illustration of the papers.

Papers

MR. R. H. M. DOLLEY read notes on (1) The 1955 Dover treasure trove; (2) A new Anglo-Saxon mint at Caistor, Lincs.; (3) New evidence of a mint at Bridgnorth; (4) On the Cadbury and Bruton mints; (5) With MR. F. ELMORE JONES. On a newly identified intermediate "Small Cross" type c. 997.

ORDINARY MEETING

22 FEBRUARY 1956

MR. E. J. WINSTANLEY, Vice-President, in the Chair

Elections

MR. THOMAS LISMORE, Calle 23, no. 413, Vedado, Havana, Cuba. MR. D. C. NICHOLS, 2 Victoria Parade, Torquay, Devon.

DR. P. H. VERNON, 25 Queenwood Avenue, Wallington, Surrey.

MR. R. H. STONE, S.S.Q., R.A.F., Kinloss, Forres, Morayshire, Scotland.

The G. C. Merriam Company, Springfield 2, Massachusetts, U.S.A.

Exhibitions

MR. G. E. L. CARTER exhibited coins, gems, beads, &c., in illustration of his paper.

Paper

MR. G. E. L. CARTER read a paper entitled "Roman Cultus in Anglo-Saxon Sceattas".

ORDINARY MEETING

23 MARCH 1956

MR. H. H. KING, President, in the Chair

Election

MR. D. G. D. VORLEY, Twineham, 63 Birdham Road, Chichester.

Exhibitions

On behalf of MR. ALBERT BALDWIN by MR. PETER MITCHELL: Various Service Medals.

On behalf of an anonymous owner by MR. D. G. LIDDELL:

EDWARD IV (second reign, 1471–83). Early half-angel with transposed legends. Blunt+Whitton Type XII.

- Obv. i.m. SCF, Cross in nimbus, trefoil stops in legend: O GRUXπνα-Spas-ν-Nigπ- From the same obverse die as the Ashmolean coin listed by B.+W. as variant τ.
- Rev. no i.m., trefoil stops in legend: ad/ward' discount i. Reverse unpublished and the second known reverse with trefoil stops for B.+W. Type XII, var. 1. The bowsprit cuts ad/ward instead of adw/ard for all other dies, including B.+W., Mules XIV/XII, var. 2, illustrated on Plate XIV, no. 12, which was erroneously recorded as reading ad/ward.

Ref.: B.N.J., 3rd ser., vol. v, p. 337, "The Coinages of Edward IV and of Henry VI (restored)", by Blunt and Whitton.

Provenance: Schulman sale at Amsterdam on I February 1956, lot 1591.

By MR. D. G. LIDDELL:

A number of medallic curiosities.

By MR. OWEN F. PARSONS: A fine series of medals.

Papers

Short papers were read: (I) on behalf of MR. H. SCHNEIDER on the last laurel bust of James I; (2) by MR. R. H. M. DOLLEY on the relevance of Anglo-Saxon coins to certain seal-matrices in the British Museum.

ORDINARY MEETING

25 APRIL 1956

MR. H. H. KING, President, in the Chair

Election

The Librarian, The University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri, U.S.A.

Exhibitions

By MR. J. M. ASHBY:

Twenty-six shillings and sixpences of James 1.

By MR. A. E. BAGNALL:

Twenty-five gold and silver coins of James I.

By DR. J. P. C. KENT:

A shilling of Charles I of Type 3a (Bell) overstruck upon Type 3¹ (Portcullis) from the Foscote treasure trove and four crowns of James I, the property of MR. A. E. BAGNALL, in illustration of the paper.

On behalf of MR. B. H. I. H. STEWART:

An unpublished twelve-shilling piece Scots of Charles I of Type 4b but with star above crown and the obverse from unrecorded puncheons and with variant obverse legend.

Paper

DR. J. P. C. KENT read a paper on the transition between the second and third coinages of James I.

ORDINARY MEETING

23 MAY 1956

MR. H. H. KING, President, in the Chair

Elections

MISS M. DAUNT, M.A., 4 Lansdown Terrace, Brunswick Square, London, W.C. 1.

MR. A. C. GRIFFIN, 27 Westmoreland Street, Bath, Somerset.

MR. B. LOUTH, 26 Carly Road, Keighley, Yorks.

THE DIRECTOR, The Museum and Art Gallery, New Walk, Leicester.

Exhibition

By MR. H. H. KING:

A penny of William I Type VIII reading DVNIE ON HIESTI and omitting the inner circle on the obverse.

Paper

DR. C. H. V. SUTHERLAND read a paper entitled "Diocletian's Mint at London".

ORDINARY MEETING

27 JUNE 1956

MR. H. H. KING, President, in the Chair

Exhibitions

By MR. P. J. SEABY:

A series of fifteen coins illustrative of forgery through the ages; a Cromwell half-crown in gold; "Bradford Workhouse" countermarked coins and tokens; an Edward the Confessor penny of the Lydford mint, "Pacx" type, +ELFRIC ON LYD, an unpublished type for this mint.

On behalf of MR. R. CARLYON-BRITTON: A plated specimen of the Ormonde crown.

By MR. ALBERT BALDWIN: Rebel and Ormonde crowns.

By MR. H. G. STRIDE:

A large number of Ormonde crowns in illustration of the paper. These had been made available by Messrs. A. H. Baldwin & Sons, Ltd.

Paper

MR. H. G. STRIDE read a paper prepared in collaboration with his colleagues at the Royal Mint, MR. NEWMAN and DR. DUNNING, on the subject of the Ormonde crown.

ORDINARY MEETING

26 SEPTEMBER 1956

MR. A. E. BAGNALL, Vice-President, in the Chair

Elections

MR. HAROLD S. BAREFORD, 1041 Kenyon Avenue, Plainfield, N.J., U.S.A.

MR. C. R. LATTIMORE, 320 Stag Lane, London, N.W. 9. MR. G. TEASDILL, 3 New Way, Tranmere Park, Guiseley, Leeds, Yorks.

Exhibitions

By MR. P. J. SEABY:

(r) A penny of William I, type I, of Winchester, moneyer Anderboda. The obverse is from the same die as B.M.C. 53; the reverse legend is retrograde; (2) a William I, type VII, of Hertford, moneyer Saemon. Not recorded for this type in B.M.C.; (3) a Cromwell crown with hair re-cut and face and drapery re-stippled.

By MR. B. H. I. H. STEWART:

An Irish groat attributed to Lambert Simnel and various "Short-Cross" pennies.

Paper

MR. C. S. S. LYON read a paper reviewing the Northumbrian coinage of the eighth and ninth centuries.

ORDINARY MEETING

24 OCTOBER 1956

MR. C. E. BLUNT, Vice-President, in the Chair

Elections

MR. R. L. AUSTEN, Westergate House, Fontwell, Arundel, Sussex. MRS. M. BUSSELL, 242 Westbourne Park Road, London, W. 11.

MR. A. S. HOOPER, 17 Dirdene Gardens, Epsom, Surrey. MR. W. LAING, 67 Baldock Road, Letchworth, Herts.

MR. L. MCCORMICK-GOODHART, 610 East Boulevard Drive, Alexandria, Virginia, U.S.A.

MR. W. Mcc. WILSON, Pig and Whistle Hotel, Meru, Kenya Colony; and as a *Junior Member*:

MR. M. J. ANDERSON, 51 Patching Hall Lane, Chelmsford, Essex.

Exhibition

By MR. A. H. F. BALDWIN:

Two Type II proof unites of Charles I (i.m. plumes/plumes and rose/plumes) and a Briot unite (i.m. flower and B/B).

Paper

MR. H. SCHNEIDER read a paper on the Tower Unites of Charles I.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

30 NOVEMBER 1956

MR. E. J. WINSTANLEY, Vice-President, in the Chair

Elections

DR. C. L. COLLINS, 17 Ladbrooke Gardens, London, W. 11. THE LIBRARIAN, The University of the Saar, Saarbrücken, Germany.

Exhibitions

By MR. W. LAING:

A penny of Eadberht Praen by the unpublished moneyer Ethelmod.

By MR. E. J. WINSTANLEY:

Groats of Henry VII and Henry VIII in illustration of his paper.

By MR. P. J. SEABY:

A halfpenny of John as Lord of Ireland by the Limerick moneyer Siward, a new moneyer and type for this mint; a comparable coin of Dublin.

By MR. R. H. M. DOLLEY:

The Neath treasure trove and (on behalf of DR. J. P. C. KENT) the Congleton treasure trove.

Papers

Short papers were read by the following: MR. R. H. M. DOLLEY on the Eadberht Praen penny exhibited; MR. C. E. BLUNT on a new type for Archbishop Ceolnoth and on the earliest coinage of the mint of Rochester; MR. E. J. WINSTANLEY on the latest groats of Henry VII and the earliest of Henry VIII.

Sanford Saltus Medal

By vote of the Members the Sanford Saltus Medal for 1956 was awarded to MR. F. ELMORE JONES.

Officers and Council

The following were elected officers and members of Council for 1956-7: *President*: H. H. KING, ESQ., M.A.

Vice-Presidents: A. E. BAGNALL, ESQ.; C. E. BLUNT, ESQ., O.B.E., F.S.A.; G. V. DOUBLE-DAY, ESQ.; and E. J. WINSTANLEY, ESQ., L.D.S.

Director (and Acting Secretary): R. H. M. DOLLEY, ESQ., B.A., F.S.A.

Treasurer: J. M. ASHBY, ESQ., M.A.

Librarian: W. FORSTER, ESQ.

Council: D. F. ALLEN, ESQ., B.A., F.S.A.; R. D. BERESFORD-JONES, ESQ., M.A.; I. D. BROWN, ESQ., B.SC.; E. BURSTAL, ESQ., M.A., M.D.; P. GRIERSON, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A.; J. P. C. KENT, ESQ., B.A., PH.D.; C. S. S. LYON, ESQ., B.A., F.I.A.; W. PALMER, ESQ.; C. W. PECK, ESQ.; C. H. V. SUTHERLAND, ESQ., M.A., D.LITT.; P. D. WHITTING, ESQ., G.M., B.A.; and MAJOR W. J. C. YOUDE.

THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

EXPENDITURE AND INCOME ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 OCTOBER 1955

	EXPENDITURE			INCOME
1954 £ 38 36	Printing and Stationery	$\not\in$ s. d.	£ s. d. 28 16 7	1954 £ Subscriptions received for 1955
52	Facilities	9 15 7 94 8 3	39 18 0 63 2 11	the year
468	Provision for 1955 Journal	104 3 10 550 0 0		J. L. Dresser 9 12 0 L. C. Briggs 2 2 0 Anonymous
	Lockett Collection: Photographer's Prints	246 7 9 167 II 6	654 3 10	9 47 Interest Received
- 68	Surplus carried to General Purposes Fund .		78 16 3 	- Excess of Expenditure over Income carried to General Purposes Fund
£662			£864 17 7	£864 17 7

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31 OCTOBER 1955

1954 8 23 471 154 187 400	Subscriptions received in advance Subscriptions compounded Sundry Creditors and Outstanding Charges. J. Sanford Saltus Medal Fund: Capital Account Less Debit Balance on Income Account Publications and Research Fund Provision for Estimated Cost of Journal General Purposes Fund:	£ s. d. 13 12 1 32 5 0 551 19 3 159 16 2 279 2 6 550 0 0	1954 £ 1,260 167 152 10	f. s. d. f. s. d. f. s. d. f. s. d.
1,227 £2,470	Balance as at 31 October 1954 . 1,226 16 4 Less Excess of Expenditure over Income for the year	1,110 12 1 (2,697 7 1	399 478 4 —————————————————————————————————	at price subsequently realized

REPORT OF THE AUDITORS TO THE MEMBERS OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

We have obtained all the information and explanations which to the best of our knowledge and belief were necessary for the purposes of our audit. In our opinion proper books of account have been kept by the Society so far as appears from our examination of those books. We have examined the above Balance Sheet and annexed Expenditure and Income Account which are in agreement with the books of account and no credit has been taken for subscriptions in arrear. In our opinion and to the best of our information and according to the explanations given to us, the Balance Sheet gives a true and fair view of the state of the Society's affairs as at 31 October 1955 and the Expenditure and Income Account gives a true and fair view of the excess of expenditure for the year ended on that date.

51 Coleman Street, London, E.C. 2 GILBERTS, HALLETT, & EGLINGTON, $Chartered\ Accountants$

LIST OF MEMBERS

OF THE

BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

ON I OCTOBER 1957

ROYAL MEMBERS

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF WINDSOR. HER MAJESTY QUEEN ELENA OF ITALY. HIS MAJESTY GUSTAV VI, KING OF SWEDEN. HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF SWEDEN.

MEMBERS

*Honorary Members

1947 ALLCARD, LT.-COL. H., 29 Windsor Road, Selsey, Sussex.

1935 ALLEN, D. F., ESQ., B.A., F.S.A., Strand End, Grove Park, Chiswick, London, W. 4.

1946 AMANN, A. F., ESQ., I a Mayfield Road, London, N. 8.

1953 ASHBY, J. M., ESQ., M.A., Queensmead, West Temple Sheen, London, S.W. 14. 1936 ASSHETON, J. R., ESQ., 42 Jubilee Place, London, S.W. 3.

1930 ASSHETON, J. R., ESQ., 42 Judhee Piace, London, S. W. 3. 1956 AUSTEN, R. L., ESQ., Westergate House, Fontwell, Arundel, Sussex.

1922 BAGNALL, A. E., ESQ., Vestelgate House, Follower, Franks.

1938 BALDWIN, A. H., ESQ., 221 Crofton Lane, Orpington, Kent.

1923 BALDWIN, A. H. F., ESQ., 3 Robert Street, Adelphi, London, W.C. 2.

1941 BALDWIN, W. V. R., ESQ., Mont Dore, West Hill, High Salvington, Worthing, Sussex.

1955 BALLINGAL, N. C., ESQ., c/o Maclaine Watson & Co., P.O. Box 2001, Djakarta, Indonesia.

1949 BARBER, D. R. W., ESQ., 36 Hatherleigh Gardens, Potters Bar, Middlesex.

1956 BAREFORD, MR. H. S., 1041 Kenyon Avenue, Plainfield, New Jersey, U.S.A.

1946 BARNES, A. E., ESQ., 33 Stratton Road, Beaconsfield, Bucks.

1947 BASMADJIEFF, M. LUBAN, Postfach Fraumünster 1071, Zürich, Switzerland.

1953 BELL, C. L., ESQ., Lyngate House, North Walsham, Norfolk.

1953 BERESFORD-JONES, R. D., ESQ., M.A., Wolfden, Swan Street, Sible Hedingham, Essex.

1953 BERGHAUS, DR. PETER, Landesmuseum, Domplatz 10, Münster/Westf., Western Germany.

1957 BIGLEY, DR. D., 15 Hampton Lane, Solihull, Warwicks.

1948 BLAKE, G. R., ESQ., Fountain Court, Brook, Lyndhurst, Hants.

1933 BLUNT, C. E., ESQ., O.B.E., F.S.A., Ramsbury Hill, Ramsbury, Nr. Marlborough, Wilts.

1950 BOURGEY, M. EMILE, 7 Rue Drouot, Paris IXe, France.

1954 BOWER, G. W., ESQ., II Longbar Avenue, Bradford 9, Yorks.

1954 BRAY, A. R., ESQ., Briar Bank, East End Road, Charlton Kings, Nr. Cheltenham, Glos.

1948 BRAZENOR, H. C. F., ESQ., Art Gallery and Museum, Church Street, Brighton, Sussex.

1942 BRETTELL, R. P. V., ESQ., Grenedene, Whitchurch Road, Tavistock, Devon.

1933 BRIGGS, MR. L. CABOT, Hancock, New Hampshire, U.S.A.

1955 BROOKS, F., ESQ., MUS.BAC., L.R.A.M., 27 Playfields Drive, Parkstone, Dorset.

1954 BROWN, I. D., ESQ., B.SC., 17 Green Lane, Oxhey, Herts.

1946 Brown, L. A., ESQ., Lockerbie, River Bank, Hampton Court, Surrey.

1942 BURSTAL, E., ESQ., M.A., M.D., 46 Lansdowne Road, Bournemouth, Hants.

Fſ

1956 BUSSELL, MRS. M., 242 Westbourne Park Road, London, W. 11.

1955 BUXTON, MR. E. V., c/o Messrs. Benedict & Benedict, 99 John Street, New York City 38, N.Y., U.S.A.

1955 CALDERWOOD, R., ESQ., M.D., Chief Medical Officer, General Hospital, Singapore 3, Malaya.

1911 CARLYON-BRITTON, R. D., ESQ., F.S.A., 32 Westgate, Chichester, Sussex.

1957 CARTER, B. L., ESQ., 9 Hornsey Lane Gardens, London, N. 6.

1955 CARTER, G. E. L., ESQ., M.A., Pine Hollow, Budleigh Salterton, Devon.

1947 CAWTHORNE, T., ESQ., F.R.C.S., 149 Harley Street, London, W. 1.

1946 CHAINEY, H. G., ESQ., 21 Manor Way, London, E. 4.

1929 CHECKLEY, J. F. H., ESQ., 26 Maple Avenue, Maidstone, Kent. 1914 CHRISTOPHER, R. T., ESQ., West View, Bradford-on-Avon, Wilts.

1946 CLARK, J. W., ESQ., 56 Beaconsfield Street, Blyth, Northumberland. 1949 CLARK, M. A., ESQ., 44 High Street, Penistone, Nr. Sheffield, Yorks.

1956 COLLINS, DR. C. L., 17 Ladbrooke Gardens, London, W. 11.

1955 CORBITT, J. H., ESQ., The Black Gate, Newcastle upon Tyne, Northumberland.
1957 DANSON, E. W., ESQ., 28 Paxton Road, Tapton, Nr. Chesterfield, Derbyshire.
1956 DAUNT, MISS M., M.A., 4 Lansdown Terrace, Brunswick Square, London, W.C. I.
1937 DAVIDSON, J., ESQ., M.B., CH.B., F.R.C.P. (ED.), F.S.A. (SCOT.), Linton Muir, West
Linton, Peebles-shire.

1926 DENTON, A. R., ESQ., 90 Haygate Road, Wellington, Salop. 1955 DOGGART, J. H., ESQ., 82 Portland Place, London, W. I.

1951 DOLLEY, R. H. M., ESQ., B.A., F.S.A., Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, London, W.C. 1.

1946 DOUBLEDAY, G. V., ESQ., The Old Rectory, Langford, Maldon, Essex.

1948 DRESSER, MR. J. L., 167 East 90th Street, New York City 28, N.Y., U.S.A.

1954 DYKES, D. W., ESQ., B.A., Cydonia, Cockett Road, Sketty, Swansea, Glam. 1955 EGAN, H., ESQ., B.Sc., PH.D., 49 Medway Gardens, Wembley, Middlesex.

1954 ELLISON, THE VEN. C. O., I Weetwood Avenue, Leeds 16, Yorks.

1949 ELST, M. CHARLES VAN DER, Longue Rue de l'Hopital 32, Antwerp, Belgium.

1946 ERSKINE, THE HON. R. W. H., M.A., 5 Markham Street, London, S.W. 3. *1903 EVANS, LT.-COL. C. L., 133 Andover Road, Newbury, Berks. 1955 FERGUSON, J. DOUGLAS, ESQ., Rock Island, Quebec, Canada.

1949 FERGUSON, W. D., ESQ., 17 Upland Road, Wellington, W. 1, New Zealand.

1950 FIRTH, C. J., ESQ., 46 King Street, Hoyland, Barnsley, Yorks. 1946 FORRER, L. S., ESQ., Keizersgracht 448, Amsterdam, Netherlands.

1947 FORRER, R., ESQ., c/o Spink & Son Ltd., 5-7 King Street, London, S.W. 1.

1950 FORSTER, W., ESQ., 83a Stamford Hill, London, N. 16.

1957 FREEMAN, J. C., ESQ., B.A., LL.B., Bank of New South Wales, 47 Berkeley Square, London, W. 1.
1950 FRENCH, W. C., ESQ., 7 Blenheim Street, London, W. 1.

1957 GARDNER, A. C., ESQ., 13 Astrop Gardens, King's Sutton, Banbury, Oxfordshire.

1954 GARDNER, T. H., ESQ., May House, Flintwick Road, Ampthill, Beds.

1955 GARTNER, J., ESQ., 15 Guildford Lane, Melbourne C. 1, Victoria, Australia.

1954 GIBBS, P. H., ESQ., Aycote House, Rendcombe, Cirencester, Glos.

1938 GRANT, COL. M. H., 18 Victoria Grove, London, W. 8.

1955 GRANT, PROFESSOR MICHAEL, O.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., F.S.A. (Scot.), 9 Merchiston Avenue, Edinburgh.

1947 GRIERSON, P., ESQ., M.A., F.S.A., Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.

1956 GRIFFIN, A. C., ESQ., 27 Westmoreland Street, Bath, Somerset.

1943 GRIFFITHS, N., ESQ., Trinity Chambers, 67 High Street, Tunstall, Stoke-on-Trent, Staffordshire.

1954 GROVER, B. H., ESQ., 20a Barnard Gardens, New Malden, Surrey. 1955 HAINES, G. C., ESQ., F.S.A., 31 Larpent Avenue, London, S.W. 15.

1949 HARKNESS, D., ESQ., B.SC., 41 Pereira Road, Harborne, Birmingham 17.

1954 HARRIS, M. J., ESQ., Blagdon Hill, Taunton, Somerset.

1952 HEPBURN-WRIGHT, H. K., ESQ., Westerton House, Pluscarden, Elgin, Morayshire.

1955 HEWITT, K. V., ESQ., 44 Feenan Highway, Tilbury, Essex.

- 1952 HICKS, MR. W., c/o Money Mart, 101 West 43rd Street, New York City, N.Y., U.S.A.
- 1949 HILL, J. W. F., ESQ., C.B.E., M.A., LITT.D., LL.M., F.S.A., 2 Lindum Terrace, Lincoln. 1944 HIRD, ALDERMAN H., M.A., F.S.A., 5 North Park Road, Bradford, Yorks.
- 1956 HOOPER, A. S., ESQ., 17 Dirdene Gardens, Epsom, Surrey.
- 1946 норкінь, G. s., esq., ії Chapman's Close, Leigh-on-Sea, Essex.
- 1954 HOWELL, G. F., ESQ., The Royal Mint, Tower Hill, London, E.C. 3.
- 1939 HURLEY, W., ESQ., 37 Thaxted Road, London, S.E. 9.
- 1946 JACOB, K. A., ESQ., 32 Gilbert Road, Cambridge.
- 1944 JOHNSTONE, DR. E. A., 121 North Road, Clayton, Manchester, Lancs.
- 1938 JONES, F. ELMORE, ESQ., 30 Finsbury Square, London, E.C. 2.
- 1957 KEMPSHALL, T. E., ESQ., 26 Glendower Avenue, Coventry, Warwicks.
- 1954 KENT, J. P. C., ESQ., B.A., PH.D., Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, London, W.C. 1.
- 1909 KING, H. H., ESQ., M.A., Undershaw Hotel, Hindhead, Surrey.
- 1938 KING, P. I., ESQ., 55 York Road, Northampton.
 1955 KROLIK, P. D., ESQ., The Lansdowne Club, Berkeley Square, London, W. I.
- 1949 LAINCHBURY, A. W., ESQ., Trigmoor, Kingham, Oxfordshire.
- 1956 LAING, W., ESQ., 41 Lytton Avenue, Letchworth, Herts.
- 1949 LARSEN, MR. L. V., 721 Highland Boulevard, Coshocton, Ohio, U.S.A.
- 1956 LATTIMORE, C. R., ESQ., 320 Stag Lane, London, N.W. 9.
- 1947 LAWRENCE, G. W., ESQ., III Upton Road, Bexley Heath, Kent.
- 1948 LEE, CAPT. R., Woodgate House, Uttoxeter, Staffs.
- 1947 LIDDELL, D. G., ESQ., c/o Spink & Son Ltd., 5-7 King Street, London, S.W. 1. 1946 LINECAR, H. W. A., ESQ., c/o Spink & Son Ltd., 5-7 King Street, London, S.W. 1.
- 1950 LINTON, COL. E. C., R.A.M.C. (RET.), 506 Kensington Close, Wright's Lane, London, W. 8.
- 1956 LISMORE, MR. T., Calle 23, No. 413, Vedado, Havana, Cuba.
- 1954 LISTER, MAJ. C. W., R.A., c/o Lloyds Bank, Faringdon, Berks.
- 1947 LIVEING, COMMANDER R. G., R.N., 10 Brodrick Avenue, Alverstoke, Hants. 1955 LOFFET, J., ESQ., Poolhead Farm, Tanworth-in-Arden, Birmingham, Warwicks.
- 1915 LONGMAN, W., ESQ., 42 Chelsea Square, London, S.W. 3.
- 1956 LOUTH, B., ESQ., 26 Cark Road, Keighley, Yorks.
- 1945 LYON, C. S. S., ESQ., B.A., F.I.A., 12 Western Road, Sutton, Surrey.
- 1930 MABBOTT, PROFESSOR T. O., 1435 Lexington Avenue, New York City 28, N.Y., U.S.A.
- 1957 MACDOWALL, D. W., ESQ., M.A., Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, London, W.C. 1.
- 1947 MACK, COMMANDER R. P., M.V.O., R.N., West House, Droxford, Hants.
- 1956 MCCORMICK-GOODHART, MR. L., 610 East Boulevard Drive, Alexandria, Virginia, U.S.A.
- 1945 MANGAKIS, D., ESQ., 7 Esmond Court, Thackeray Street, London, W. 8.
- 1954 MARTIN, MRS. J. S., Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, London,
- 1946 MASON, C. L., ESQ., I Washington House, Basil Street, London, S.W. 3.
- 1942 MASON, N. B., ESQ., 144 Aldwych Avenue, Toronto 6, Ontario, Canada.
- 1947 MATTINGLY, H., ESQ., M.A., D.LITT., F.B.A., F.S.A., 9 Missenden Road, Chesham, Bucks.
- 1905 мень, мк. в. м., Fort Worth, Texas, U.S.A. 1932 мітснець, D. D., esq., 18 Craneford Way, Twickenham, Middlesex.
- 1954 MITCHELL, P. D., ESQ., 18 Craneford Way, Twickenham, Middlesex.
- 1935 NEWNHAM, A. J., ESQ., 82 Laburnum Grove, North End, Portsmouth, Hants.
- 1956 NICHOLS, D. C., ESQ., 2 Victoria Parade, Torquay, Devon.
- 1957 NORTH, J. J., ESQ., 30 Wolstonbury Road, Hove, Sussex.
- 1954 NORWEB, HON. R. H., 1816 Union Commerce Building, Cleveland 14, Ohio, U.S.A.
- 1955 OSBORNE, A. E., ESQ., 6 Portland Street, Warsop, Notts.
- 1951 OSBORNE, B. R., ESQ., 26 Church Street, Shipston-on-Stour, Warwicks.
- 1953 OTTLEY, F. B., ESQ., 19 Clevedon Mansions, Lissenden Gardens, London, N.W. 5.

1954 PALMER, W., ESQ., Hill Crest, Theydon Bois, Essex.

- 1946 PARSONS, O. F., ESQ., Boundary Cottage, Churchdown Lane, Hucclecote, Gloucester.
- 1947 PECK, C. W., ESQ., 31 Vineyard Hill Road, London, S.W. 19.

1944 PEGG, H., ESQ., 122 Wollaton Road, Beeston, Notts.

1955 PITCHFORK, W. H., ESQ., Thurnholmes, Owston Ferry, Doncaster, Yorks.

1957 POLLARD, J. G., ESQ., M.A., 17 Highworth Avenue, Cambridge.

1955 PORTEOUS, J. D., ESQ., B.A., 3 York House, Turk's Row, London, S.W. 3.

1955 POTTER, W. J. W., ESQ., 30 Esmond Road, London, W. 4. 1944 PRIDMORE, F., ESQ., 48 Priory Bridge, Taunton, Somerset.

1946 PRIESTMAN, A., ESQ., Brougham, Penrith, Cumberland.

1945 PRITCHARD, J. R., ESQ., 122 Kensington Park Road, London, W. 11. 1945 PRITCHARD, MRS. J. R., 122 Kensington Park Road, London, W. 11.

1954 PURVEY, P. F., ESQ., I Horseshoe Road, Pangbourne, Berks.

*1903 RABY, H., ESO., M.A., Kensington House, Withington, Manchester.

1955 REES, V. F., ESQ., 25 Campden Street, London, W. 8.

*1905 RENDALL, V. H., ESQ., B.A., Manor House, Devon Road, Bordon, Hants.

1952 RENFREW, R. C., ESQ., 8 Densley Close, Welwyn Garden City, Herts.

1953 RICHARDSON, J. H. H., ESQ., 65 Lowther Drive, Oakwood, Enfield, Middlesex.

1949 RIGOLD, S. E., ESQ., M.A., 2 Royal Crescent, London, W. 11.

1946 ROBINSON, E. S. G., ESQ., C.B.E., M.A., D.LITT., F.B.A., F.S.A., Iwerne, Stapleton, Dorset.

- 1954 ROBINSON, G. S., ESQ., M.A., B.M., B.CH., 15 Esplanade West, Sunderland, Co. Durham.
- 1938 ROLFE, M. S., ESQ., 102 Ruskin Avenue, Southend-on-Sea, Essex. 1954 ROWLANDS, PASTOR J. F., 7 Brewer Avenue, Durban, Natal, S.A.

1953 SANDERS, P., ESQ., 157 Gibson's Hill, London, S.W. 16. 1947 SCHNEIDER, H., ESQ., 10 Place Leopold, Antwerp, Belgium.

1948 SCHULMAN, MR. H. M. F., 545 Fifth Avenue, New York City 17, N.Y., U.S.A.

1922 SEABY, H. A., ESQ., 65 Great Portland Street, London, W. I. 1945 SEABY, P. J., ESQ., 99 Mays Lane, Earley, Reading, Berks.

1953 SEALY, D. L. F., ESQ., Little Warren, Otford, Kent.

1954 SEED, W., ESQ., B.A., 76 Boothroyd Lane, Dewsbury, Yorks.

1954 SHACKLETON, MISS D. E., 3 East Wing, Home Farm Estate, Northchurch, Berkhamstead, Herts.

1954 SHAW, J., ESQ., B.A., 153 Bolton Road, Atherton, Manchester, Lancs.

1955 SHORTT, H. DE S., ESQ., M.A., F.S.A., The Museum, Ann Street, Salisbury, Wilts. 1946 SHRIGLEY, MISS I., M.A., The Institute of Bankers, 10 Lombard Street, London, E.C. 3.

1957 SLADE, W. W., ESQ., The Firs, Hardings Lane, Gillingham, Dorset.

1946 SLAYTER, W., ESQ., 63 Westway, Edgware, Middlesex.

1946 SMITH, C. B., ESQ., Greensted, Ashley Road, Farnborough, Hants.

1948 SMITH, D. E., ESQ., 50 Moruben Road, Mosman, New South Wales, Australia.

1955 SMITH, P. G., ESQ., 23 Upper Grosvenor Street, London, W. 1.
1946 SOMERVILLE, D., ESQ., Hillview, Achno Road, Hardgate, Clydebank, Scotland.

1941 SPINK, D. F., ESQ., 5 King Street, London, S.W. 1.

- 1952 SPUFFORD, P., ESQ., B.A., 23 Princess Court, Bryanston Place, London, W. I. 1952 STEWART, B. H. I. H., ESQ., F.S.A. (SCOT.), Camlet House, Hadley Wood, Herts.
- 1947 STEWART, J. R., ESQ., M.A., Mount Pleasant, Bathurst 3 W, New South Wales, Australia.
- 1957 STONE, A. G., ESQ., A.I.MECH.E., 44 Lowther Drive, Enfield, Middlesex.

1945 STONE, H., ESQ., 14 Chase Court, Chase Road, London, N. 14.

- 1956 STONE, F./SGT. R. H., Sergeants' Mess, R.A.F. Hospital, Wroughton, Nr. Swindon, Wilts.
- 1950 SUTHERLAND, C. H. V., ESQ., M.A., D.LITT., Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
- 1954 TATLER, G. L. V., ESQ., 624 Chiswick High Road, London, W. 4.

- 1956 TEASDILL, G., ESQ., 3 New Way, Tranmere Park, Guiseley, Leeds, Yorks.
- 1954 THOMPSON, G., ESQ., M.A., F.S.A., 7 St. George's Place, York.
- 1946 THOMPSON, J. D. A., ESQ., Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
- 1954 THRESHER, J. E., ESQ., 16 Skinners Lane, Ashtead, Surrey.
- 1945 TIDMARSH, R. A. S., ESQ., 16 Old Forge Way, Sidcup, Kent.
- 1954 TOWELL, G. W., ESQ., The Cross, Sidford, Sidmouth, Devon.
- 1949 TREVOR, LT.-COL. E. N., 128 Priory Lane, London, S.W. 15.
- 1957 UNRUH, LIEUT. E. H., 57th Air Rescue Squadron, APO 406, New York City, N.Y., U.S.A.
- 1956 VERNON, DR. P. H., 25 Queenswood Avenue, Wallington, Surrey.
- 1954 VINCENT, J. R., ESQ., 86 St. Mary Street, Weymouth, Dorset.
- 1949 VORE, MR. W. DE, 8872 Towanda Street, Philadelphia 18, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.
- 1956 VORLEY, D. G. D., ESQ., 63 Birdham Road, Chichester, Sussex.
- 1955 WAINWRIGHT, F. T., ESQ., B.A., PH.D., F.S.A., Ingleby, Newport-on-Tay, Fife, Scotland.
- 1944 WALLACE, J., ESQ., 40 Temple Place, Morston Road, Blakeney, Norfolk.
- 1955 WEBER, F. PARKES, ESQ., M.D., F.S.A., 68 Harley House, London, N.W. 1.
- 1950 WEIBEL, J., ESQ., 85 Clare Court, Judd Street, London, W.C. 1.
- 1952 WELSH, C. N., ESQ., 68 Millhouses Lane, Sheffield 7, Yorks.
- 1945 WEST, A. J., ESQ., Springfield, Bookham, Surrey.
- 1946 WHETMORE, S. A. H., ESQ., 4 Sydney House, Bedford Park, London, W. 4.
- 1954 WHITTING, P. D., ESQ., G.M., B.A., 9 Rivercourt Road, London, W. 6.
- 1953 WHITTINGHAM, R. D., ESQ., I Down Lane, Carisbrooke, Isle of Wight.
- 1946 WILLIAMS, B., ESQ., 30 Beeleigh Road, Morden, Surrey.
- 1956 WILSON, W. Mcc., ESQ., Pig and Whistle Hotel, Meru, Kenya Colony.
- 1954 WINDAU, MR. E. H., 1565 East 17th Street, Cleveland 14, Ohio, U.S.A.
- 1939 WINSTANLEY, E. J., ESQ., 32 Belsize Grove, London, N.W. 3.
- 1955 WODAK, E., ESQ., B.SC., 108 Burke Road, East Malvern, Victoria, Australia.
- 1952 WOODHEAD, P., ESQ., Knysna, Granville Road, High Barnet, Herts.
- 1947 WRIGHT, L. V. W., ESQ., I Malbrook Court, Malbrook Road, London, S.W. 15.
- 1937 WRIGHTSON, A. G., ESQ., O.B.E., 5 Ladbroke Terrace, London, W. 11. 1955 WYLEY, W. B. M., ESQ., Watchbury House, Barford, Warwick. 1947 YOUDE, MAJOR W. J. C., The Shrubbery, Leacroft, Staines, Middlesex.

- 1953 ZACOS, M. GEORGES, Mercan Imamell Hau: no. 11, Istanbul, Turkey.

JUNIOR MEMBERS

- 1956 ANDERSON, MR. M. J., 51 Patching Hall Lane, Chelmsford, Essex.
- 1957 ASHERSON, MISS E., 21 Harley Street, London, W. 1.
- 1955 BARKER, MR. R. H., I Coniston Road, Whitton Park, Twickenham, Middlesex.
- 1954 GOMM, MR. J. D., 16 Madeley Road, London, W. 5.
- 1954 JENNINGS, MR. M. H., 91 Westgate, Chichester, Sussex.
- 1955 STEAD, MR. I. M., 30 Malvern Avenue, Boroughbridge Road, York.

INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERS, EXCHANGES, ETC.

- ABERDEEN, The Chief Librarian, The Public Library, Aberdeen.
- ABERDEEN, The University Librarian, c/o B. H. Blackwell Ltd., Broad Street, Oxford.
- ABERYSTWYTH, The Chief Librarian, The National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth. BELFAST, The Chief Librarian, The Central Public Library, Belfast.
- BIRKENHEAD, The Librarian, The Central Library, Birkenhead, Cheshire.
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- Museum & Art Gallery, Birmingham 3, Warwicks. BIRMINGHAM, The University Librarian, Edmund Street, Birmingham 3, Warwicks.
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THE HAGUE, Det Koninklijk Kabinet van Munten, Lange Voorhout 50, 's Gravenhage, Nederland.

HAMBURG, Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte, Holstenwall 24, Hamburg 36, Deutschland.

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минісн, Bayerische Stadtsbibliothek, Arcißstraße 12, München 2, Deutschland. мимісн, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arcißstraße 8/1, München 2, Deutschland. oslo, Universitetets Myntkabinett, Frederiksgate, Oslo, Norge.

PARIS, Le Cabinet des Medailles, La Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, France. PRAGUE, Akademie Nauk, Narodní 5, Praha I, Československá Republika.

PRAGUE, Noviny Jednatelství Orbis, Stalinova 46, Praha XII, Československá Republika.

ROME, Istituto Italiano di Numismatica, Palazzo Barberini, Via Quattro Fontane, Roma, Italia.

SAARBRÜCKEN, Universität der Saarland, Saarbrücken, Deutschland.

STOCKHOLM, Kungl. Myntkabinettet, Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm Ö, Sverige.

UPPSALA, Universitetsbiblioteket, Uppsala, Sverige.

VIENNA, Österreichische Numismatische Gesellschaft, Burgring 5, Wien I, Österreich.

HARVARD, Harvard University Library, c/o E. G. Allen & Son Ltd., 14 Grape Street, London, W.C. 2.

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MISSOURI, The University Library, The University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri, U.S.A.

NEW YORK, The American Numismatic Society, 156th Street, New York City, N.Y., U.S.A.

NEW YORK, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 5th Avenue & 82nd Street, New York City 28, N.Y., Ū.S.A.

NEW YORK, The New York Library, c/o B. E. Stevens & Browne Ltd., 77-79 Duke Street, London, W. 1.

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SPRINGFIELD, G. C. Merriam Company, Springfield 2, Massachusetts, U.S.A.

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South Wales, Australia.

SYDNEY, The Australian Numismatic Society, c/o G. C. Heyde, 365 Kent Street, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia.



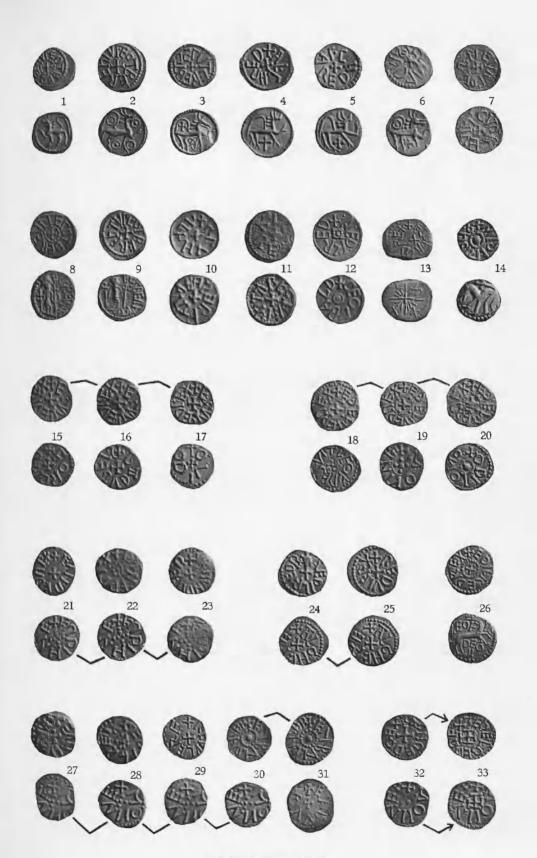
Plate xvi





Plate xv





SCEATTAS AND STYCAS

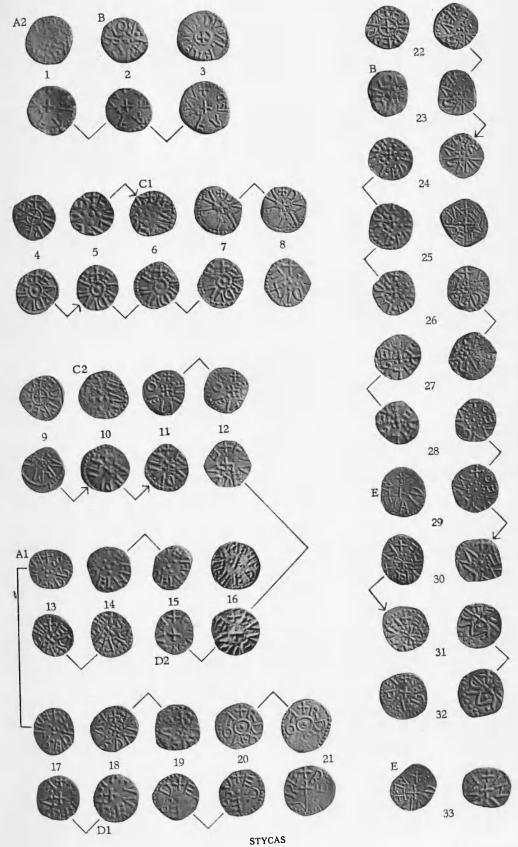
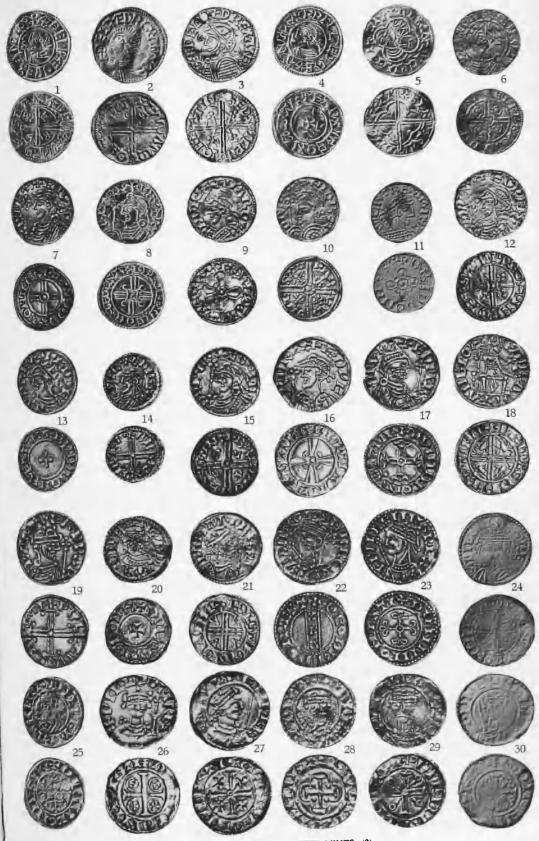


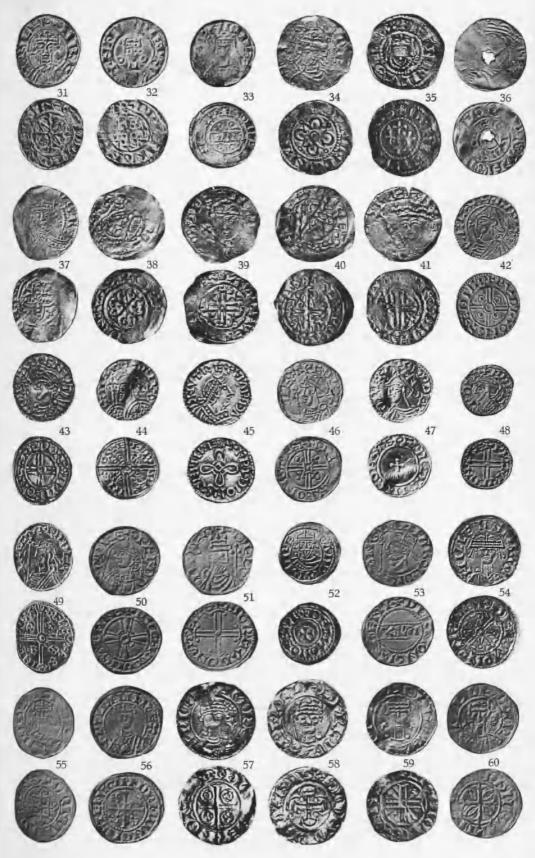
PLATE XIX



THE COINS OF THE SUSSEX MINTS (3)

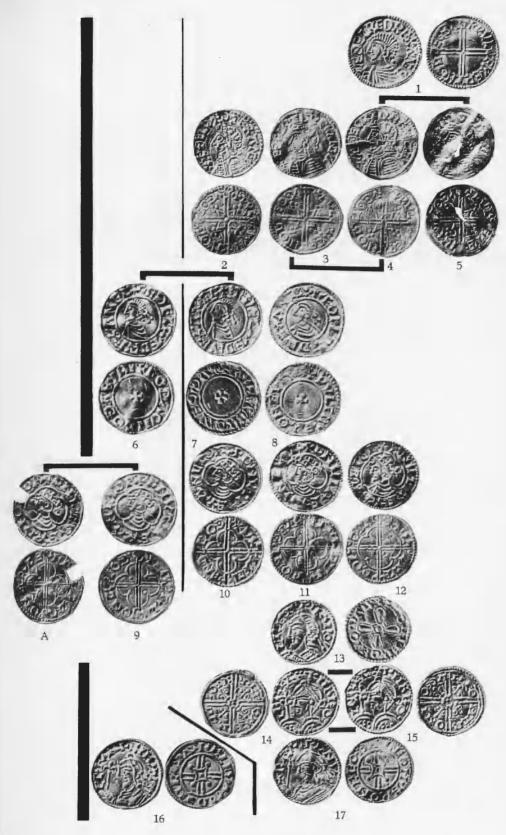
PLATE XX





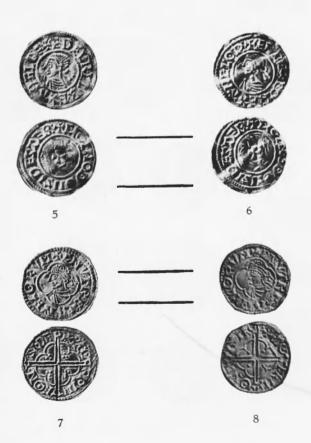
THE COINS OF THE SUSSEX MINTS (4)

PLATE XXI

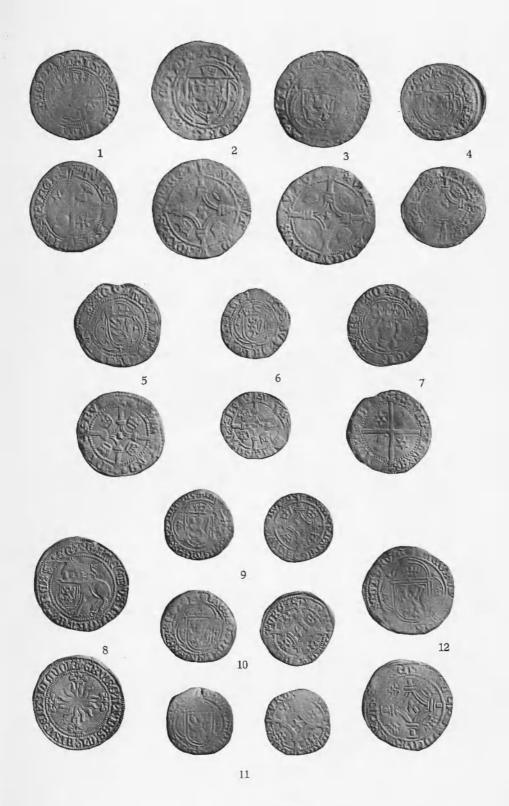


COINS OF "GOTHABURH"



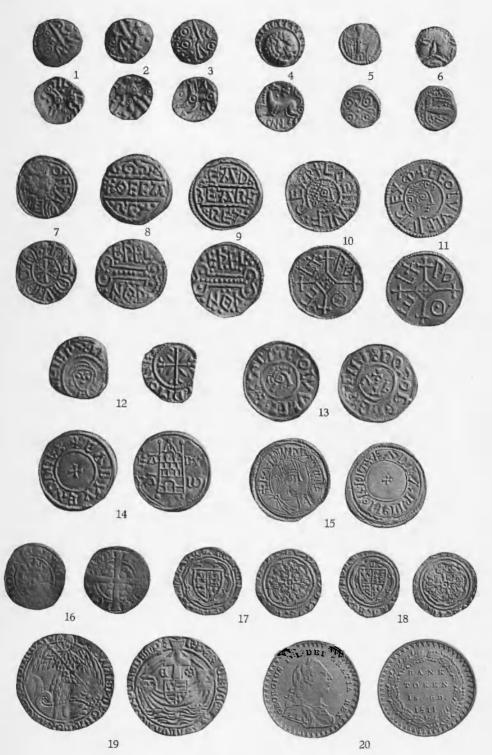


THE CISSBURY MINT



"THE NEW PLAKKIS"





MISCELLANEOUS PLATE

A REMARKABLE CELTIC COIN FROM CANTERBURY

By DEREK F. ALLEN

A GOLD coin has recently been found at Canterbury and acquired by the Canterbury Museum, which illustrates exceptionally well the perverse processes of early Celtic art. My thanks are due to Mr. F. Higenbotham, B.A., F.L.A., the City Librarian and Curator, for permission to publish it here.



There is a large and fairly common group of gold, and later silver, quarter-staters found in this country, which, for want of a better jargon, I generally call "geometric". The designs on them are meaningless to a degree, and yet are repeated again and again with only minor modifications over a long period and in more than one part of the country. The incomprehensibility of the patterns has discouraged close study, and at present we know all too little about a group which is emerging as one of the key components in our early coinage.

The best-known coins of the group, which were amongst the Selsey finds, are the types illustrated by Mack as nos. 38 and 41, to which should be added Evans E 11, which Mack does not include. Mack no. 38 has a plain obverse with two parallel indentations on it and the

¹ Commander R. P. Mack, *The Coinage of Ancient Britain*, 1953, referred to hereinafter as "Mack". Sir John Evans, *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, 1864, *Supplement*, 1890, referred to hereinafter as "Evans".

obverse of Evans E II is also plain. Mack no. 4I has a jagged pattern on the obverse, Fig. 3, which has been interpreted as a boar or a wolf-and-twins or, seen the other way up, a boat with sails. The reverse in all three cases might be said to consist of an assemblage of indeterminate marks around an amorphous object; the latter sometimes looks as if it had been the embryo of the badge on a Grenadier guardsman's cap. The reverse of Mack no. 38, Fig. 5, is a spring-cleaned version of the mad-house on Mack no. 4I, Fig. 4.

These appearances are, of course, deceptive. As one would expect, these coins have a derivation from Gaul and, as things are, it is not possible to draw with certainty the dividing line between those struck there and here. Some quarter-staters of the group have come from approximately the same area of Belgic Gaul as that in which the gold staters traditionally attributed to the Bellovaci and Atrebates are also found. It is a fair start, therefore, to look for the origin of these patterns amongst the features of the traditional types of Gaulish staters, the Celticized head of Apollo on the obverse and the horse and chariot with charioteer on the reverse, as they were employed

in Belgic Gaul.

To take the obverse first, Fig. 3, it was a long while before I could see any trace of derivation at all, but the suggestion I now make will not, I think, seem far-fetched to those who have followed the course of other patterns through their Celtic variations. The body of the "wolf", or hull of the "boat", is an enlarged version of one of the conical locks of hair, usually arranged in sets of three or four above and below the main elongated central lock. Even the three prongs at the end of the lock survive, sometimes in exaggerated form, where they constitute the "face" of the "wolf". All that is new is the two oblong holes to break the monotony of the triangular body of the lock. The "twins" or "sails" are two pairs of leaves from the wreath across Apollo's head, joined at the corners by little cracks or flaws in the striking, a very common characteristic of the wreaths in this position on Belgic staters. In fact, the obverse of these coins, with very little rearrangement, is an enlargement of something like a tenth of the surface of an ordinary Belgic stater (of which I show the relevant part in Fig. 3A), a process which not unnaturally renders the design completely unintelligible. It is an astonishing fact that the dominance of tradition and the passion for continuity in Celtic art enabled the essential elements of an ugly pattern, inherently devoid of meaning, to survive through a century or so of copying.

The origin of the reverse, Fig. 4, is harder to pin down, but the clue is there. With the exception of Mack no. 38, Fig. 5, and similar coins, where symmetry has been consciously imposed, it is one of the most consistent features of what I will refer to as the Grenadier's badge, that the "smoke" to the left has larger branches than that to the right. There are always three prongs to the left, but sometimes two only to the right. This is even more marked on Evans E II. Trace this back to the versions which seem typologically the earliest (fortunately

Mack gives one as no. 39, my Figs. I-2, obverse and reverse, and another as no. 42), and it needs little imagination to see in the left-hand projection the wing of a winged victory driving the chariot, or perhaps more truly floating on air over the horse's back. A similar winged figure sometimes occurs under the horse (e.g. on the staters attributed to the Aulerci Cenomani). The minor projection to the right is the remains of arm and whip. A kind of meander below the charioteer is, I have little doubt though I cannot prove it, the tail of the horse. It is in just about the right relative position, but, of course, completely incomprehensible without the horse to which it belongs. (In Fig. 2A I have reconstructed from the winged figure on staters attributed to the Bellovaci the kind of stage which I imagine preceded it.) I do not think one need read more into the remaining marks than the usual ornamentation which fills in the blanks on most Celtic coins.

I suspect these quarter-staters began when for some reason the moneyers in the north-west corner of Belgic Gaul began to strike quarter-staters with dies meant for staters proper. Gaulish, like British, coins are scarcely ever as wide as the dies which struck them and it would not be very surprising if, to save trouble, someone had tried to use the same dies for two sizes of coin, the larger and the smaller. The next step was when special quarter-stater dies were cut, but they then were made to resemble the fractional designs on the quarter-staters struck with full-size dies, instead of reproducing on a

smaller scale the whole design of these dies.

We do not know enough about this group to arrange the coins in a neat family tree. The coins which seem to be the earliest, and are definitely Gaulish, are those which have on the obverse, in place of the lock of hair pattern, one, two, or four lozenges. This pattern does not seem to be derived from any part of the head of Apollo. These are the ones Mack has illustrated as nos. 39 and 42, which we have already noted give the clue to the charioteer origin of the reverse. Mack no. 41, with the lock of hair obverse, but what seems to be a typologically later reverse, may well first have been struck in Gaul, but it is a relatively common coin in Britain, and I should be surprised if some specimens were not struck here. The typological successors to Mack no. 41 are certainly British and go through a long and as yet unrecorded history of change while being struck in silver in south-west Britain.

Obviously out of the same stable, but with a slightly different ancestry, is Mack no. 38. It is clearly connected with Evans E 11, which I assume to be continental. Mack no. 38 is not, so far as I can tell, found on the Continent, but the varieties of geometric types are not always clearly distinguished in the sources. In any case the double indentation on the obverse occurs on quite a number of British coins, mostly from Kent. My present inclination is to regard Mack no. 38 as a British, and probably Kentish, coin.

On the reverse Mack no. 38 has a neat and symmetrical version of

¹ e.g. Mack nos. 282, 284, 294, 297, 298.

the charioteer pattern. Without attempting to improve the sense, someone has at least set about making order out of chaos. The central device is now evenly arranged on the two sides, and has been linked, so as to form a triangle, with the straightened horse's tail. To mark the angles of the base of the triangle a star, taken from the field, has



Fig. 8

been superimposed on each. Subsidiary meander bands on the earlier version have been developed into large squares, cross-hatched, and the whole is surmounted by three circles, the outer pair similarly cross-hatched. The resulting pattern would not be out of place on a con-

temporary wallpaper.

It is here that the new Canterbury gold quarter-stater (weight 20.5 gr.) comes in, Figs. 7 and 8. Mack no. 38 is not an exceptionally rare coin, and the details vary, but only to a minor degree. On the reverse of the new coin (the obverse with its parallel indentations is identical) the engraver has sought, without departing from the spirit

of his model, to make sense of it. He has accordingly brought the charioteer to life again in another form, but upside down. The engraver can have had no idea that the patterns with which he was playing had once before represented a human form. As now engraved, what had started as the wings have now become a corselet, belt, and kilt; the sides of the triangle seem to be upraised arms holding a pair of suns in splendour, linked together by what was the horse's tail. What on Mack no. 38 was no more than a minor ring ornament has become a human head wearing a crested helmet. The cross-hatched squares and circles above remain unchanged. The stages of the transformation are shown in Figs. 5, 6, and 7. Fig. 5 is Mack no. 38 the right way up; Fig. 6 the same the wrong way up, and Fig. 7 the

Canterbury coin.

The interpretation of this remarkable device is not straightforward. Obviously, it is connected with the pursuit of arms, but it is arguable whether what is shown could ever have been intended to represent a warrior. Instead of legs, we have a single post, fixed in an orb. This suggests a trophy, on the lines of those shown on so many Roman coins, but Roman trophies, even when composed of Gallic arms, have no head, whereas on our coin the features of the face beneath the helmet are clearly visible. If this is a trophy, then it includes a severed human head, and what I have taken for arms are probably crossed spears. A third, and perhaps more defensible, speculation is that we have here the legless effigy of an unidentified war-god, somewhat in the manner of a herm, but carrying, for confusion's sake, emblems of the sun. In a coin which in many respects is still traditional, it may be best not to look for too much logic; we may have no more than a pattern composed of elements suggested by the glorification of war.

The crested helmet is of a more conical shape than usual on British coins, where a bowl-shaped helmet is almost universal. Sharply conical helmets are, however, a well-known part of the equipment of Gaulish warriors, and several examples have survived. The conical form of helmet on this coin may be a mark either of early date or of contact with Gaul. The crest, growing out of the peak of the helmet,

may be compared with that on Mack no. 130.

The cuirass, with belt and kilt or skirt, is also common in the trophies of Gallic weapons on Roman coins, and a similar costume is worn by the foot-soldiers on several Gaulish coins.³ On our only coin showing a comparable foot-soldier, Mack no. 244 of Cunobelinus, although he is encumbered with a superfluity of gear, this would-be Roman legionary wears what is basically the same costume.

It will, I think, be agreed that this unique new coin from Canterbury combines in a remarkable degree the old and the new traditions

¹ For the use of severed human heads in Gaulish monuments, see P. Lambrechts, "L'Exaltation de la tete dans la pensee et dans l'art des Celtes", Dissertationes Archaeologicae Gandenses, 1954, pp. 39-50.

² For a Gaulish herm, see Lamprechts, op. cit., p. 74.

³ e.g. De la Tour, Allas de monnaies gauloises. 3900 (Epad), 4484 (Vepotal), 5072-6 (Litavicos), 5026 (Dubnocov/Dubnorex).

in late Celtic coinage. One cannot aim to place such a piece too precisely in the chequered story of Kentish coinage. Many waves of invasion met in Kent. For the time being it will be best to regard the coin as about the first attempt on the part of one of the many groups which settled in, or passed through, Kent, to modernize a traditional coinage of north-west Belgic stock at a date which cannot be far removed from the invasions of Julius Caesar.

The figures in the text are reconstructions of the complete type, or as much of it as possible, from a number of specimens. They do not represent any single coin, except in the case of the new coin, Fig. 7. Figs. 1–2 are obverse and reverse respectively of Mack no. 39; Figs. 3–4 are obverse and reverse respectively of Mack no. 41; Figs. 5 and 6 are the reverse, right and wrong way up, of Mack no. 38. Figs. 2A and 3A are not taken directly from any coin types. Fig. 2A, based on the general pattern of the winged figure above the horse on gold coins attributed to the Bellovaci, Mack nos. 1–4, represents the kind of charioteer from which I imagine Mack no. 39, Fig. 2, to have been taken. Fig. 3A is a diagram of a portion of a typical obverse die of many Belgic coin types, showing three locks of hair and four pairs of leaves from the wreath; one lock and two pairs of leaves provide the basis of Fig. 3.

THE ANGLO-SAXON COINS IN THE VATICAN LIBRARY

By C. E. BLUNT and R. H. M. DOLLEY

THROUGH the great courtesy of Dr. Luigi Michelini Tocci of the Numismatic Cabinet we have been supplied with photographs of all the medieval English coins in the Apostolic Library of the Vatican. In this paper we propose to catalogue and discuss only the twenty-one which are Anglo-Saxon. In a later paper it is hoped to do the same for some twenty Norman coins which are of only less significance, and also briefly to list a further twenty-three Plantagenet and later coins, ending very appropriately with a First Coinage groat of Henry VIII, which are of no particular significance for the numismatist as such. Of the Anglo-Saxon pence here described, five are from the recent excavations beneath the modern St. Peter's which appear to have established beyond all reasonable doubt that Constantine the Great was at extraordinary pains to site his basilica immediately above the tomb he believed to be that of the Prince of the Apostles. They are of course illustrated in the late Marquis Camillo Serafini's great catalogue of all the hundreds of coins discovered in those excavations, but the English numismatist may find it convenient to have a more detailed account of them. In the catalogue that follows they are distinguished by the letters SPE. The remaining fifteen coins are without formal hoard provenance, but it seems likely that they are all from finds from the Patrimony of St. Peter if not from Rome itself. These coins, distinguished in our catalogue by the letters BAV, do not appear to have been published before, and such is the importance of several of them that it is hard to find words adequate to express our indebtedness to the Directorate of the Numismatic Cabinet of the Vatican Library for permission to record them for the first time in an English periodical.

KINGDOM OF KENT





Ecgberht (c. 765-c. 780 or later?)

I. Obv. +EGCBERHT. In centre & for Rex.

¹ In Esplorazioni sotto la Confessione di San Pietro in Vaticano eseguite negli anni 1940–1949, vol. i, pp. 225–42 and vol. ii, pls. lxxxix-ciii.

Rev. €OB™ disposed in the angles of a cross, the cross having an annulet at the end of each of the arms which spring from a fifth annulet enclosing a pellet.

Weight 17.8 gr. Die-axis & BAV (P1. XXVI, 1).

This coin would seem to provide an unpublished reverse type as well as a new moneyer for the extremely rare coinage of the Kentish Ecgberht. By a curious coincidence, however, our attention has been drawn recently by Mr. Royle Baldwin to a similar coin in his possession which proves to be from the same pair of dies. Mr. Baldwin's coin, which may be an English find, is somewhat more worn, and weighs 12.9 gr. We are most grateful to him for permission to publish it here.

The types of these new coins correspond very closely to those of the unique coin of the same moneyer which Lord Grantley sought to associate with a certain Heaberht who appears to have shared with Ecgberht the throne of Kent. A comparable reverse type, also by Eoba, is known for Offa, and a recent paper adduced this as evidence in support of Lord Grantley's Heaberht attribution which had been rejected by Howorth and ignored by Brooke in his English Coins. That the types of the Heaberht coin are now shared by Ecgberht is in accordance with the hint of a joint rule afforded by a charter (Birch 196), and the Vatican Library is to be congratulated upon its possession of so fine an example of perhaps the earliest English penny. In this connexion it may be remarked that the vicinity of Rome has produced three other notable rarities of the early Saxon series, the penny of Heaberht already mentioned, the East Anglian penny of Ethilberht found at Tivoli, and the unique gold dinar of Offa.

ARCHIEPISCOPAL SEE OF CANTERBURY

Æthelheard (791–805) with King Coenwulf of Mercia (796–822)

2. Obv. +⊼EÞELHE⊼RO pellets in legend. In centre ĀR.

Rev. + $\mathbb{E} \triangle \text{ENVVLF}$ REX pellets in legend. In centre $\overline{\Phi}$ with pellets. Weight 21 gr. Die-axis \nearrow BAV (P1. XXVI, 2).

This coin provides a new obverse type for Archbishop Æthelheard. On all the other coins of this prelate which bear Coenwulf's name the letters ∇R are transferred to the outer legend and replaced by ϵP .

KINGDOM OF MERCIA

Offa (757–96)

3. Obv. OFF within a dotted rectangle which is divided vertically by

¹ A second specimen of the coin of Offa of this type has recently come to light. Curiously it was acquired in Italy, though not in Rome, and is now in Mr. Blunt's collection.

² B.N.J., vol. xxvii, part 1 (1952), pp. 52-54. ³ N.C. 1900, pp. 148 ff.: ibid. 1908, pp. 222 ff.

a long cross. Above are two triangles of pellets, and below R and $\tilde{\Phi}$.

Rev. COBM disposed in the angles of a cross fourchée the arms of which spring from an annulet containing a rosette of pellets.

Weight 17·4 gr. Die-axis ↓ BAV (Pl. XXVI, 3).

This is an early penny of Offa. There are four comparable coins, B.M.C. 45, a similar coin at Copenhagen, B.M.C. 46, and one at Leningrad (Reichel 56). In each case the moneyer is the same. Full details of the Leningrad coin are not available, but the Vatican coin is from different dies from those in the English and Danish National Collections. It is also a minor new variant as regards the forked ends of the cross on the reverse.





4. Obv. + O/FF/AR/PX Type as B.M.C. 43 but a different die.

Rev. ADB|ERHT in two lines within a dotted rectangle divided horizontally by a line with forked ends. Above there is a small cross patée flanked by trefoils of pellets, below the letter τ likewise flanked by trefoils of pellets.

Weight 16.4 gr. Die-axis † BAV (P1. XXVI, 4).

The obverse of this coin approximates, as we have seen, to that of B.M.C. 43, a critical coin which has been attributed to Bishop Eadberht of London (772/82-787/9), on the grounds that it, and three other coins (B.M.C. 41 and 42 and Lockett 362), appear to end the reverse legend with a monogram for ϵP . On the Vatican coin the monogram is reversed and a parallel to this can be found on coins of Archbishop Æthelheard where the ϵP of AR ϵP is found in the field both normally (e.g. Grantley 893) and reversed (e.g. B.M. Acq. 193). The form, however, is quite different from the monogram on the coins of Eadberht. Leaving aside the thrymsas in the Crondall hoard, which have been associated very dubiously with Mellitus and more plausibly with Erconwald, the only other coins which have been even tentatively attributed to the Bishop of London are certain rare sceattas with the name of London and types of possible religious significance (e.g. Brooke, Pl. II. I which shows a standing figure holding two

crosses). If this attribution were correct it might lend support to an issue of pennies by the bishop under Offa. We feel, however, considerable doubt in accepting it because it would provide our sole instance of a Bishop of London enjoying coinage rights in respect of the penny, and this despite the fact that there were to be over the next few centuries more auspicious occasions for such episcopal coinage, and especially if there had been a precedent which could be pleaded. Incidentally a point that seems worth making is that we have never seen a coin where the monogram has a properly formed P. Basically it is

in our opinion an σ with the possible addition of an ϵ . While on the subject of ecclesiastical attributions in the early penny series, we may perhaps digress to consider a small group of coins of the same date which have exercised the ingenuity of more than one authority. Our excuse must be that we are inclined to interpret the enigmatic reverse legend as the name of a moneyer Heaberht, and Howorth gave reasons for considering Heaberht and Eadberht as forms of the same name—though we hasten to add that we are by no means convinced that those arguments are valid, still less that the coins in question are to be attributed to the moneyer of coin (4) above. Three coins of this group are known, B.M.C. 51, another from different dies in the first Lockett Sale (lot 358), and a third, said to have been found near Hitchin in 1911, which appears to be the coin now in the possession of Mr. Fred Baldwin. Keary read the British Museum coin "Heagr or Hearer", and was clearly unhappy. Lockett suggested very tentatively that one might see in it the name of Higberht who occupied the see of Lichfield during its short-lived elevation to archiepiscopal status. Brooke discreetly ignores the group in his English Coins but in an unpublished manuscript left uncompleted at his tragically early death makes the following very pertinent comments on the British Museum coin: "Moneyer uncertain; the name has been read Heagr, which is hardly a possible form. Heagberht, the bishop of Lichfield, who was raised to metropolitan rank in 789, has been suggested, but the absence of a title makes it unlikely that it is the name of a bishop." In the absence of further specimens—a fourth coin (ex Montagu, lot 219) was passed at the Astronomer Sale (lot 90) and so was presumably adjudged false—a solution of the riddle of these coins will probably never be found. We believe, however, that an interpretation of the reverse legend HEA(G)BERHT is plausible in the case of the three coins cited, and regard as extremely well founded Brooke's scepticism concerning any association of either piece with the ephemeral Primacy of the Mercian bishop of that name.

5. Obv. OFFAR bust facing right with a cross behind.

Rev. : IBBA otherwise as B.M.C. 21.

Weight 18.8 gr. Die-axis ← BAV (Pl. XXVI, 5).

¹ N.C. 1920, p. 69.

This coin varies only very slightly from a number of known examples, the principal distinction being that no attempt is made to carry on the obverse legend behind the royal bust, a cross being substituted.

Temp. Coenwulf (796-822) c. 800?

6. Obv. An apparently meaningless string of letters, some retrograde, surrounding an inverted σ .

Rev. The letters ∇V^{m} (?) disposed in the angles of a triple tribrach. Weight 15.9 gr. Die-axis \uparrow BAV (P1. XXVI, 6).

This coin has all the marks of a contemporary forgery, and as such is included here because the types correspond most nearly to those of Coenwulf. We are not inclined to attribute any religious significance to the possible interpretation of the reverse legend AVE. The triple tribrach is also found on coins of Cuthred, and a tribrach also occurs on some of the coins of Archbishop Æthelheard. For these and other reasons, tribrach coins of Coenwulf are to be associated with the Canterbury mint and dated early rather than late in his reign. A very similar coin is described in the *Proceedings* of the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1865 (p. 7).

KINGDOM OF WESSEX

Ecgbeorht (802-39)

7. Obv. +ELGBEORHT REX in centre cross potent.

Rev. +BE⊼GጥVND ™ONET⊼ in centre cross potent.

Weight 20.8 gr. Die-axis \checkmark SPE (P1. XXVI, 7).

This coin from the excavations is similar to a number of specimens found in the Middle Temple Hoard (cf. B.M. Acqns. 387-90). The mint is almost certainly Canterbury, and the coin is perhaps to be dated quite late in Ecgbeorht's reign.

Ethelwulf (839-58)

8. Obv. +EDEL+VVLF+REX in centre DORIBI.

Rev. +BIARNNODTONETA in centre monogram of CANTIA.

Weight 19·3 gr. Die-axis → SPE (P1. XXVI, 8).

This coin from the excavations approximates to a number of known coins (cf. B.M.C. 1). Incidentally Keary's reading of the moneyer's name as Biarnnoth is to be preferred to Brooke's Biarnmod. The mint is certainly Canterbury, and the coin is probably to be dated after rather than before c. 850.

We are unable to accept Brooke's attribution of his Type 14 to Rochester, which at this period seems to have been a "one-moneyer" mint and to have issued in consequence coins without the name of a personal guarantor.

454

Edward the Elder (899-924)

"Two-line" type (B.M.C. ii = Brooke 13)

9. Obv. +EXDVVEXRD REX

Rev. *.*|EIEMVN|+++|DMON|.*.

Weight 20.7 gr. Die-axis & BAV (P1. XXVI, 9).

An Eicmund is a Canterbury moneyer for Archbishop Plegmund and the style of this coin and of other comparable pieces (e.g. B.M.C. 42) is consistent with their having been struck at that mint. The size of the flan of the Vatican specimen suggests a date not earlier than the middle of the reign.

io. Obv. -ETDVVETRD REX.

 $Rev. \cdot |TILAM| + + + |ONETA| \cdot$

Weight 18.2 gr. Die-axis & BAV (Pl. XXVI, 10).

Tila was a prolific moneyer of Edward the Elder but has still to be known from a mint-signed coin of Æthelstan. Three of his coins occurred in the recent Tywardreath hoard, and in that publication the suggestion has been made that he may have been a Wessex moneyer.

KINGDOM OF ENGLAND

Eadmund (939-46)

"Two-line" type (B.M.C. i = Brooke I)

II. Obv. +E-A-DMVND REX EB

Rev. .. INGEL +++ GARMO ...

Weight 21 gr. Die-axis & BAV (Pl. XXVI, 11).

Ingelgar was a York moneyer of Anlaf Sihtricsson and of Eric Bloodaxe, and the form of the obverse legend confirms that this is a York coin. It was probably struck after Eadmund's reconquest of York in 945. For similar coins cf. B.M.C. 85, 86, &c.

Eadred (945-55)

"Two-line" type (B.M.C. i = Brooke 1)

12. Obv. +EADRED REX M last letter (or ornament) not quite clear.

Rev. . \cdot |HVNR|+++|EDM \bar{o} | \cdot . \cdot

Weight 21.2 gr. Die-axis & BAV (Pl. XXVI, 12).

Much more work remains to be done before the coins of this prolific moneyer (cf. B.M.C. 50–55) can be given with confidence to a particular mint. The style, however, is clearly north-eastern, and the mint may well be Lincoln or even York.

"Portrait" type (B.M.C. v = Brooke 3)

13. Obv. +EADRED R crowned bust to right.

Rev. +HILDVLF MONETA

Weight 18.2 gr. Die-axis & BAV (Pl. XXVI, 13).

This coin supplies a new moneyer for the type, and probably a new moneyer for the reign, as the coins of B.M.C. type i (e.g. Chester T. T. nos. 188-9 and B.N.J., vol. xxi, p. 37) are of "north-western" style whereas a prosopographical study of the moneyers of the portrait coins suggests very strongly that they were all struck to the east of Watling Street—the Exeter attributions of some of them being in our opinion ill founded. Another coin by this moneyer, of the two-line type, and seemingly of north-eastern origin, appears to read on the obverse ANELF RE+M.

Eadgar (959-75)

"Circular" type (B.M.C. iii = Brooke 4)

14. Obv. +ΕΛΟΓΛR RE+ ΛΝΓLORV small cross patée with a second cross in the field.

Rev. +SELEPOL.D MONETXX. small cross patée.

Weight 23.9 gr. Die-axis & BAV (Pl. XXVI, 14).

Again this coin appears to provide a new moneyer for the type. Hitherto Selewold has been known for the reign by late post-reform coins (B.M.C. type vi), apparently unpublished, in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and at Stockholm. On these coins the mint-signature is Oxford, and inasmuch as the name Selewold is an uncommon one and the style of the Vatican coin is not inconsistent there must be a very strong presumption that this piece too is to be attributed to the Oxford mint.

Cnut (1016-35)

"Quatrefoil" type (B.M.C. viii = Hild. E = Brooke 2) September 1017-September 1023?

15. Obv. +ENVF REX ANGLOP

Rev. +OS|VLF|ONL|VND

Weight 19.9 gr. Die-axis - BAV (Pl. XXVI, 15).

Osulf was a prolific London moneyer in this type, and the coin appears to correspond exactly to Hild. 2681.

"Short Cross" type (B.M.C. xvi = Hild. H = Brooke 4) September 1029–September 1035?

16. Obv. +CNV TREX

Rev. + ELFPINE ON LVND:

Weight 15.6 gr. Die-axis↓ SPE (P1. XXVI, 16).

Ælfwine was a prolific London moneyer, and this coin, from the St. Peter's excavations, appears to correspond exactly to Hild. 1976.

17. Obv. +ENV TREEX

Rev. +BRVNGAR ON LV:

Weight 16.9 gr. Die-axis \(\gamma\) BAV (P1. XXVI, 17).

Brungar was a prolific London moneyer, and this coin appears to correspond exactly to Hild. 2086.

Harold I (1035-40)

"Jewel Cross" type (B.M.C. i = Hild. A = Brooke I) Winter I035/6-September I037?

18. Obv. +HAR OLD (retrograde and bust faces right).

Rev. +LEFPINE O LINCOL

Weight 14.2 gr. Die-axis \ SPE (P1. XXVI, 18).

Without doubt this is the most important of all the five Anglo-Saxon coins found in the course of the recent excavations beneath St. Peter's. Hildebrand lists no coin of this type and king with rightfacing bust, and it would be tempting to see in this coin a protest against the relegation to Harthachut of the right-facing portrait (cf. B.N.J., vol. xxvii, pp. 266-75). However, the temptation is one that is firmly to be resisted, inasmuch as the retrograde legend makes it clear that the "mirror" portrait was due purely to an aberration on the part of the die-cutter. These errors are surprisingly rare in the late Saxon series—and especially when Scandinavian imitations are rigorously excluded—but there is a curious crop in the course of Harold's second or "Fleur-de-Lis" type (B.M.C. v = Hild. B = Brooke 2). Hildebrand records "mirror" obverses of three moneyers of York, Othin, Ucede, and Witherwine, and retrograde reverses of Brihtmær and Brungar at London, of Leofwine at Northampton, and of Lifinc at Oxford. This consideration, and the fact that Leofwine seems a much more prolific moneyer in "Fleur-de-Lis" than in "Jewel Cross", may suggest that the Vatican coin is to be dated to the very end of the latter type.

Edward the Confessor (1042-66)

"Long Cross" type (B.M.C. ii = Hild. B = Brooke 3) September 1048-September 1050?

19. Obv. +EDPE RDRE

Rev. +GODRIC ON LINE

Weight 10·3 gr. Die-axis ↓ SPE (P1. XXVI, 19).

Godric was a prolific Lincoln moneyer at this period, and the Vatican coin, though apparently from different dies, approximates closely to such pieces as Hild. 329 and B.M.C. 675.

"Hammer Cross" type (B.M.C. xi = Hild. G = Brooke 8) September 1059–September 1062?

20. Obv. +EADPAR RDRE

Rev. +EADPI . ON HEREF

Weight 20·2 gr. Die-axis ← BAV (P1. XXV1, 20).

Eadwig is a known Hereford moneyer in this type, and the clear reading on this coin provides fresh evidence that Keary was mistaken in assigning *B.M.C.* 548 to his far more prolific colleague Earnwig.

Harold II (1666)

"Pax" type (B.M.C. i = Hild. A = Brooke 1) January (or March?)— October 1066

21. Obv. +H π ROLDREX π G

Rev. +IEGLFINEONGIF

Weight 20·3 gr. Die-axis ← BAV (P1. XXVI, 21).

Ægelwine is well known as the Ilchester moneyer in this type, and the Vatican coin appears to correspond exactly to $B.M.C.\ 29$.

From the foregoing it will have been gathered that no fewer than seven of the coins in the Vatican collections can be described as unpublished, while a number of the others are not without interest for the Anglo-Saxon specialist. In this connexion it should perhaps be remarked that two further coins published by Serafini have been omitted as we do not regard them as English, an alleged sceatta (op. cit., p. 242, no. 380) which we believe to be Merovingian, and a Scandinavian penny, apparently struck at Lund for Magnus the Good op. cit., p. 242, no. 381). This proportion of unpublished pieces is very high indeed, and encourages the hope that new finds, at least those from the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, may contain much to engage the interest of the specialist. Quite clearly this is not the place to attempt to discuss the pattern of the Anglo-Saxon coins found in Rome, but it may be remarked that the Vatican coins correspond generally to the three main groupings that seem characteristic of finds already recorded. In the first half of the nineteenth century there appears to have been at least one major find of coins of Offa and his immediate successors and of their contemporaries, and this may have

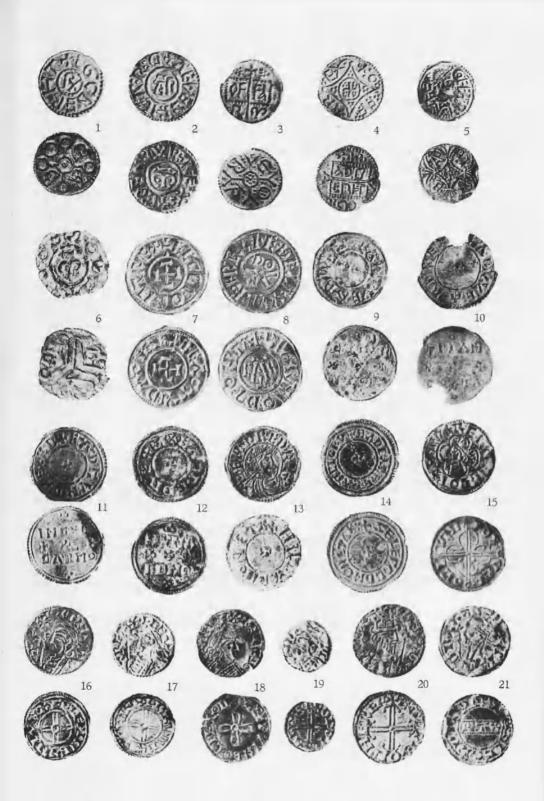
¹ Cf. Giulio di San Quintino, "Monete del X e dell' XI Secolo scoperte nei dintorni di Roma nel 1843", Memorie della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino, series ii, Tomes ix-x, Turin, 1849, and especially p. 7: "Uno ne fu dissotterrato, se ben mel ricordo, nel 1830, forse anche più ricco e copioso di quello di cui ora si ragiona, ma senza dubbio di più antica data, perciocche nella piccolissima parte di esso che non e stata distrutta, io ho veduti denari di Offa re della Mercia, dei due Pipini, di Eristal, cioe, e' dell' Aquitania, e di parecchi altri principi, e città della Francia e dell' Inghilterra, proprî dei due secoli nono e decimo; ma fra questi non mancavano monete pontificie di que' tempi medesimi."

been the source not only of the Vatican coins above but also of that unlooked-for parcel of early Saxon pence in the 1879 Borghesi sale (lots 1362–9). However, more than one provenance has since been recorded, for example that of the penny of Æthilberht from Tivoli, and it seems likely that coins of the period c. 775–825 have been found on more than one occasion and in more than one place. In contrast there are very few pieces from the period c. 825–90 to which a Roman provenance attaches, and this seems a little curious when we reflect on the extent of Anglo-Saxon intercourse with the Papacy in the period which culminated in Alfred's formal institution of the Romescot.

It is of course the Romescot which underlies the three great hoards from the first half of the tenth century, one from the Vatican itself. one from the Forum, and the third with unknown find-spot of which some account was given in the last number of the Journal. Again after c. 950 there is a strange interruption in the pattern of the finds, and it is only for the period after c. 1025 that excavations beneath the basilicas both of St. Peter and of St. Paul² have brought to light considerable numbers of late Saxon pence. As far as the documentary evidence is concerned, there is no reason to suppose that Eadgar, for example, was any less scrupulous than his predecessors in the honour paid to the Prince of the Apostles by the English people and their king, and even under Æthelræd II Archbishops of Canterbury continued to journey to Rome to receive the pallium. While, then, the flow of Anglo-Saxon coins to Rome must surely have fluctuated to some extent over the centuries—and the Chronicle itself records a year in which it proved impossible to send the usual "alms" —there is a strong probability that the paucity of coins of certain periods found in Rome is to be explained not by any protracted interruption of the flow but by changes in the circumstances prevailing in the Holy City itself. For example, the great hoards of the early tenth century should perhaps be connected with the progressive anarchy that culminated in the scandal of John XII, and their cessation with the more settled times consequent on the Ottonian intervention. The question, however, is an intricate one, and it is impossible to do justice to it here, especially as a distinction must be drawn between coins from hoards, casual finds, and the coins associated with the actual Confessions.

¹ B.N.J., vol. xxviii, part I (1955), p. 32: cf. N.C. 1954, p. 91. ² N.C., Proc. 1842-3, p. 104.

² N.C., Proc. 1842–3, p. 1 ³ e.g. s.a. 889.



ANGLO-SAXON COINS IN THE VATICAN, ROME



TWO STRAY FINDS FROM ST. ALBANS OF COINS OF OFFA AND OF CHARLEMAGNE

 $B\nu$ R. H. M. DOLLEY and D. M. METCALF

The task, indeed duty, of recording provenances is one to which medieval numismatists increasingly are turning their attention. Not only is it a help in the detailed reconstruction of purely numismatic evidence, and a check often upon its accuracy, but it is also the essential first step towards any description of the pattern of monetary circulation and towards the writing of monetary history. The total of provenances at the student's disposal increases only slowly if surely as new finds are made and recorded, but recent work on early findrecords encourages the hope that rather quicker progress in adding to their number is to be made by sifting eighteenth- and nineteenthcentury topographical and antiquarian works, sale catalogues, diaries, &c., not to mention some even more unpromising sources from which forgotten finds can be "rescued" by the numismatist with the patience and the experience of actual coins necessary for their exploitation.

For the earliest phase of the Anglo-Saxon penny, that is for the late eighth and early ninth centuries, very few finds have been published, and none systematically. In Keary's first volume of the British Museum Catalogue¹ virtually no find-spots are recorded—though to some extent this deficiency may have been remedied by Mrs. J. S. Martin's recent paper on the provenances as such2—and comparatively few are listed in Brooke's admirable supplement.³ In Mr. J. D. A. Thompson's recent Inventory there are no penny hoards recorded of which the date of deposit is likely to be earlier than c. 835. Consequently the readily accessible tally of find-spots for the coinage of c. 770-c. 820 is really very small indeed, and any addition which can be made to it should be welcome. It is with this in mind that we offer here a few notes on a penny of Offa and a denier of Charlemagne, both found at St. Albans and both already published, but in places where the numismatist can be pardoned for having overlooked them.

The discovery of a coin of King Offa of Mercia is recorded in the first edition of Gough's Camden's Britannia, and must therefore have been made before 1789. The coin is illustrated at the bottom of one of the plates, 4 and clearly belongs to the late group struck on a wide flan which omits the royal portrait. The moneyer is the well-known Ethelnoth to whom there has recently been attributed a penny of the Kentish rebel Eadbearht Praen struck from a reverse die earlier used

A Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum, Anglo-Saxon Series, vol. i, London, 1887.

² B.N.J., vol. xxviii, part i (1955), pp. 26 ff.

³ N.C. 1922-5, seriatim. ⁴ Ed. cit., vol. i, cxiv and Pl. xvII.

to strike coins of Offa. An enlarged photographic reproduction is given here:



It will at once be apparent that the L in the moneyer's name is very peculiarly drawn, the lower stroke ending in a hook instead of being straight. It is our submission that this epigraphic curiosity is entirely due to the artist, who has been misled by the fact of the coin having been pierced, and support for this view may perhaps be derived from an attentive study of the lettering on the obverse. Here the apparent serif at the top of the R is a suspicious feature, and again we would suggest that the explanation is that the artist was making good a deficiency in his original. If, too, the coin had the 180° die-relationship that is very commonly met with on coins of this period a damage to the upper part of the R on the obverse would exactly coincide with the lower part of the L on the reverse.

Relatively common as are late pence of Ethelnoth it occurred to us that there could be no harm in checking through those preserved in the National Collection to see whether a duplicate of the St. Albans coin existed which would enable us to determine the accuracy or otherwise of the Gough illustration. Since, however, not one of the



British Museum coins is described as having been pierced, we did not expect to find what is very clearly the actual coin described and engraved in Gough. Nevertheless B.M.C. 48 must be that coin. Not only does it correspond in all other respects to that illustrated, but when it is examined closely it becomes at once obvious that it has been very skilfully plugged, and the plugging has no less obviously been occasioned by a circular piercing which on the obverse coincides with

¹ B.N.J., vol. xxviii, part ii (1956), pp. 243 ff.

the upper part of the R and on the reverse with the lower part of the L. The alteration does not appear in the illustration in the British Museum Catalogue¹ because the collotype is from a plaster-cast—another argument in favour of direct photography—but we reproduce here an enlarged photograph of the actual coin on which low-angle lighting has brought out very clearly what is after all one of the most interesting features. In daylight, too, there is visible to the naked eye a subtle contrast on the actual coin between the original metal and that of the plugging, and this must of course be ascribed to differences of composition which have led to variations of discoloration during the century and a half during which the coin has been exposed to the

London atmosphere.

Thus a new provenance has been established for one of the British Museum coins which before now could not be traced back beyond the Tyssen collection.² The exact pedigree, however, is a little uncertain. From the hands of the actual finder the penny passed to the cabinet of James West, who was M.P. for St. Albans from 1741 to 1768, and who held other office in the town from 1758 onwards. The West collection, however, was auctioned in January 1773, and there is no mention in the sale catalogue of any coin of Offa, let alone of an example found at St. Albans. Tyssen, however, was an enthusiastic collector with a special interest in Anglo-Saxon coins—the year 1802 in fact is a landmark in the history of the Anglo-Saxon portion of the National Collection—and it is a very reasonable presumption that he persuaded

West to part with his penny privately.

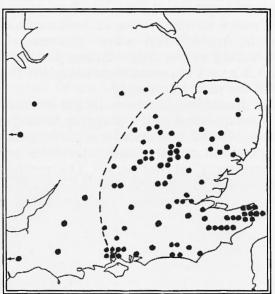
The coin under discussion has been in the British Museum since 1802, and there is no question of the plugging having been done since that date. Presumably the operation was performed during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and it provides new testimony to the skill of the "improvers" of that period. The question is not entirely without interest in that an "improvement" of this quality-comparatively harmless in this instance—has an obvious relevance to the problems presented by certain critical coins acquired by the British Museum at the end of the eighteenth century of which the authenticity is either exploded (e.g. the Type XIX penny of Cnut) or at best suspect (e.g. the unique "Short-Cross" penny of the Lichfield mint). Recently, too, Messrs. Baldwin have been kind enough to present to the National Collection what would be a coin of an entirely new Dover moneyer of Edward the Confessor were it not in fact a most skilfully altered penny of York, and the Offa penny from St. Albans provides most useful proof that there was in the eighteenth century at least one craftsman in London who was possessed of the skills necessary for successful tampering with a legend.

There is perhaps nothing particularly significant about our new findspot—as we shall see, it lies within the area where Offa's coinage was generally current—but "the fantastic explanations of antiquaries" have done too much in the past to bring numismatics into disrepute

¹ Op. cit., Pl. vii. 8.

² Cf. B.N.J. 1955, p. 37.

with economic historians to allow of our even seeming to trace any connexion between a single stray find and the pattern of monetary circulation. Accordingly we have decided to include in our note a map giving a provisional picture of the total find-assemblage for southern England in respect of the period c. 770-c. 820. It should be stressed that the map is based only on find-spots where the presumption is that the coin was not only struck but also lost within those limits; and no account is taken of coins occurring in later hoards. In a future paper we hope to cite the evidence for each "dot"—and also to attempt a further breakdown of the material by mints and periods—but here it is sufficient perhaps to state that most but not all of the essential information has been derived from two independent but also interdependent card-indexes, the one compiled over many years by Mr. C. E. Blunt and the other, of more recent origin, maintained at the British Museum where it is the especial concern of Mrs. J. S. Martin. Rather surprisingly, perhaps, the map would suggest that the circulation of the "Mercian" penny was limited for all practical purposes to the area south and east of a line from the Solent, through the Northampton uplands, to the Wash:



The St. Albans find-spot lies well to the east of this arc, and thus occasions no surprise. It is worth pointing out, however, that there is a definite historical connexion between King Offa and St. Albans, the Mercian king being the traditional founder of a Benedictine monastery erected in 793 in honour of the Protomartyr of England, the abbey occupying the site of an earlier church. There is too a tradition of royal munificence, and if we cannot accept that it was Offa who obtained a papal grant to the monastery of the Romescot raised throughout Hertfordshire—the opinion of a majority of modern scholars inclining to the view that the Romescot proper was instituted by

Alfred -- so important a foundation would doubtless have been one of the more important centres of monetary affairs in the Mercian kingdom.

Some slight corroboration of this view may possibly seem to be afforded by the fact that the Offa penny is not the only coin of the late eighth century to have been found at or near the abbey. At some date not long before 1851, a denier of Charlemagne was found near the west entrance of the present abbey church.² An engraving of it, taken from a nineteenth-century guide, is here reproduced:



It is one of the earlier deniers from the Frankish mint of Dorestadt (Wijk-bij-Duurstede) and was issued in all probability between 768 and 781. Dr. H. Enno van Gelder of the Royal Coin Cabinet at The Hague has very kindly drawn our attention to a close parallel in the piece illustrated by Boeles as Pl. I. I of his important study of Carolingian coins found in the Netherlands, 3 and there seems little doubt but that we are dealing with a genuine early issue of the Carolingian mint of Dorestadt. The date at which the coin came to England also may be considered early, and it may well be that it was lost a decade or more before the Offa penny already discussed.

At this point we should digress to cite a most apt illustration of the difficulties that beset the numismatist who ventures into such paranumismatic literature as abbey guide-books of a century ago. Nicholson's Guide, our authority for the finding of the Dorestadt denier, also illustrates the Offa penny of Ethelnoth with the comment that "it was not found at St. Albans, but is given for purposes of illustration and comparison".4 The origin of the paradox would appear to be that the St. Albans provenance of the Tyssen coin had been lost when Hawkins selected the piece for illustration as no. 62 in the first edition of English Silver Coins. In this connexion we must always remember that the ticket under the coin records no more than the bare fact of its acquisition from Tyssen. As befitting a disciple of Taylor Combe, Hawkins was keenly interested in find-spot and hoard-provenances, and silence on his part may be assumed to indicate ignorance. When, therefore, Nicholson wished to illustrate a typical coin of Offa, he turned naturally to Hawkins's masterpiece, and found there a very suitable coin. Not unnaturally, perhaps, he assumed that a coin without provenance or find-spot had not been found in a neighbourhood he knew so well, and hence an honest statement which is in fact the very opposite of the truth, and a coincidence which may seem almost too far-fetched to be credible.

Were the ELIMO(sina) coins the first payment?

² H. J. B. Nicholson, The Abbey of St. Alban, &c., 1856, p. 11. ³ Jaarboek voor Munt- en Penningkunde, 1915, Pl. 1. 1. 4 Op. et pag. cit.

Quite apart from its possibly fortuitous connexion with the other St. Albans find of the same period, the Dorestadt denier is of interest for the continental as well as the English numismatist. It is, or so we believe, the only British find of a Carolingian coin of Dorestadt that has been published, or indeed that is known. It would also appear to be only the fourth coin of Charlemagne to be published with an English find-spot, the others being two early deniers found at Southampton in the nineteenth century, and a Mainz denier of a later issue which occurred in the celebrated Middle Temple Hoard (Thompson 366-"unknown site") which would seem to have been deposited some thirty years after Charlemagne's death. A fifth Charlemagne denier in a recent find from Wales (Thompson 305) may well complete the tally of coins of the emperor found in the whole of the British Isles. One wonders, though, whether Carolingian influence may not have been somewhat more pronounced than this meagre total might seem to suggest. Is it fanciful, for example, to suggest a stylistic affinity between the Dorestadt penny and two other coins of Ethelnoth in the British Museum (B.M.C. 50 and another from the Richborough excavations)? The curiously eccentric "cross" at the bottom of the reverse type on such coins might well be derived from the "axe" which is an essential part of the Dorestadt type, and we would throw out this suggestion as deserving consideration without committing ourselves closely to it.

In conclusion we revert to the map. As we have seen, the distribution of finds of early pennies is confined to the area south and east of an arc running from Southampton Water to the Wash, and it would seem that it was in Kent, East Anglia, and the Home Counties that the new coins were current. It is, of course, very difficult to decide exactly what was the boundary of the circulation area, since the use of currency would seem to have thinned out westwards, and an added complication is the fact that an uncertain proportion of our single finds of the late eighth and early ninth centuries may represent later losses of odd survivals. Hoards deposited even as late as the second half of the ninth century still contain such pieces—for example there is really no reason to suspect the Trewhiddle provenance attaching to a penny of Offa (Rashleigh 34)—but the overwhelming concentration of find-spots south and east of the arc already described cannot be disregarded. Even at this early stage of our investigation we can begin to detect a quite unlooked-for pattern. The new "Mercian" penny did not circulate in Old Mercia, and there would seem to have been indeed a monetary boundary which bisected the Mercian "empire". For practical purposes we can say, too, that the penny was unknown in Wessex, the Severn basin, Lindsey, and Northumbria, but in Middle Anglia, East Anglia, and Kent it would seem to have enjoyed a startling popularity. Comparison with later periods is difficult—an Offa penny has always had a certain cachet denied to the humble penny of Æthelstan, say, or of Æthelræd II, with the result that a substantially

 $^{^{\}text{I}}$ J.B.A.A., xx (1864), pp. 71–72.

greater proportion of single finds have been published—but a few

general observations are possible.

The first point that comes to mind is that the new penny reproduces the essential distribution of the sceatta which it displaced. There is the same concentration towards the south-eastern coasts of England, and in this context the finding of a very early denier of Dorestadt well towards the western limit of the circulation area of both takes on added significance. However, when seeking to elucidate the significant factors in the economic activity underlying any pattern of monetary circulation, one is bound to attempt at least a provisional assessment of the relative weightings of two broad alternatives, on the one hand purely local transactions of village and market-place, on the other commodity trade over substantially longer distances. Local transactions tend to emphasize the importance of geographical regions of close settlement, commodity trade that of trade-routes. Are we then to look to trade between the shores and inlets of the North Sea for an explanation of the south-eastern concentration of the early penny, or is perhaps the answer to be found in some difference, fiscal or tenurial for example, in the social and economic life of Kent and East Anglia which marked them off from Mercia and Wessex, as well as Northumbria, and made them more apt for a monetary economy?

In a recent paper Homans has discussed the social organization and institutions which gave the so-called East Anglian cultural area its distinctive character, and which even persisted into the later Middle Ages. The trend of his argument is that the formative settlement of the area was not by the Danish invaders of the ninth century, but by Frisians, or by a people very similar to them in culture, probably as early as the fifth century. He points to resemblances with Kent in the systems of landholding and of inheritance, and even suggests, albeit very guardedly, that from an early date Kent and East Anglia may have shared a rural social order much less manorial than that of

Mercia and of Wessex.

In another recent paper² Dunning has discussed trade between England and the Continent in the eighth and ninth centuries. He suggests that this trade was mostly between the Rhineland and southeastern England, that commerce was dominated by Frisians, and that Rhineland traffic came to England via the Low Countries where Dorestadt handled the great bulk of the trade. Woollen cloth, embroideries, metalwork, and slaves would appear to have been this country's principal exports, and stress is laid on the outstanding position of London, while Hamwih (Southampton) would seem to have been the second port. Again there would appear to be a very close concordance between these conclusions and the evidence of our map, and it is gratifying that the Charlemagne denier found at St. Albans should be from the mint situated in the great Frisian emporium of Dorestadt.

It is, however, much too soon to decide even tentatively what

¹ Economic History Review, 1957–8, pp. 189 ff.
² Dark Age Britain, Studies presented to E. T. Leeds, 1956, pp. 218 ff.

economic or other causes underlie the pattern of monetary circulation in early ninth-century England, but we can perhaps begin to see the various problems that are involved. Were there significant differences in the rural economy of the southern kingdoms of the Heptarchy? To what extent was there an important difference of density of population? To what extent, too, may commercial contacts with the Continent have resulted in London and the immediate coastline of the North Sea enjoying a greater prosperity which in turn may have led to a wider use of money both there and in the hinterland? It seems probable that both differences of rural economy and wider trade contacts (themselves perhaps to some extent interdependent) underlie the pattern of monetary circulation that is suggested by our map, but we have as yet little experience to guide us in assessing their relative importance. Much more work remains to be done, and we ourselves are very conscious that the map is no more than a preliminary, and provisional, presentation of the evidence. Even so, we would claim that it gives a reasonably clear and generally valid picture of the circulation-area of the "Mercian" penny, and, in a period for which other records of the pattern of economic life are so defective, it may even be said that it makes a not insignificant addition to the evidence at the disposal of the historian.¹

¹ The engravings of the Offa penny and of the Dorestadt denier are reproduced by kind permission of the Librarian, the University Library, Cambridge, and the direct photographs of the Offa penny by kind permission of the Keeper of Coins and Medals at the British Museum.

THE COINAGE OF ECGBEORHT, KING OF WESSEX, 802-39

By c. e. blunt

THE recent discovery in Gloucestershire of a new variety of the early penny of Ecgbeorht, with a head of the king similar to that found on the coins of Baldred of Kent, has prompted me to put down some notes on the coinage of the Wessex king.

The new coin may be described as follows:

Obv. +ARCOBRARH REX Diademed head to right within inner circle.

Rev. +TIDBEARHT Eight small wedges placed near the edge of the inner circle with the points turned inwards.

Wt. 19.9 gr. Die \downarrow (Pl. XXVII, 1).

The following circumstances of the find have been most kindly supplied by Mrs. H. O'Neil through whose good offices the coin has now passed to the British Museum:

Eight coins were found in the Slaughter Brook at Slaughter Bridge on the Fosse Way in November 1957, during work by the Glos. County Council for the erection of a new bridge. The brook here forms the Parish boundaries of Bourton on the Water and Lower Slaughter, Glos.

Seven of the coins were George II halfpennies and one was an Anglo-Saxon penny. The bed of the brook was composed of a layer of callus, a lime deposit, on average four inches thick, lying on the oolitic gravel of the neighbourhood. The Georgian coins were lying on the callus and had lost almost all their inscriptions, presumably from the action of the water, while the Anglo-Saxon penny lay c. one and a half inches deep in the lime callus and remained in good condition.

Although no remains of the construction of the Roman road were found, the crossing of the brook in ancient times must have been by fording. Other finds recovered during the recent work in the boggy ground beside the brook were an iron linch-pin, from the axle of a Roman "chariot", and the iron sheath of a spade of the same period, while under a bodge beside the road a human skull was brought to light

under a hedge beside the road a human skull was brought to light.

It is interesting to recall that the site of the Saxon hut found in 1931 was within 100 yards of Slaughter Bridge.

Coins of this earliest type of Ecgbeorht, with the king's head resembling that on Baldred's coins and of undoubted authenticity, are of great rarity, and this is the first to be recorded by the moneyer Tidbearht. On the following page is a list of the specimens that I have noted of what is here described for convenience as Group I.

No illustration is available of the last coin, but from the description

it appears to be of this early group.

On the new coin, by the moneyer Tidbearht (Pl. XXVII, 1), the spelling of the king's name—Æcgbearht—is to be noted as are certain curious letters in it, notably the E's which are of a form not usually found on the coins. C and G are, on this coin, indistinguishable. The same curious spelling and the same form of E are found on the second coin in the list (Pl. XXVII, 2), but in this case C and G are distinguished; the former is round, the latter square.

On the other coins of this group the king's name is spelt

	Obv. type	Rev. type	Moneyer	Wt.	Reference
I.	Head r. diad.	Eight wedges	Tidbearht	19.9	The coin referred to above (Pl. XXVII, 1).
2.	,,	Tribrach moline	Werheard	20•7	B.M.C. 16 from the Sevington hoard (Pl. XXVII, 2).
3.	"	Cross crosslet	Diormod	19.9	B.M. ex Lockett 455; from the Dorset hoard (Pl. XXVII, 3).
4.	,,	23	n	,	Ill. in the Dymock MS. in the possession of Mr. J. D. A. Thompson. Probably formerly in the Cotton collection.
5. 6.	" "	Plain cross	Sigestef	19·4 19·6	Hunter collection, Glasgow. B.M.A. 403. Ill. Lindsay, Coinage of the Hepturchy, pl. 4. 89, and there stated to be from the Hampshire (1837) find (Pl. XXVII, 4).
7.))	,,	Swefheard	Fragment	Carlyon-Britton sale, lot 1634, from the Delgany hoard.

HECBEARHT, ECCBEDRHT and --CBCARHT. The second of these forms is also found on a single coin of Sigestef of the next group (No. 4 below), but otherwise the spelling becomes, for the time being, normalized to ECGBEARHT or HECBEARHT.

This second group does not have the king's head on it, and replaces it by a variety of geometric ornaments and pellets. On the following

page is a list of the specimens that I have noted of Group 2.

It seems likely that the first group, with the Baldred-like bust, represents Ecgbeorht's initial coinage after his defeat of Mercia in 825 and the annexation of Kent, a move that resulted in the expulsion of Baldred. The mis-spelling of the king's name may reflect the difficulty facing the die engraver on the accession of a new ruler. There is little doubt that this issue was made at Canterbury and that Ecgbeorht, prior to his securing that mint, made no issues of coin. Closely following, and perhaps overlapping, the first group come the coins, struck mostly by the same moneyers, of what is here designated

Group 2.

What Brooke¹ regards as probably Ecgbeorht's earliest issue (B.M.C. i), should, it is suggested, be placed after the first two groups and is here termed Group 3. These coins have the king's bust, diademed, to the right and breaking the inner circle (as opposed to the earlier coins which have the head contained within the inner circle). The king's name is spelt consistently Eccbear and the few exceptions seem to be the result of carelessness. On the reverse is a monogram of DOROB C for *Dorobernia Civitas* (Pl. XXVII, 14. The specimen illustrated is from Westminster School, probably ex the Delgany hoard). These are the most plentiful coins of Ecgbeorht. Of the 92 coins of the reign found in the Middle Temple hoard, 69 were of this type and 8 more were found at Dorking.

The same reverse type is found on coins of Archbishop Wulfred

¹ English Coins, p. 41.

Comment of	Obv. type	Rev. type	Moneyer	Wt.	Reference
1-3.	Plain cross	Cross crosslet	Diormod	19.2;	B.M.C. 17; B.M.A. 392-3 (two last from the Middle
4.	,,	,,	Sigestef	19·8 21·3	Temple hoard). B.M.A. 404, from the Middle Temple hoard.
5-6.	**	,,	Wulgar	—; 19·4	Grantley 972; Copenhagen ex Montagu 465 (Pl. XXVII, 5).
7.	,,	Plain cross	Oba	19.9	B.M.A. 399 from the Middle Temple hoard (PI. XXVII, 6).
8-10.	"	Six limbs issuing from a central pellet	,,	16·3; 21·7; 19·8	B.M.A. 400, from the Middle Temple hoard; Fitzwilliam ex Rashleigh 200, from the Trewhiddle hoard (PI. XXVII, 7); Lockett ex Dorset hoard.
II.	Six limbs issuing from a central	Five limbs issuing from a central	Werheard	20.1	B.M.A. 411 (PI. XXVII, 8). Found in Kent.
12.	Plain cross	Five limbs	Swefheard	Fragment	Blunt ex Grantley 973 (Pl. XXVII, 9), probably found at Southampton. ¹
13-14.	Plain cross over saltire; in centre pellet in circle	Plain cross	Werheard	20·9; 18·9	B.M.A. 410, from the Middle Temple hoard; Copen- hagen ex Montagu 466 (PI. XXVII, 10).
15.	,,	Tribrach, arms fourchée	Swefheard	17.2	B.M.C. 18 (Pl. XXVII, 11).
16.	Pellet	Cross of four wedges, pellet in centre	Tidbearht	20.0	B.M.A. 405 from the Middle Temple hoard (PI. XXVII, 12).
17.	"	Three wedges issuing from a pellet	21	19·9 (chipped)	B.M.A. 406 from the Middle Temple hoard (PI. XXVII, 13).

that must surely be his latest, as it is continued by Ceolnoth on a few of his earliest issue. Wulfred died in 832 and Ceolnoth became archbishop in 833. The following eleven moneyers are known of this type for Ecgbeorht:

Biornmod Oba
Bosel (Biosel) Osmund
Dealla Swefheard
Deibus Tidbearht
Diormod Tilwine
Duding

Specimens by all the above moneyers are in the British Museum. Four of them, Diormod, Oba, Swefheard, and Tidbearht, had struck earlier types for Ecgbeorht; of the remainder, two, Biornmod and Osmund, continued into the reign of Æthelwulf, but it is curious, and may be significant, that there is no link with the coins of what is here called Ecgbeorht's fourth group. From the number of moneyers, the issue of Group 3 must have been substantial and may have extended over a number of years. A tentative dating of $c.\ 830-c.\ 835$ would seem appropriate.

¹ J.B.A.A. vol. xvii, p. 231.

On Ecgbeorht's fourth group the West Saxon form of the name, Ecgbeorht (with round G), is adopted and this form, as Brooke suggests, may be taken as an indication that the engravers at Canterbury were increasingly under the supervision of men from Wessex. The moneyers of this last group are Beagmund and Dunun (who continued to strike for Æthelwulf), and Cobba and Ethelmod. The coins of Beagmund and Cobba are not found with the king's head or bust; those of Dunun always have one or the other, usually the head, contained in the inner circle; of Ethelmod's three coins, two have the king's head, the third a cross potent as obverse type. The following is a list of the specimens I have noted of Group 4:

	Obv. type	Rev. type	Moneyer	Wt.	Reference
I.	Bust to r.	Plain cross	Dunun	19.9	B.M.A. 396, from the Middle Temple hoard.
2.	,,	Cross, a pellet in each quarter	,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	20.7	Fitzwilliam, ex Montagu 464 (PI. XXVII, 15).
3–6.	Head to r.	Cross potent	"	18.2 (chipped); 21.6 (pierced); 20; 21.7	B.M.A. 394; 395; Rashleigh 203, from the Trewhiddle hoard (Pl. XXVII, 16); Lockett, from the Dorset hoard.
7.	,,	.,	Ethelmod	19	Drabble 366.
7. 8.	,,	Cross, a wedge in each angle	,,	20.0	B.M.C. 15 from the Dorking hoard (Pl. XXVII, 17).
9.	,,	Four crescents, turned outwards; pellet in centre	Dunun	21.0	B.M.C. 14 (Pl. XXVII, 18).
10-15.	Cross potent	Cross potent	Beagmund	20·6; 20·5; 19·4; 19·9; —;	B.M.A. 387–90 from the Middle Temple hoard; a fifth specimen (broken) from the same hoard was not retained by the B.M.; Vatican, found in the excavations at St. Peter's,
16.	Cross potent smallsquare in each angle	***	"	_	c. 1950. Ryan (PI. XXVII, 19) = ? Montagu 467.
17.	Cross potent	,,	Ethelmod	19.8	B.M.C. 19 from the Dorking hoard.
18.))	Three limbs of a cross potent, the fourth re- placed by a pellet	Beagmund	19·6	B.M. ex Lockett 456 ex Dorset hoard (Pl. XXVII, 20).
19.	Cross patee on cross saltire with lozenge in centre	Cross potent	,,	19.8	B.M.A. 391. Found near Godalming, c. 1856 (Pl. XXVII, 21).
20.	Cross with four in- turned cres- cents at ends of arms	Cross, a pellet in each quarter	Cobba	(chipped)	B.M., found at Pevensey 1946 (Pl. XXVII, 22).
21.	"	Plain cross	11	17·4 (badly chipped)	Drabble 341. Ill. B.M.C. vol. ii, p. 5.

The obverse type of the coin of Beagmund (No. 19, Pl. XXVII, 21), has had various interpretations. When it was first published by Whitbourn in 1863 he regarded it as the monogram of MEO for Merciorum. Grueber in the Montagu sale catalogue (lot 468) read it as "M.M.? (Merciorum)". Brooke read it as a "monogram of A and A inverted?",2 and later, regarding the monogram as indicating Andreas Apostolus, tentatively attributed the coin to Rochester.3 This latter attribution is hardly tenable. Beagmund is a wellestablished moneyer at a mint that seems likely to be Canterbury whereas none of the coins of Rochester (which are discussed below) bears the name of any moneyer. In a one-moneyer mint this would not be abnormal and in fact had already occurred at Rochester under Ceolwulf I.4 Whitbourn's and Grueber's interpretation is no less unsatisfactory. The only coins of Ecgbeorht that bear the Mercian title are to be associated with the mint at London, which this coin clearly is not. On the whole it seems better to regard the type as no more than another variant of the geometric designs found on coins of this period and notably on early coins of Æthelwulf by this very monever.

The second coin of Cobba (No. 21) has been attributed to both Ecgbeorht of Wessex and to the king of the same name who ruled in Kent and who had a moneyer of the name of Babba. The discovery of the specimen from Pevensey (No. 20), on which for the first time the moneyer's name could be read in full, puts the attribution beyond

further dispute.

This fourth group, which is linked with early issues of Æthelwulf,

may be provisionally dated c. 835-9.

Mention has been made of the fact that there is no moneyer-link between Groups 3 and 4. When to this is added the fact that two moneyers of Group 3 continue striking under Æthelwulf one is entitled to ask whether Group 4 is rightly placed at Canterbury or should rather be regarded as the product of some other mint. Its place, in point of time, is established as being at the end of Ecgbeorht's reign through the close link with early issues of Æthelwulf by the moneyers Beagmund and Dun. A final decision on the place of mintage must be left open but, of the likely alternatives to Canterbury, London may be ruled out on the grounds that the mint there is unlikely to have been available to Ecgbeorht in the latter part of his reign (see below) and that the known coins of London have the Mercian title and were from engraved dies. Rochester appears to have been a onemoneyer mint and the coins of Group 4 have none of the characteristics of those that may be attributed to Winchester. Three of Ecgbeorht's known mints seem therefore to be excluded and one is left with the alternatives of Canterbury or some new and hitherto unidentified mint.

Some light on this is thrown by consideration of the coins that Beagmund and Dun struck for Æthelwulf. One of the early types of

¹ Num. Chron. 1863, p. 46.

³ English Coins, pp. 42 and 51.

² Num. Chron. 1924, p. 245.

⁴ Brit. Num. Journ. 1956, p. 406.

his reign, struck by Beagmund, is B.M.C. type IX a. This is also struck by Wilheah (B.M.C. 39) who may be assumed to have joined the other two moneyers, perhaps in succession to Cobba or Ethelmod. Wilheah also struck type XVIII with another moneyer named Brid. In type XXI Welheard is associated with Beagmund and in type XXIII Beagmund, Welheard, and Brid are found striking with yet another moneyer named Ethelere. It seems clear therefore that this group of moneyers was associated.

On coins of type I, which bear the mint-name of Canterbury, the names of Brid, Ethelere, Welheard, and Wilheah are all found. There would seem therefore reasonable grounds for associating Beagmund and Dun with that mint in spite of the lack of continuity shown with other issues of Ecgbeorht which were undoubtedly struck there.

The following table sets out Ecgbeorht's Canterbury moneyers. Although in Groups I and 2 the coins do not bear the mint name, the attribution can be regarded as reasonably certain. With the exception of Wulgar all the moneyers of these two groups struck also for the Kentish king Baldred whose mint must have been at Canterbury; all the coins of Group 3 have, of course, the Canterbury mint name.

gett to mayare			Men	rcia	Kent	Ecgbeorht				
Mone	yer		Cæn- wulf 796–821	Ceol- wulf I 821–3	Baldred expelled 825		Group 2 5–30	Group 3 c. 830-5	Group 4 c. 835–9	Æthel- wulf
Sigestef			×	×	×	×	×			
Werheard			×		×	×	×			
Diormod			×		× .	×	×	×		
Swefheard			×		×	×	×	×		
Tidbearht			×		×	×	×	×		
Wulgar							×			
Oba .			×	×	×		×	×		
Bosel (Biose	el)							×		
Dealla.			×					×		
Deibus								×		
Duding								×		
Tilwine								×		
Biornmod								×		X
Osmund								×		X
Cobba .									×	
Ethelmod ²			×	×	×				×	1×1
Beagmund									×	X
Dunun ²			×	×	×				×	Dun

Found on late coins of Æthelwulf only. Probably another moneyer of the same name.

There remain for consideration three groups of coins which have been associated with mints at London, Rochester, and Winchester respectively.

LONDON

On the coins that may be attributed to London the king is styled ECGBERHT REXT. The spelling of the king's name and the use of the

² A moneyer of this name struck for Cœnwulf, Ceolwulf I, and Baldred, but is probably not the same person. Ethelmod's earliest coins of Cœnwulf were issued about 800.

Mercian title differentiate these from the remainder of Ecgbeorht's issues. The dies are engraved. The four known specimens all have a cross potent as obverse type. On the reverse of a unique and vital coin in the British Museum from the Middle Temple hoard (B.M.A. 323 weighing 21.6 gr.) the mint name is boldly displayed in three lines across the entire field (PI. XXVII, 23). The other type has the name of the moneyer on the reverse followed by MONE or MONET. In each case the legend is completed in the centre of the coin, in the first by two letters TA, in the second by the single letter A. Three specimens are known:

B.M.A. 402 from the Middle Temple hoard, wt. 20.7 gr. Fitzwilliam, Cambridge. Wt. 19.2 gr. (Pl. XXVII, 24). Lockett ex Grantley 974, found at Rochester. Fragment.

The moneyer consistently spells his name REDTVDP. He also signs coins of the Mercian king Wiglaf (828-9 deposed; restored 830-9) but in this case his coins read REDTVDn.

It seems likely that the coin with the mint name so prominently (and for this period unusually) displayed may have been struck to mark Ecgbeorht's conquest of Mercia in 829. The spelling of the king's name, the use of the Mercian title, and the link with the coins of Wiglaf are sufficient to justify a London attribution to the second type. The mint appears to have been recovered by Wiglaf on his restoration in 830 and these small London issues in the name of Ecgbeorht can therefore be dated 829–30.

ROCHESTER

The coins attributed to Rochester, of which only five appear to have survived, have no moneyer's name but read instead *Scs Andreas* or *Scs Andreas Apostolus*, the final letters of the last word being in the centre of the coin as was the case at London. This clearly suggests that they emanated from a one-moneyer mint and the attribution to Rochester is based on the fact that the cathedral there was dedicated to St. Andrew.

The attribution is strongly supported by recognition of the fact that there was a mint at Rochester under Ceolwulf I, the coins of which bore the Ancient British name of the city Dorobrebia. Apart from these two very limited issues, however, no further ecclesiastical issues of Rochester are identifiable, but it is to be noted that the bishop is one of those mentioned in the laws of King Athelstan issued at Grateley a century later as being entitled to a moneyer, a privilege not then accorded to the Bishop of London. It is not unlikely therefor that the right continued to be exercised in the intervening period. The coins of Rochester have the Wessex form of the king's name, Eccbeckht, and on all the bust of the king breaks the inner circle. The following are the specimens known:

¹ Brit. Num. Journ. 1956, p. 406.

Rev. type	Wt. (gr.)	Reference
I. The letters STOLVS	19.3	B.M.A. 324 from the Middle Temple hoard (Pl. XXVII, 25)
2-3. Alpha and omega combined4-5. Cross, two arms moline	20·0; 19½ 18·4;	B.M.C. 12 (Pl. XXVII, 26); Lockett 457 ex B.M. duplicates and the Middle Temple hoard B.M.A. 325 from the Middle Temple hoard (Pl. XXVII, 27); B.M.C. 13 (a fragment)

Winchester

The group of coins attributed to Winchester stands in isolation in some respects. On all the Saxon title is displayed in the obverse field; none of the six moneyers who issued it:

Beornheard	Ifa
Bosa	Tideman
Eanwald	Tilred

is found striking any other type for Ecgbeorht; the dies appear to be engraved as opposed to the punch-made dies of Canterbury. The king's name is always in the West Saxon form. The title is usually expressed in a cipher comprising the letters SAXON (PI. XXVII, 28) but more rarely in three lines in full—SAXONIORVM (Pl. XXVII, 29).

There has been some hesitation in accepting Brooke's attribution of this group of coins to Winchester because of the evidence of coins with similar features struck by Æthelwulf. These latter were struck by six moneyers, Diar, Eanwald, Herebeald, Manna, Osmund, and Torhtwald and, of these, Diar, Herebeald, and Osmund also issued coins bearing the mint name of Canterbury. Brooke sought to account for this by suggesting that the moneyers were at some point transferred from Winchester to Canterbury, but this is not entirely satisfactory and it is, moreover, not borne out by an examination of the coins themselves.

Of the coins of Æthelwulf, the single one by the moneyer Eanwald² stands apart from the rest both from the fact that it retains the Saxon title on the obverse, whereas all the others of Æthelwulf's reign transfer it to the reverse, and from the fact that the dies appear to be engraved. Eanwald was the only moneyer of Ecgbeorht's of this type to strike for both kings and there can be little doubt that all his output came from the same mint. The dies of the other moneyers, three of whom clearly worked at Canterbury, are entirely different in quality besides transferring the Saxon title to the reverse. There can be little doubt that the dies are punch-struck and on what may be the latest of the series, namely those that substitute Occidentalium for the moneyer's name, the workmanship closely resembles some of the finer products of the Canterbury mint. There can hardly be any doubt that they were in fact the product of that mint.

The Ecgbeorht coins, with which one may couple the Eanwald coin of Æthelwulf, form a group that stands in isolation and clearly

English Coins, p. 43.
 Illustrated in Brooke, English Coins, pl. xii. 10.

have not to do with Canterbury. There seems no valid reason to question Brooke's attribution of these coins to the mint of Winchester. The fact that the type continued with Æthelwulf's reign suggests that it was started late in that of Ecgbeorht and there seem no grounds for postulating a mint in Wessex before he secured Canterbury in 825. The mint must have closed fairly early in Æthelwulf's reign as the hoard evidence, reviewed below, shows. It may be that the action fought at Southampton by Earldorman Wulfheard in 840, although a victory for the men of Wessex, called attention to the vulnerability of Winchester; it may, on the other hand, have been dictated by economic causes.

HOARD EVIDENCE

Coins of Ecgbeorht have been found in the following hoards:

Hoard	Total of hoard	Group I	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4	Lon- don	Ro- chester	Win- chester	Latest coin	Approx. date of deposit
Delgany .	103	I		2					Ecgbeorht	835
Dorset	9	I	I		2				,,	838
Middle Temple	241		8	69	6	2	3	4	Æthelwulf	842
Croydon .	7			2					,,	858
Sevington .	70	II							,,	850
Penard .	3			I					Lothaire	after 850
Dorking .	c. 700			8	2				Æthilberht	865
Hampshire .	46	I							Æthilred I	870
Trewhiddle .	c. 114		I	I	I				Alfred	875
Bongate ² .	90+								3	,
Lindores ² .								,	?	?

Details of other coins of Ecgbeorht (if any) lacking.
 No details, but said to contain coins of Ecgbeorht.

It will be seen that there are only two hoards that are likely to have been deposited in Ecgbeorht's reign. The Delgany hoard, which is a substantial one, contained no coins of Group 4 which supports the placing of that group at the end of the reign; the Dorset hoard is too small for reliable deductions to be made from it. The Middle Temple hoard, which is the greatest single source of coins of this reign, might have been expected to contain specimens of Group I, but did not do so. It is none the less significant. In it were 28 coins of Æthelwulf of the following types:

Bust r.; rev. Alpha and omega. Beagmund					I
,, ,, Cross, pellet in each angle. Beagmund					2
Head r. ,, ,, ,, ,,		411			I
Bust or head r.; rev. Cross. Beagmund and Dun .					13
Bust r.; rev. straight line, the ends moline. Beagmund					2
", ", straight line, the ends moline between tw	vo cr	escent	s, hor	ns	
turned outwards. Beagmund					2
,, ,, straight lines, the ends pate between tw	o cr	escent	s, hor	ns	
outwards; opposite each end of strain	ight	line a	ı pell	et.	
Beagmund					I
"Winchester types":					
"Saxoniorum" "Occidentalium"					4
,, Manna and Osmund					2
7 D 11: 1 - 1 - 11 - 1 C - 1 1 : N Cl	20. 0	n 20	76		

Published without find-spot in Num. Chron. 1894, pp. 29-76.

The hoard was clearly deposited early in Æthelwulf's reign, say c. 842, and the close parallels between the coins of Beagmund and Dun to the latest issues of Ecgbeorht supports the arrangement proposed here. The presence of the Winchester-type coins shows them to have been an early issue of Æthelwulf's, and the fact that the Occidentalium coins, which are today far rarer than those with the name of a moneyer, exceeded the latter in number in this hoard, may perhaps suggest that the Occidentalium coins were the earlier and that the others had only recently come into issue. In the Dorking hoard, which was a later deposit, there were 6 coins reading Occidentalium against 28 with the name of a moneyer.

A frequency table of the weights (in grains) of 126 coins of Ecg-

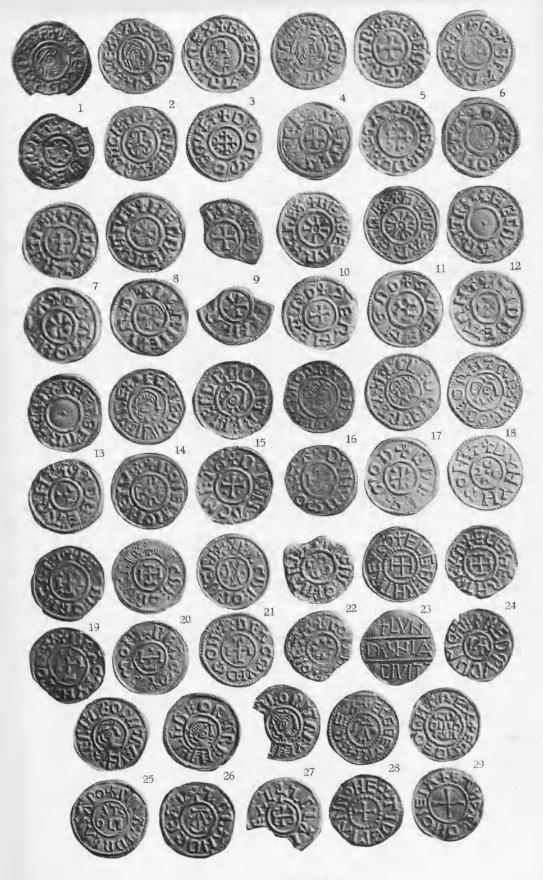
beorht (omitting damaged pieces) gives the following result:

	Under 19	19–19·9	20-20-9	21-21.9	22 and over
Groups I and 2 . Group 3 Rochester London	3 11 	10 14 7 2	4 20 5 1	2 17 3	 I2
Winchester .	4	4	I	I	I

A slight improvement in weight is suggested in Group 3 but this does not appear to have been maintained in the later issues. Indeed there are indications that towards the end of Ecgbeorht's reign the issue of currency may have been on a somewhat restricted scale. That a hoard so rich in coins of Ecgbeorht as that found in the Middle Temple should contain so few of Group 4 suggests that this is the case and the fact that probably not more than four of Ecgbeorht's moneyers carried on into Æthelwulf's reign points either in the same direction or to there having been a similar shortage early in the reign of the latter king. The reference in the Chronicle to two separate battles in Kent in 841 and to great slaughter at Rochester in the following year clearly shows the disturbed state of the southern part of the country which can hardly have been without impact on trade.

It only remains to express my appreciation of Mrs. H. O'Neil's kindness in supplying particulars of the new coin, to Mr. R. H. M. Dolley for allowing me to publish it here and for help in the preparation of this paper, to the Keepers of Coins at the British Museum, the Copenhagen Museum, and the Fitzwilliam Museum for having kindly supplied casts and allowed their coins to be illustrated here, and to Mr. B. H. I. H. Stewart for having read this paper through in manu-

script and made valuable suggestions for its improvement.



COINS OF ECGBEORHT



HALFPENNIES AND THIRD-PENNIES OF KING ALFRED By PHILIP GRIERSON

[The majority of the coins referred to below are illustrated on Plate XXVIII, the numbering on which follows that of the Register of Coins on pp. 491-3.]

I

While classifying and listing the coins of King Alfred in the Fitz-william Museum for the first fascicule of the Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles, I was struck by what appeared to be an anomaly in the weights of the so-called "halfpennies" of King Alfred. Three specimens in the collection weighed respectively 6·2 gr., 7·6 gr., and 7·3 gr., while the pennies were usually between 20 g. and 24 g. and normally approached the latter figure. The existence of isolated coins below their proper weight is a common phenomenon, but one would not expect to find a whole series weighing a third or more less than they should. Moreover a fourth coin of Alfred's time, the unique piece with the legend Everat me fecit, weighed 9·4 gr. It was of broader flan and thicker than the others, and gave the impression of being a different denomination. A weight difference of 2–3 gr. may not seem very great, but in coins weighing only about 7 gr. it is quite perceptible. It is a higher percentage of the total weight than is the difference between the modern two-shilling piece and half-crown.

The existence of these light coins had been noted by Brooke, but dismissed with the comment that they were perhaps contemporary imitations. The coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum were of good style, with intelligible legends, and could not easily be relegated to such a class. They were very different in appearance from the occasional pennies of Alfred that are found with weights as low as 14 or 15 gr., the barbarous and imitative character of which is quite clear. It therefore seemed worth exploring the possibility that the "light"

halfpennies might in reality be third-pennies.

There is here a certain prejudice in our minds to be broken down. We are so accustomed to dividing pennies into halves and quarters that we find it difficult to imagine anyone attempting to divide them otherwise. But our reluctance to use the third as a fraction is a quite modern phenomenon, and indeed involves abandoning the only advantage which the duodecimal system has over the decimal one, that the unit can be divided into thirds, quarters, and sixths as well as into halves without involving fractions of whole numbers. Our ancestors thought on other lines, and used indifferently either halves and quarters or thirds and sixths, and sometimes both groups of fractions together, as occasion required. If the penny, from the reign of Edward I onwards, was divided into halves and quarters, its typical multiple was not, as with us, the threepenny-piece or quarter of a

G. C. Brooke, English Coins (3rd edn., London 1950), p. 54.

shilling, but the groat, the third of the shilling. The noble was the third of the pound, the angelot the third of the salut. Men in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries found no difficulty in using simultaneously the ryal and the angel, the half and third of the pound, just as in late Roman times the fractions of the solidus in normal use had been the semissis and the tremissis. The Byzantines in the early eighth century had experimented with the use of quarterand sixth-solidi side by side with the normal halves and thirds, and the Arabs likewise sometimes struck half-, quarter-, and third-dinars

simultaneously.

There is therefore no theoretical objection to the existence of thirdpennies, and there is good documentary evidence in their favour. The Laws of Alfred make no mention of halfpennies—this proves nothing, since they rarely have cause to mention sums below a shilling—but they do twice refer to sums involving thirds of pennies. Chapter 47 lays down that the compensation due for knocking out a man's eye should be 66 shillings, 6 pence, and a third of a penny (öriddan dæl pæninges). This figure must be emended to 66 shillings, $3\frac{1}{3}$ pennies—the error of vi for iii is common in medieval manuscripts —for it is evidently intended as one-third of the freeman's wergeld of 200 shillings and the West Saxon shilling contained five pence. Such a figure implies either the existence of a coin worth a third of a penny or at least a readiness to cut pennies into thirds if that should be necessary. The same penalty, with the same error regarding the number of pence, occurs in Chapter 71, where it is also made to apply to the loss of a hand or foot.¹

These two passages from Alfred's Laws were noted some twenty years ago by Mr. W. C. Wells, who suggested that certain peculiarities in ninth-century coin designs and legends might have been intended to facilitate the cutting of pennies into three parts.2 The tribrachs, particularly the long-voided tribrachs on coins of Cuthred of Kent (798-806), would thus have served the same function as the cross did on later coins, and the threefold division of the king's name in the legend, whether by crosses or by blank spaces, such as occurs on some coins of Alfred, would have been useful in a similar fashion. Mr. Wells illustrated what he believed to be a two-thirds penny of Alfred, with a third cut out from it, which was at that time in his collection. I have not been able to examine the coin, which is now at Reading, but some of those who have seen it have doubted whether the cutting is contemporary in character. What purport to be cut halfpennies or farthings are sometimes only damaged coins which have been trimmed down in modern times with the object of increasing their value. Besides, if one were cutting a coin into thirds one would expect the operation to have been completed, instead of a part of the coin being

¹ F. L. Attenborough, *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings* (Cambridge, 1922), pp. 86, 90.

² 'The Northampton and Southampton mints', *Brit. Num. Journ.* xxi (1933–5), 32–36. Cf. also what he has to say on cut halfpennies and farthings in Spink's *Numismatic Circular*, xlvii (1939), 210–12.

left over as a fraction of two-thirds. However, the authenticity of this particular specimen does not affect the general question of whether tribrachs and broken legends were intended to fulfil the function that Mr. Wells ascribed to them, and I myself find his

suggestion a very acceptable one.

I would go a good deal further than Mr. Wells, however. If men of Alfred's time were prepared to deal in fractions of third-pennies, as the documentary evidence shows them to have been, it is worth considering whether they relied simply on cut coins, or whether they had advanced to the stage of striking third-pennies as separate units. I have therefore worked out a table of the weights of all specimens of Alfred's "halfpennies" which I have been able to trace and tabulated their results.

Π

Before looking at these tables, however, it will be as well to say a word regarding the provenance of the coins. It seems probable that all those that are known, with a single exception, can be assigned to one of three hoards, an unrecorded Erith hoard of c. 1840, the

Cuerdale hoard of 1840, and the Stamford hoard of 1902.2

It will be convenient to deal first with the exception, a coin at present (1957) in the still unsold portion of the Lockett collection, ex Rashleigh 223. It was published and illustrated by Haigh in 1870,3 and Haigh's notes, which dated from the mid-forties, gave its owner as Mr. W. H. Sheppard. It came into the sale-room in 1861, when it was lot 104 in the Rev. J. Lewin Sheppard sale. Despite the fact that Haigh asserted positively that it had been in the Sheppard collection "for many years" before the discovery of the Cuerdale hoard, one is naturally tempted to assume that it was really one of several specimens of this type which Hawkins believed to have formed part of the hoard4 and to have "by some means disappeared" before it was impounded by the police. Haigh's assertion, however, is perfectly correct. The Rev. J. Lewin Sheppard had died forty years earlier, in 1821, at the early age of 27, and though his brother

¹ A second apparent exception, the coin weighing 12.8 gr. which formed lot 37 at the Pembroke sale (Sotheby, 31.7.1848) and is described in the catalogue as a halfpenny, is

not really such, but a penny of abnormally low weight. It is now B.M.C. 362.

³ D. H. Haigh, "Coins of Elfred the Great", Num. Chron.², x (1870), pl. iii. 14; cf. p. 28, no. 36 and p. 37. Haigh himself explains that his article was put together from notes collected in the forties for a general work on Anglo-Saxon coins which he subsequently abandoned, and that his information regarding the whereabouts of coins is consequently

out of date.

² I should like to acknowledge the kindness and generosity of Mr. Blunt and Mr. Dolley in placing information at my disposal and discussing with me the problems examined in this paper, though they are not to be regarded as concurring entirely with its conclusions. I am also most grateful to Messrs. A. H. Baldwin and Messrs. Spink for allowing me to study coins they had in stock—in particular to Mr. Baldwin for showing me the halfpennies in the still unsold portion of the Lockett collection—and for consulting their records on my behalf. Unfortunately many of Messrs. Spink's records were destroyed during the war, so that information regarding coins mentioned in their *Num. Circular* before 1936 is now no longer available.

⁴ Article cited below (p. 481, n. 4), p. 18.

W. H. Sheppard kept the collection till 1861 and allowed scholars like Hawkins and Haigh to study it, he does not appear to have been interested in coins himself or to have added anything to it. The presence of the coin in the collection is therefore sufficient proof that it did not come from Cuerdale.²

Let us now turn to the hoards.

I. Hoard I (near Erith, c. 1840)

The coins which can be assigned to Erith are three in number, all varieties of the same type (B.M.C.³ type VI) with the London monogram; they have the king's name in full, not blundered in any way, and the design of the bust and the relative size of the bust and the letters of the legend show them to have been modelled on a Frankish tremissis or a contemporary English gold coin of the seventh century.

A fourth coin of the same group was found at Cuerdale.

One of the Erith coins was published by Edward Hawkins in 1841, in the first edition of *The Silver Coins of England*. It was the earliest halfpenny of Alfred to be recorded, and its unique character made Hawkins hesitate between regarding it as a halfpenny or as a penny which had lost much of its weight—it weighs 11.0 gr. —by corrosion. It is described as having been "found in gravel dredged up from the Thames", and in 1841 was in Mr. Thomas Thomas's collection. At the Thomas sale in 1844 it was bought by Cureton for Edward Wigan, passed from him to Sir John Evans, 6 and finally reached the British Museum in 1915 (B.M.A. 449) through the good offices of Mr. J. P. Morgan.

The second Erith coin has a briefer history. It appeared as lot 39 in the sale of John Brumell's collection in 1850, where it was described as having been "obtained from the Thames", and it was bought for

the British Museum (B.M.C., no. 111).

The third coin was lot 529 in the first Montagu sale in 1895, where it is described as having been "found in the Thames, near Erith". It reappeared as lot 78 in the first Murdoch sale of 1903, in the catalogue of which it is illustrated. I have failed to trace its history prior to 1895, but no doubt it came from one of the mid-century sales. It is now in the still unsold portion of the Lockett collection.

¹ The information on the Sheppard family comes from Burke's *Landed Gentry* and the notice of J. Lewin Sheppard in John Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses*. The use of the collection by Hawkins and Haigh while it was in W. H. Sheppard's hands is plain from their writings.

² This is not true of all the coins in the Lewin Sheppard sale, for the title-page to the catalogue admits the interpolation of a number of coins by the auctioneer. It can be assumed, however, that anything seen by Hawkins or Haigh in the forties was already

there before 1821.

³ B.M.C. = H. A. Grueber and C. F. Keary, A Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum. Anglo-Saxon Series, vol. ii (London, 1893). B.M.A. = G. C. Brooke, "Anglo-Saxon acquisitions of the British Museum", Num. Chron.⁵, v (1925), 343-65 (nos. 442 ft.).

⁴ p. 59 (pl. xiii. 177).

5 Some small discrepancies will be found in the weights given in this paper and those in the sources cited, since I have checked the figures wherever it has been possible to do so.

⁶ The Wigan collection was bought *en bloc* by the firm of Rollin and Feuardent in 1872, and the English section sold piecemeal to collectors. Unfortunately no catalogue of it exists.

We have no positive proof that these three coins were found together; Haigh, indeed, stated positively in 1870 that the first and second were found separately. But Haigh's article was based on notes put together between twenty and thirty years earlier, and is not trustworthy on a detail of this nature; the statement probably implies no more than that the records reached him from separate sources. The evidence for their having been found together seems to me strong. All three are of the same type, which was represented at Cuerdale by only a single specimen and was completely absent from Stamford. All three look exactly alike, being black in colour and much corroded by the soil in which they were buried. Two are stated to have been found in gravel dredged from the Thames and the third to have been found near Erith; the very name of the last locality means "gravel harbour", and the export of gravel was one of its most important local industries. One is tempted to equate the hoard with that found at Gravesend in 1838, for locality and date would suit very well, but the contents of the Gravesend hoard are against such an identification.² I believe that we are justified in postulating the finding of a small hoard shortly before 1841 in the vicinity of Erith, and attributing the three halfpennies to it. There were no doubt pennies in it as well, and further research might throw some light on what these were, but with them I am not concerned.3

The good style, correctness of legend, and find-spot of these coins make it reasonably certain that they were official issues of the London mint, and their weights show that they were intended as halfpennies. They weigh 11·0 gr., 8·0 gr., and 9·4 gr. respectively, but all are somewhat corroded and the lightest has lost a section of its rim which must have weighed at least a couple of grains. Their full weights would have been in the region of 11–12 gr., the half of a full penny of 20–24 gr.

2. The Cuerdale hoard (1840)

The "halfpennies" found at Cuerdale in 1840 are much more numerous and of a different character. The bulk of the hoard passed to the Crown as treasure trove, and while the pick was retained by the British Museum, the remainder was distributed by the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster to museums, learned societies, and collectors of standing. Edward Hawkins, in his first account of the hoard,4

¹ Haigh, art. cit., p. 29.

² The Gravesend hoard was predominantly one of Burgred, and must have been buried in the early months of Alfred's reign, well before the "London monogram" type began. The hoard is described by Hawkins in *Num. Chron.* iii (1841), 14-34.

³ There are in the Fitzwilliam Museum two pennies of Alfred which are exactly similar in colour and corrosion to these halfpennies and which I am disposed to assign to the same source. Both are of the 'London monogram' type, and one is of exceptionally good style. They were lots 2 and 3 in the Thorburn sale of 6 July 1887 (Sotheby).

They were lots 2 and 3 in the Thorburn sale of 6 July 1887 (Sotheby).

4 "An account of coins and treasure found at Cuerdale", Num. Chron. v (1843), 1-48, 53-104.

enumerated 161 halfpennies of Alfred, besides a large number of Northumbrian and East Anglian origin, but his reckoning was not complete. The steward of Mr. Assheton, on whose estate the coins were found, retained a parcel of them in the interests of his master. and a number of other coins were dispersed by underhand means to other collectors.2 The coins retained by Assheton's steward were submitted to the British Museum as soon as Assheton discovered what had happened, so that Hawkins was able to describe them in an appendix (pp. 99-104) to his article; they were not kept by Hawkins for the British Museum, however, and are now in the hands of Lord Clitheroe, the present representative of the Assheton family. They included four³ halfpennies of Alfred. The others, despite Hawkins's denunciation of the dispersal of the coins as little better than theft, eluded his notice, and a decent interval had to be allowed to elapse before their owners could be acknowledged and their provenance openly admitted.4 In a few cases, indeed, this was never done, so we can do no more than register a moral certitude that the source of particular coins was Cuerdale without there being any possibility of producing documentary evidence for this belief.

The great majority of the halfpennies found at Cuerdale and described by Hawkins are now in the British Museum. The only others whose existence I have been able to trace are as follows:

- (a) The three halfpennies which were retained for Mr. Assheton by his steward. They are described by Hawkins in his article on pp. 101-3, and two of them, one of the "Orsnaforda" type and the other a blundered copy of this, are illustrated. The third coin, of the "London monogram" type, is illustrated by Haigh in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1870.⁵ They are now in the possession of Lord Clitheroe. To these must be added the fourth coin to which allusion is made above.
- (b) Two coins of type XIV with the name of the moneyer Cuthbert retrograde and blundered. My attribution of these to Cuerdale is in part conjectural. On pp. 21-22 of his article, as no. 42, Hawkins gives four readings of this type of halfpenny, but says that the hoard contained seven specimens of them. The British Museum catalogue

¹ Actually 18, but one of these is the coin (B.M.C. i, p. 203, no. 1) now ascribed to Halfdan, and the other (B.M.C. Alfred, no. 437) is in my judgement a contemporary imitation of a coin of Halfdan, not of one of Alfred.

² Hawkins, art. cit., p. 104.

³ Hawkins only notes and describes three specimens, but Mr. Blunt, who has examined the coins now in Lord Clitheroe's possession and kindly supplied me with the photographs used for illustrating them, informs me that there are in fact four. Since this article was already in proof before he saw the coins and this information became available, I have left the numbering of the coins as it stood in my original manuscript and inserted the new coin as no. 14 bis.

⁴ A good example of this is the way in which the *Everat me fecit* coin is described by Haigh and illustrated by Lindsay in 1843 without any reference to provenance or ownership, but subsequently (1870) admitted by Haigh to have been in the Kenyon collection and to have come from the Cuerdale hoard.

⁵ Pl. iii, no. 12; cf. p. 28, no. 33. Hawkins had inadvertently called this coin a farthing. Haigh also reproduced (pl. vi, nos. 3, 6; p. 37, no. 61 and p. 38, no. 71) the other two which had remained in Assheton's possession.

includes only five specimens (nos. 434, 435, 436, 438, 440), leaving two unaccounted for. Since two of those which are later found in circulation are die-duplicates of no. 436, it seems reasonable to assume that these made up the total and that the Museum authorities sanctioned

their disposal to collectors.

One of these coins went to the Rev. J. W. Martin. It is illustrated by John Lindsay in his book on the coinage of the Heptarchy, and was disposed of at the Martin Sale in 1859. It is now in the stock of Messrs. Spink, having been acquired by them as Lockett 495. The other coin is now (1957) in Messrs. Baldwin's stock, being ex Grantley 1026. Lord Grantley acquired it privately towards the beginning of the present century from Mr. L. A. Lawrence. It is described in the Grantley sale catalogue as reading ELI-BAD and is identified with B.M.C. I, but both description and identification are incorrect. The relative illegibility of its legend is to be explained by the fact that the coin is both worn and double-struck, but it is from the same dies as the two others just mentioned. There is no positive pedigree to connect it with Cuerdale, since I have failed to trace it earlier than Lawrence, but from the fact that it completes the gap in Hawkins's enumeration its Cuerdale origin seems scarcely open to question.

(c) A coin with the reading *Udbern*, blundered from Cuthbert. This coin was already in private hands when Lindsay was writing in 1842. He describes and illustrates it in his book on pl. iv, no. 101, but it is not clear in whose ownership it then was. He gives its weight as 7 g., and since he normally only gives the weight of coins in his collection or in that of his friend Richard Sainthill, it would seem reasonable to assume that it belonged to one or other of these collectors,2 but it is not in the sale catalogue of Lindsay's collection in 1867 nor in that of Sainthill's in 1870. I have not been able to trace it earlier than the Wigan collection, which was bought en bloc by Rollin and Feuardent in 1872. It was subsequently in the Shepherd, Montagu, Murdoch, Hazlitt, and Fitch collections, and is at present (1957) in the still unsold portion of the Lockett collection.

(d) In his original description of the hoard, Hawkins mentioned (p. 21) a single halfpenny with the moneyer's name Buee. A second specimen of this turned up later, and Mr. Blunt informs me that the duchy records show it to have been disposed of to Mr. J. D. Cuff, of the Bank of England, whose collection of English coins was generally reckoned as second only to that of the British Museum. The coin appeared as no. 470 at the Cuff sale in 1854 and since that date has passed through many of the major English collections. It last appeared in the sale room in 1952, when it was no. 725 at the Ryan

sale. It is now in the possession of Messrs. Baldwin.

(e) A halfpenny of Ludig also figures as no. 471 at the Cuff sale.

see p. 124, note * of Lindsay's book.

A View of the Coinage of the Heptarchy (Cork, 1842), pl. iv, no. 100; the ownership is stated on p. 129, no. 100.

2 Both Lindsay and Sainthill were presented with Cuerdale coins by the Chancellor;

No specimen of this coin was described by Hawkins and it is not represented in the British Museum. Nor, as far as I can discover, is there any record of Cuff having received it officially. There are two possibilities regarding its provenance. One is that the coin is not from Cuerdale at all, but was found independently some time between 1840 and 1854. This seems to me unlikely, since if it had been a recent discovery the fact would probably have been noted in the Cuff catalogue. The other is that it is a stray from the hoard, and represents one of those coins whose loss so distressed Hawkins. The statement in the preface to the catalogue of the Cuff sale, that Mr. Cuff "never omitted an opportunity of procuring the best specimens that presented themselves", may perhaps have been more true than its writer supposed.

(f) The unique coin with the legend Everat me fecit was first illustrated by Lindsay in 1842, presumably from a drawing sent him by his friend Haigh, who published a description of it the same year² and whose assistance in the compilation of his book he repeatedly acknowledged. No indication was given regarding the whereabouts of the coin, but when Haigh came to work over his notes again in 1870, he declared that it was in the possession of Mr. J. Kenyon.³ The coin subsequently passed through the Wigan, Whitbourn, Rashleigh, Carlyon-Britton, and Young collections and is now in the Fitzwilliam

Museum.

Finally, there are two forgeries to be noted. One of these, struck from false dies, is copied from the "Orsnaforda" coin belonging to Assheton, as published by Hawkins in 1842, but with slight modifications of detail. Its early history is unknown to me, but it was in L. A. Lawrence's possession in 1906, when he published it as a forgery,⁴ and it is now amongst the forgeries in the British Museum (Lawrence gift, 1917). The second, of similar type, is a cast made either from the blundered "Orsnaforda" derivative in Assheton's possession or from a replica of this based on the design of it published by Hawkins.⁵ It is now (1957) in the unsold portion of the Lockett collection, and has a distinguished pedigree, being from the Murdoch, Montagu, and Maynard collections. This last sale takes us back to 1885, but we know that Assheton's coins were available to scholars in the early 1840's, and it is to be presumed that some untraced forger seized the opportunity of copying these somewhere around the middle of the century.

3. The Stamford hoard (1902)

The third find, more important for the study of Alfred's halfpennies than either of the others, was made at Stamford on 25 August

¹ Coinage of the Heptarchy, pl. iii, no. 82.

 Num. Chron. v (1843), 108.
 Haigh, Coins of Alfred the Great, p. 38, no. 72. I have failed to discover any particulars of the Kenyon collection, or when the coin was acquired by Wigan.

⁴ British Num. Journ. iii (1906-7), pl. i facing p. 281, no. 12. Lawrence is mistaken in assuming that it was based on the blundered version of this type in the British Museum. ⁵ I owe to Mr. Fred Baldwin the information that the coin is a cast.

1902. Some workmen engaged in digging a trench unearthed a small hoard of pennies and halfpennies of Alfred's reign. These were adjudged to be treasure trove, and fourteen coins, including an imitation obole of the French king Charles the Bald, were sent to the British Museum. H. A. Grueber published in the following year an entirely inadequate account of this important hoard. He estimated the coins which were missing at six or seven pennies and three or four halfpennies. The account of these given to the police was that they had been "lost" by their holder on his journey to London from Stamford, and Grueber said plainly that he believed them to have been "lost" in such a manner as would make their ultimate recovery possible by the "loser".

It was unfortunate that the find occurred at the precise moment that it did. A number of distinguished collectors and numismatists were at odds with the staff of the British Museum Coin Room and the management of the Numismatic Chronicle, and the movement was already under way which was to lead to their secession from the Numismatic Society and the foundation of the British Numismatic Society in 1903. One of the points at issue was the treatment of treasure trove by the Museum authorities. Grueber had stated what he believed to be the law, both in theory and practice, in an article in the Chronicle; Major P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, the first president of the British Numismatic Society, seized the occasion of his Presidential Address in 1904 to make a rejoinder.3 The rewards paid to finders were entirely inadequate, and the authorities had only themselves to thank if hoards failed to reach the Treasury intact. Andrew, writing of the Stamford coins, had the effrontery to twit Grueber publicly and in print on seeming "to attach an exaggerated importance to the fact that the Museum did not get all the hoard".

Grueber was perfectly correct in his conjecture that the "lost" Stamford coins would in due course be recovered, but he was hopelessly astray in his estimate of their number and importance. For ten years no coins—or at least no halfpennies—that can be ascribed to the Stamford hoard appeared on the market. In the decade 1913–23 no fewer than 30 "halfpennies" of Alfred changed hands at public auctions or appeared in dealers' lists. Nine of them were coins already known in the nineteenth century; the remaining 21 were completely new, and no provenance was for the moment assigned to them. A number were of types found at Stamford for the first time; all were much alike in external appearance; and their Stamford origin cannot be doubted. By the thirties all reticence was thrown aside, and when they appeared in the sale-room their Stamford origin was freely admitted. Almost without exception they are known to have passed

[&]quot; "A find of coins of Alfred the Great at Stamford", Num. Chron.4, iii (1903), 347-55. It was the subject of contemptuous comment by W. J. Andrew in Brit. Num. Journ. i (1904), 367-71.

<sup>(1904), 367-71.

2 &</sup>quot;Treasure trove, its ancient and modern laws", Num. Chron.4, ii (1902), 148-75.

3 "Treasure trove, the Treasury and the Trustees of the British Museum", Brit. Num. Journ. i (1904), 333-48.

through the hands of Major Carlyon-Britton—13 were included in his three sales of 1913, 1916, and 1918—and it seems to me probable that at some time or other, and apparently as early as 1904, he had acquired the "lost" portion of the Stamford hoard and that those not included in his sales were disposed of privately. Certainly two of the "Stamford" halfpennies which, when they first appeared in the *Numismatic Circular* in 1919 and 1920, had no provenance attached to them, were described as "ex Carlyon-Britton" when they reappeared in 1927.2

III

So much, then, for the finds of Alfred's "halfpennies". Our material evidence regarding the denomination of the coins consists of 50 specimens, the weights of 49 of which are known. This evidence is set out in summary form in Tables I-II. The grouping under provenances has been preserved, since it is relevant to the discussion that follows, and the types are described according to the classification of the B.M.C., slightly refined and modified. This may be summarized as follows:3

Type VI. Bust; London monogram.

(a) Correct and full legend. (b) Short blundered legend. (c) Similar, but bust 1.

Type XIV. Small cross; moneyer's name in field.4

— As XIV, but moneyer's name divided by alpha-omega.

— As XIV, but moneyer's name divided by "Lincoln" monogram.

Type XVII ("Canterbury"). As XIV, but DORO in obverse legend.

Type XVIII-XIX ("Orsnaforda"). 3-line legend on obverse; 2 lines on reverse,

separated by pellets, crosses, or long cross.
- "Everat me fecit" (variety of type XIX).

The three coins nos. 1-4 need not detain us long. No. 1, obviously an imitation, weighs 10 gr., and the three "Erith" coins, which are assignable to Alfred and the mint of London, weigh 8.0+, 11.0, and 9.4 gr. respectively. All are halfpennies; they are too heavy to be anything else. What of the others?

¹ The Bruun collection, now in the Royal Cabinet at Copenhagen, contains a coin of Halfdan of the moneyer Tilwine which on grounds of general appearance and fabric can be attributed to the Stamford hoard (L. E. Bruuns Mønt- og Medaillesamling. Part II. Mønter fra Northumberland, Østangel og Irland (Copenhagen, 1928), no. 116). This coin was acquired by Bruun at the first Carlyon-Britton sale, lot 245. As part of a plate of coins, under the innocuous title "Types of coins found at Cuerdale", it had been used to illustrate a paper of W. J. Andrew in the first volume of the Brit. Num. Journ. (pl. ii, no. 49). ² Mr. Blunt has since informed me, on the authority of Major Carlyon-Britton's son,

that a fourth portion of the Carlyon-Britton collection was in fact sold privately to Messrs. Spink.

³ B.M.C. type XXIII ("Bath") can be suppressed. Brooke pointed out that B.M.C. I really belongs to type XIV. He read the moneyer's name as Eillath (?), but this is to look at it upside down; the correct reading is CVD-EIT, i.e. CVDBERHT blundered.

⁴ This is Brooke's "Guthrum" class, so called because it at normally used by

Guthrum and Brooke believed that he originated it. This seems to me very doubtful, 50 I prefer to avoid what would otherwise be a very convenient term.

The evidence of the Stamford hoard must be considered first. It is earlier in date than Cuerdale, and since it contains no coins of the "Orsnaforda" or "Canterbury" types, it must have been buried

TABLE I

		IADLE		
No.	Туре	Wt. (grains)	Locality	Reference
I	UNKNOWN PROVENANCE Type VI (b) "ERITH" (?), c. 1840	10.0	RCL	Rashleigh 223
2 3 4	Type VI (a) (1) Unbroken legend (2) Leg. broken by cross (3) " CUERDALE, 1840	8·o+ 11·o 9·4	BM BM RCL	B.M.C. 111 B.M.A. 449 Murdoch 78
5	Type VI (a). Good style (1) Leg. broken by cross — (b). Blundered	7.0	Clitheroe	N.C. 1870, pl. iii. 12
6	(I)	10.7	BM	B.M.C. 112
77 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 14 bis 15 16	Type XIV Cuthbert (I) (2) (3) Same (4) (5) (6) Birnwald (?) Eadwald (I) Eadwald (I) Eadwald (I) Udies (y) Ludig Wynberht Type XVII	9·5 7·4 10·0 8·4 8·5 8·0 10·0 7·7 7·5 7·7 ? 8·6	BM BM (Spink) (Baldwin) BM RCL BM BM Clitheroe BM Dresser BM	B.M.C. 435 B.M.C. 436 R.C.L. 495 Grantley 1026 B.M.C. 1 Hazlitt 1034 B.M.C. 434 B.M.C. 438 B.M.C. 439 Ryan 729 B.M.C. 440
18 19 20 21 22	Brunheard(?), blundered "Buee (I) Same dies "(2) Edculf Type XVIII-XIX	9.0 8.6 8.2 8.6 8.3	BM BM BM (Baldwin) BM	B.M.C. 75 B.M.C. 76 B.M.C. 77 Ryan 725 B.M.C. 78
23 24 25	(1) Bernwald (2) Bernwald, blundered (3) " — Everat me fecit	11·0 9·7 8·0	Clitheroe BM Clitheroe	N.C. 1843, p. 102 B.M.C. 153 N.C. 1843, p. 102
26	(I)	9.4	FW	C.B. 358

Forgeries exist of no. 23 (B.M. forgeries; see B.N.J. iii, pl. facing p. 281, no. 12) and no. 24 (Lockett, ex Murdoch 92, &c.).

BM = British Museum (Catalogue or Acquisitions); CB = Carlyon-Britton sales; FW = Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; RCL = R. C. Lockett (unsold portion of the collection where no number follows).

some years at least before the end of Alfred's reign. Its testimony regarding denominations seems to me quite clear. The majority of the coins weigh between 7 and 8 gr., averaging about 7.5 gr. They cannot possibly be regarded as halves of a penny that weighed round about 22 gr., but must be thirds. Some of the coins are contemporary

imitations with blundered legends, produced for the most part in that part of Mercia which was at that date subject to Guthrum and other Danish rulers. But a large group, notably those of the moneyer Tilwine, are unquestionably the product of an official mint, and show that the third-penny was a subdivision regularly issued under Alfred's rule.

TABLE II

No.	Туре	Wt. (grains)	Locality	Reference
	STAMFORD, 1902			
27 28 29 30	Type VI (b) (1) (2) (3) Type VI (c)	6·5+ 5·8+ 7·1+ 5·9	BM BM (Baldwin) BM	C.B. 351; R.C.L. 507 Barnett (1935) C.B. 1654; Ryan 716 C.B. 934; R.C.L. 508
31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43	Type XIV Tilwine (1) ,, (2) ,, (3) ,, (4) Ricof ("Leicester") Rafing INLCE IOID-URH EDH-IRHL (? Cudberht) EDI-HRL (? Cudberht) CDII-HCP Tidhea (?) PER-IRNL Type —. Tilwine, alpha-		BM FW Blunt RCL Blunt FW BM (Lockett) (Baldwin) Blunt RCL RCL BM	B.M.A. 489 (1902) C.B. 355 C.B. 944; Drabble 843 Circ. 1916, no. 39381, &c. C.B. 353; Drabble 391 C.B. 356 B.M.A. 490 (1902) C.B. 1655 C.B. 1656; R.C.L. 496 C.B. 1657; Drabble 390 Circ. 1919, no. 74709, &c. Circ. 1920, no. 77825, &c. C.B. 943; Barnett 1935
44 45 46 47 48 49	omega (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) Type —. Erfer, "Lincoln" monogram	7·7 6·8 7·6 7·7 7·0+ 7·4	BM BM FW BM Ashmolean Hill	B.M.A. 491 (1902) B.M.A. 492 (1902) C.B. 354 Bruun 71 R.C.L. 512 C.B. 352; R.C.L. 502

The hoard also reveals, however, a tendency to strike a class of coin somewhat higher in weight, for two, one of them an imitation, attain weights of over 8 gr. Here we must see the influence of the Viking coinage, and the "halfpennies" of the Cuerdale hoard must be taken into account. Here all but three of the coins are 8 gr. or over, four of them being 10–11 gr., and must be regarded as halfpennies. They are almost without exception blundered—the chief moneyer is Cuthbert instead of Tilwine, but all except one of his coins must be regarded as imitations—and the lighter Alfredian coin is almost completely absent. The predominance of the halfpenny over the third-penny can also be ascribed to Viking influence. Halfpence of the "Cunnetti", "Siefrid", "St. Edmund memorial" and related coinages, weighing 8·5–9·5 g., occurred in considerable numbers in the

Cuerdale hoard and prove that in Northumbria and East Anglia, and presumably in the area of the Danelaw between them, it was found a convenient unit of currency and struck in considerable quantity.

On the other hand, I am reluctant to accept the argument that it was the Vikings who invented—or at least first struck—the halfpenny in this country.2 This claim is based on the existence of a halfpenny (9.1 gr.: much worn) bearing the names of Alfdene R(e)x and the moneyer Rainoald³ and another in Alfdene's name and that of Tilwine (9.4 gr.). Since Halfdan, son of Ragnar Lodbrok, was expelled from Northumbria in 877, it is assumed that the coin is to be attributed to him and to have been struck before this year; some scholars have thought it goes back to his occupation of London in 872.5 I find it impossible to date the coin as early as this. Halfdan was a common Danish name, and there are no good reasons for assuming that the Alfdene of the coins is identical with the king who was expelled from Northumbria in 877. There must have been many local coinages in the 880's and 890's in the great area of Danish Mercia which lay east of Watling Street. Moneyers working for individual military chieftains, for the armies encamped at such places as Leicester or Stamford or Nottingham, would have been free to pick their designs as they pleased and to coin in their own name—Everat me fecit—or in their employer's according to the directions they received. It is dangerous to rely too heavily on the testimony of a single hoard. The Delgany find does not prove that the coinage of Co. Wicklow in the early ninth century consisted of Kentish pennies, and despite the fact that the smallest denominations are those least likely to circulate far from their place of origin we cannot be certain that the coins found at Stamford do in fact represent the ordinary coinage of Danish Mercia. Nevertheless I am inclined to attribute to this area and date the imitative coins which formed part of the Stamford hoard, and to include amongst them the Halfdan coins now in the British Museum and at Copenhagen. Guthrum's coinage was also, I believe, imitated

The weights of the B.M. specimens within these limits are 8.5 (5 spec.), 8.6 (1), 8.8 (5), *9 (1), 9.0 (6), 9.1 (1), 9.2 (1), 9.3 (2), 9.4 (1). Below it are 1 of 7.8 gr. and 2 each of 7.9 gr. and 8.0 gr.; above it are 2 of 8.6 gr., 2 of 8.8 gr., 1 of 11.0 gr., and 1 of 12.5 gr. The weight of the pennies is usually 18-22 gr.

2 Cf. Brooke, op. cit., p. 46: "The type [B.M.C. type XIV] is copied from the Viking coinages, and from the same source the round halfpenny is now introduced." See further

below, p. 32, n. 4.

³ B.M.C. i, p. 203, no. 869. It is from Cuerdale. W. J. Andrew (in Brit. Num. Journ. i. 19-26) argued that the Halfdan in question was a later king who was killed in 911, but this view, though reinforced by a number of highly ingenious conjectures on the nature and date of the Cuerdale hoard, has not found supporters and is certainly incorrect.

4 See above, p. 486, n. 1. B.M.C. 437 of Alfred, which is from Cuerdale, appears to me to

be a blundered coin of Halfdan (9.0 gr.).

5 This is the implication of B.M.C. i, p. 203, note *, and it is definitely asserted by Brooke, p. 34: "The halfpennies of Halfdene are closely allied in style to the pennies of Guthrum-Æthelstan and Alfred; on one of them is the name of the moneyer Tilwine who struck pennies for Alfred with the London monogram. The whole of Halfdene's coinage may therefore be ascribed to the London mint and was issued within the years 872-5; his halfpennies are the earliest in the coinage of England, and his use of the London monogram precedes its use on coins bearing the name of Alfred."

from that of Alfred, and not vice versa. But on the chronology of Alfred's issues we must await publication of their paper by Mr. Blunt and Mr. Dolley.

It is pertinent, finally, to inquire whether the third-penny ended with Alfred's reign. I do not think it did. "Halfpennies" of Edward the Elder (899–925) weigh between 8 and 9.5 gr., and since his pennies weigh between 24 and 28 gr. they can reasonably be regarded as thirds. No fractions of the penny are known for Athelstan, and the only one of Eadmund (940–6) is a unique piece in the British Museum weighing 9.1 gr.2 Since his pennies are usually 20-24 gr., it is difficult here to decide whether we have a light halfpenny or a heavy thirdpenny; I suspect the former. There were two fractions of pennies of Eadred (946-55) in the Chester hoard,3 one a "halfpenny" of 8.6 gr. and the other a "halfpenny" cut as a farthing of 3.8 gr.; if these were really halfpennies, the corresponding pennies would be 17.4 gr. and 15.2 gr. respectively, and since his pennies in fact weigh between 19 and 24 gr., it seems to me that we may still be dealing with thirds. The only known "halfpenny" of Eadwig (955-9), also from the Chester hoard, weighs 9.7 gr.,4 and is surely a full halfpenny, since his pennies weigh from 18 to 24 gr. Finally, under Eadgar (959-75) we have clear evidence of the two denominations. Both are represented in the Chester hoard, and are of quite different types. One, of thin flat fabric corresponding to his pennies, weighs 7 g., and is a third-penny of a unit which weighs 19-23 g. The other piece weighs 10-8 gr., and in design, as well as in denomination, must be regarded as a conscious revival of the halfpenny of Alfred.5

With that the denomination of a struck halfpenny, as distinct from the cut one, vanishes from English coinage for a century and a half, only to be again revived, and that temporarily, under Henry I. Two reasons can be suggested to account for the disappearance of these fractional coins. One is the difficulty that there would be of distinguishing between halves and thirds at a time when the weight of the penny was being altered substantially from issue to issue; under such circumstances it would be impossible to keep the fractions separate. The other is the greater cost of making the fractions as separate coins. The striking of f in halfpennies would involve twice as much labour as the striking of the same sum in pennies, or indeed rather more, for the lighter coins would be more awkward to handle and slower to work, so that the profits of the moneyer would be proportionately reduced. It was cheaper and less trouble to strike pennies and cut them into halfpennies and farthings, even if the cut coins were the

¹ B.M.C. ii, p. 94, no. 71 (9.3 gr.); Ashmolean (8 gr.); Ryan, lot 736 (9 gr.).

² B.M.A. 545. ³ C. E. Blunt and R. H. M. Dolley, "The Chester (1950) hoard", Brit. Num. Journ. xxvii (1952-4), p. 149, nos. 260, 261; cf. also p. 130. The only other published specimen of a "halfpenny" of Eadred is Carlyon-Britton (I) 426, weighing 8.7 gr., but Mr. Blunt informs me that Messrs. Baldwin have another specimen (wt. 8.9 gr.). There was also a fragment in Montagu (I) 694.

⁴ Ibid., no. 374.

⁵ Ibid., nos. 514, 515; see the discussion of the last on pp. 135-6.

more easily pared and chipped in circulation. Not till the reign of Edward I was a fraction of the penny, struck as such, brought effectively into existence, and then and for the future it was to be the halfpenny and not the third-penny.

REGISTER OF COINS

Sale Catalogues and Collectors

J. G. Barnett. Collection left to the B.M. in 1935. J. B. Bergne. Sotheby 20.5.1873. Barnett

Bergne J. Brumell. Sotheby 19.4.1850. Brumell L. E. Bruun. Sotheby 18.5.1925. Bruun

P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton. Three sales, all Sotheby. Carlyon-Britton (I) 17.11.1913. (II) 20.11.1916. (III) 11.11.1918. Part of the collection was also disposed of privately to Messrs. Spink.

C. M. Crompton-Roberts. Collection now dispersed. Crompton-Roberts

J. D. Cuff. Sotheby 8.6.1854. Cuff

G. C. Drabble. Part I. Glendining 4.7.1939. Drabble (I)

O. Fitch. Collection bought by Messrs. Spink, c. 1913. Fitch

Lord Grantley. Part III. Glendining 22.3.1944. W. C. Hazlitt. Sotheby 5.7.1909. Grantley (III)

Hazlitt

Lewin Sheppard See Sheppard.

R. C. Lockett. Part I. Glendining 6.6.1955. ("Lockett', not Lockett (I) followed by a number, indicates that the coin, at the time of writing, had not yet been sold.)

Marsham Hon. R. Marsham. Sotheby 19.11.1888. J. W. Martin. Sotheby 23.5.1859. Martin Maynard

J. Maynard. Sotheby 10.8.1885. H. Montagu. English Coins, Part I. Sotheby 18.11.1895. Montagu (I) Murchison R. M. Murchison. Ancient British and Anglo-Saxon series. Sotheby

28.5.1866. Murdoch (I) J. G. Murdoch. English Coins, Part I. Sotheby 31.3.1903.

Rashleigh

E. W. Rashleigh. Sotheby 21.6.1909. V. J. E. Ryan. Part II. Glendining 22.1.1922. Ryan

Shepherd E. J. Shepherd. Sotheby 22.7.1885. Sheppard J. Lewin Sheppard. Sotheby 14.1.1861.

T. Thomas. English Series. Sotheby 23.2.1844. Thomas

C. A. Watters. Glendining 21.5.1917. R. Whitbourn. Sotheby 2.2.1869. Watters Whitbourn

E. Wigan. Collection bought by Messrs. Rollin and Feuardent, 1872. Wigan A. W. Young. Collection left to the Fitzwilliam Museum in 1935. Young

Circ. = Spink's Numismatic Circular.

Lockett (1957), ex Watters 53, ex Rashleigh 223, ex Sheppard 104. I. 10.0 gr. Found before 1821.

2. 8.0 gr. (chipped). B.M.C. III, ex Brumell 39. Found in the Thames.

11.0 gr. (chipped). B.M.A. 449, ex Sir John Evans (1915), ex Wigan, ex Thomas 3. 245. Found in the Thames.

Lockett (1957), from Spink (Circ. 1906, no. 24369), ex Murdoch (I) 78, 4. 9.4 gr. ex Montagu (I) 529. Found in the Thames at Erith.

5. 6. Lord Clitheroe, from Cuerdale. Illus. N.C. 1870, pl. iii. 12. 7.0 gr.

10.7 gr. B.M.C. 112, from Cuerdale. B.M.C. 435, from Cuerdale. 9.5 gr. 7.4 gr. B.M.C. 436, from Cuerdale.

Spink (1957), ex Lockett (I) 495, ex Watters 52, ex Rashleigh 232, Ioo gr. ex Bergne 171, ex Murchison 213, ex Martin 18, from Cuerdale.

492		Halfpennies and Third-pennies of King Alfred
IO.	8·4 gr.	(worn). Baldwin (1957), ex Grantley (III) 1026, ex L. A. Lawrence
II.	8∙o gr.	(privately, not in a sale) from Cuerdale. Lockett (1957), from Spink (<i>Circ</i> . 1918, no. 67294 = 1921, no. 90908 = 1922, no. 11980 = 1923, no. 25274 = 1926, no. 51121 = 1927, no. 67028 = 1928, no. 72232 = 1928, no. 80243 = 1020
		no. 88149), ex Fitch, ex Hazlitt 1034, ex Murdoch (I) 594, ex Montagu (I) 570, ex Shepherd 79, ex Wigan, from Cuerdale.
12.	8.5 gr.	
13. 14.	10·0 gr. 7·7 gr.	
	7 / Sr. 5. 7.5 gr.	
15.	7.0 gr.	B.M.C. 439, from Cuerdale.
16.	3	J. L. Dresser, ex Ryan (II) 729, from Spink (Circ. 1920, no. 81347),
		ex Crompton-Roberts, ex Montagu (I) 569, ex Marsham 154,
17.	8·6 gr.	ex Wigan, ex Cuff 471, from Cuerdale (?). B.M.C. 440, from Cuerdale.
18.	9.0 gr.	
19.	8∙6 gr.	B.M.C. 76, from Cuerdale.
20.	8∙2 gr.	
21.	8∙6 gr.	Baldwin (1957), ex Ryan (II) 725, ex Grantley (III) 1025, ex
		Murdoch (I) 93, ex Montagu (I) 516, ex Shepherd 76, ex Murchison 215, ex Cuff 470, from Cuerdale.
22.	8·3 gr.	
23.	II.o gr.	Lord Clitheroe, from Cuerdale. Illus. N.C. 1870, pl. vi. 3.
23 a.	11.8 gr.	
24	0.7 07	forgery in B.N.J. 1906, plate (I) facing p. 281, no. 12. B.M.C. 153, from Cuerdale.
24. 25.	9·7 gr. 8·0 gr.	
25 a.	?	Forgery of no. 25. Lockett (1957), from Spink (Circ. 1906, no. 24370), ex Murdoch (I) 92, ex Montagu (I) 543, ex Maynard 5, allegedly from Cuerdale.
26.	9·4 gr.	
27.	6∙5 gr.	(chipped). B.M., ex Lockett (I) 507, ex Carlyon-Britton (I) 351, ex Stamford.
28.	5∙8 gr.	(chipped). B.M., ex Barnett (1935), from Spink (<i>Circ.</i> 1919, no. 76236 = 1921, no. 90906 = 1923, no. 25272 = 1925, no. 38449 = 1926,
29.	7•1 gr.	no. 54068), ex Carlyon-Britton (?), from Stamford. (chipped). Baldwin (1957), ex Ryan (I) 716, ex Drabble (I) 392, from
		Spink (<i>Circ.</i> 1919, no. 70761 = 1921, no. 90907), ex Carlyon-Britton (III) 1654, from Stamford.
30.	5•9 gr.	
31.	8∙5 gr.	B.M.A. 489, from Stamford.
32.	7.3 gr.	Fitzwilliam Museum, ex A. W. Young (1935), ex Carlyon-Britton
22	7.0 cr	(I) 355, from Stamford. C. E. Blunt, ex Drabble (I) 843, ex Carlyon-Britton (II) 944, from
33.	7·2 gr.	Stamford.
34.	7·2 gr.	Lockett (1957), from Spink (<i>Circ.</i> 1916, no. $39381 = 1920$, no. $77826 = 1924$, no. $27257 = 1926$, no. $54069 = 1927$, no. 67029
		= 1928, no. 83276 = 1930, no. 94061), ex Carlyon-Britton (?), from Stamford. (It is possible that some of the <i>Circ</i> . references
35.	7.6 gr.	given here refer really to no. 33.) C. E. Blunt, ex Drabble (I) 391, from Spink (Circ. 1914, no. 24538
JJ.	/ 0 81.	= 1919, no. 76237 = 1921, no. 90905 = 1922, no. 11977 = 1923, no. 25273 = 1926, no. 51122 = 1928, no. 76233), from Carlyon-
		Britton (?), from Stamford.

Fitzwilliam Museum, ex A. W. Young (1935), ex Carlyon-Britton 6.2 gr. 36. (I) 356, from Stamford.

B.M.A. 490, from Stamford. 8.9 gr.

40.

37· 38. Lockett (1957), ex Carlyon-Britton (III) 1655, from Stamford. 6.7 gr. Baldwin (1957), ex Lockett (I) 496, ex Drabble (I) 390, ex Carlyon-7.7 gr. 29.

Britton (III) 1656, from Stamford. 7.0 gr. (chipped). C. E. Blunt, ex Drabble (I) 390, ex Carlyon-Britton (III)

1657, from Stamford.

Lockett (1957), from Spink (*Circ.* 1919, no. 74709 = 1922, no. 11987 = 1927, no. 67031), ex Carlyon-Britton, from Stamford. 6.6 gr. 4I.

Lockett (1957), from Spink (Circ. 1920, no. 77825 = 1922, no. 8.0 gr. 42. 11979 = 1925, no. 38450 = 1927, no. 67031 = 1928, no. 83277), ex Carlyon-Britton, from Stamford.

B.M., ex Barnett (1935), ex Carlyon-Britton (II) 943, from Stamford. 7.6 gr.

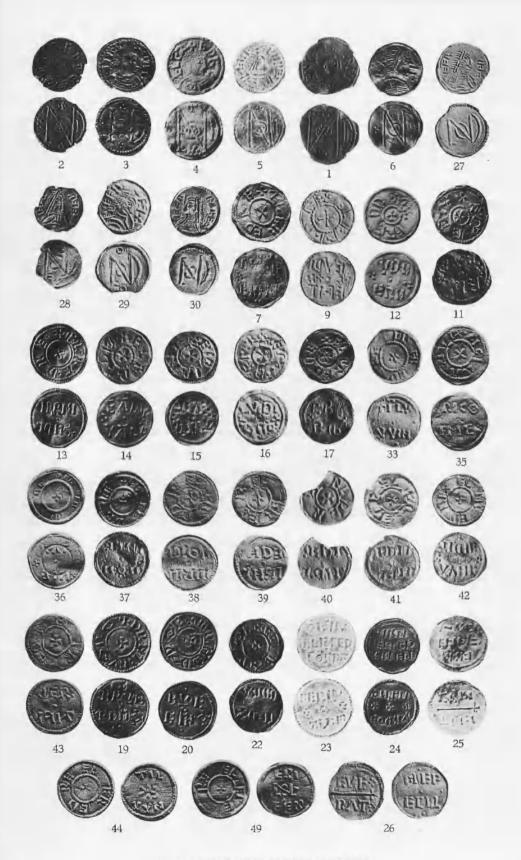
43. B.M.A. 491, from Stamford. 7.7 gr. 44.

6.8 gr. (chipped). B.M.A. 492, from Stamford.

45. 46. Fitzwilliam Museum, ex A. W. Young (1935), ex Carlyon-Britton 7.6 gr. (I) 354, from Stamford.

B.M., ex Barnett (1935), ex Bruun 71 . . . from Stamford. 7.7 gr.

47· 48. 7.0 gr. (chipped). Ashmolean Museum, ex Lockett (I) 512 . . . from Stamford. 7.4 gr. J. W. F. Hill, ex Lockett (I) 502, from Spink (*Circ.* 1914, no. 24539), 49. ex Carlyon-Britton (I) 352, from Stamford.



HALF AND ONE THIRD PENNIES OF ALFRED

THE TENTH-CENTURY MINT "ÆT WEARDBYRIG"

By f. elmore jones and c. e. blunt

In the Skye hoard of 1891 was found a penny of Athelstan, B.M.C. V, reading

+:/EÐELSTANREXBRITÆ:

+BYRHTELMMOTPEARDBV. [Pl. XXXVII. 1]

This mint was hitherto unknown and, in recording the hoard, A. B. Richardson confidently attributed it to Wardborough, Oxon., and added: "The discovery of this coin in the hoard is most interesting, as its identification was rendered certain by the occurrence also of coins of Oxford."1

Grueber and Keary, writing two years later in the second volume of the British Museum Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins, support the attribution and regard it as "beyond question" and for the same reason.2

In the same year John Evans (who seems to have been writing independently of Grueber and Keary as neither makes reference to the other) published an article on this coin in the Numismatic Chronicle in which he reviews in some detail the various possible attributions and concludes: "So far, however, as the coin from Skye is concerned, there can be no doubt that it was coined at Weardbyrig, while the identification of this place with Wardborough, or Warborough, in Oxfordshire, if not beyond all cavil, may still be regarded as founded on reasonably safe grounds, especially as coins struck at Oxford occurred in the same Find."3 Evans's article should be consulted for details of his arguments and, in particular, for his review of the charter and other contemporary evidence.

All the foregoing writers agree in identifying the mint in question as being at the burgh which Æthelflæd is recorded to have built in 915 at Weardburh⁴ and all regard this as Warborough (or Wardborough) in Oxfordshire. Æthelflæd built three burghs that winter, one at Chirbury in Shropshire near the Welsh border, one at Runcom in Cheshire on the Mersey, and one at Weardburh, the identification of which is still regarded by modern historical scholars as being in doubt. From this it seems clear that the suggestion, made on numismatic grounds, that the Weardburh of the Chronicle is to be identified with Warborough, Oxon., has not found favour with the historian. It may, therefore, be timely to review afresh the numismatic evidence,

particularly as additions can now be made to it.

In the Taffs sale (1956, lot 73) was a penny of Athelstan, B.M.C. V,

¹ P.S.A.S. vol. xxvi, pp. 225-40.

<sup>Op. cit., pp. cxix-cxx.
Num. Chron. 1893, pp. 220-27.
A.S.C., Mercian Register, sub anno 918 (corrected date 915).</sup>

by the moneyer Burhtelm that was tentatively attributed to Shaftesbury. This coin reads

+EDEL *. *Z:TAIIRE+BR

+BYRHTELIIIOTFEARI: [P1. XXXVII. 2]

It was exhibited by Mr. Taffs at meetings of the Society on 26 October 1932 and 24 January 1951. On the former occasion it was the subject of a note by W. J. Andrew who attributed it to the mint of Derby; on the latter occasion it was illustrated.² This may be the coin referred to in the Dymock manuscript (in the possession of Mr. J. D. A. Thompson), which gives Cuff as his source. It is not, however, identifiable in the Cuff sale (1854). Dymock gives the reading BYRNTEL MOTIEAR.

In the Chester (1950) hoard, a coin of Edgar, B.M.C. III, was found which is unquestionably from the same mint. The reading is

+EADGARREXANGLORVM

+ÆDELFEDMOPROBREICF.T. [P1. XXXVII. 3]

In the *British Museum Catalogue* a coin of Edgar of the same type (no. 6, p. 169), by the moneyer Ælfstan, is attributed to Derby. The reading is

+EADGAR REX ANGLO

+ÆLFSTAN MTOVRDBY [PI. XXXVII. 4]

and the British Museum acquired it in 1843 in the collection of George Petrie, a distinguished Irish archaeologist, many of whose coins of this period are believed to have come from Irish finds. In an appendix to the list of provenances of the Anglo-Saxon coins in the two volumes of the catalogue, Mr. Dolley and Mrs. Martin (then Mrs. Strudwick) accepted the reattribution of this coin from Derby to Wardborough.³

Three other coins may be relevant. One is an Athelstan penny,

B.M.C. Vc, reading as follows:

+ÆDELZTAN REX TOIBR

+MOUĐIGUMOUVERI [P1. XXXVII. 5]

B.M.C. 85, there attributed to Warwick but by Brooke⁴ to Wareham. The second is a penny of Athelstan in the Rome (Forum) hoard, the identification of which was left open in the reports made by De Rossi and Keary.⁵ It is of B.M.C. V and reads as follows:

+ÆÐELSTANREX TO BR

+MON - - ENMOINVR [P1. XXXVII. 6]

De Rossi has read the two missing letters as FA. But from the photo-

¹ Brit. Num. Journ., vol. xxi, pp. 194-6.

⁴ English Coins, p. 60.

² Brit. Num. Journ., vol. xxvi, plate facing p. 346, 4. It is now in Mr. Elmore Jones's collection.

³ Brit. Num. Journ, vol. xxviii, p. 57.

⁵ Num. Chron. 1884, p. 247, no. 276.

graph of the coin the reading seems doubtful. The third is a hitherto unpublished penny of Edwig, B.M.C. II, reading

+EADVVIE REX. and on the reverse (in three lines)

 $+M\Lambda NN/MONE/+W+E+$ [PI. XXXVII. 7]

There can be no doubt that the coins from Skye and Chester [PI. XXXVII. 1 and 3 respectively] are from the same mint. The attribution to Weardburh of the coin from the Taffs sale is, in our view, amply justified. The moneyer is the same as on the Skye coin, the style similar, and the king on both coins has the very unusual title Rex Britanniae.

About the Edgar coin (B.M.C. 6) [PI. XXXVII. 4], referred to above, a little doubt may be felt to remain, but now that it can be demonstrated that the mint of Weardburh was active in Edgar's reign it is a question of considering whether that mint or Derby is the more likely. Brooke accepted the Derby attribution (as he could hardly fail to do in the absence of the coin since found at Chester), and appears to have read the inscription VR[BS]D[EORA]BY,I This is not a happy reading and, if correct, would be the only one we have seen in which *Urbs* is associated with the mint name of Derby on coins at this time. The alternative, if the Derby attribution is to be accepted, is to regard the legend as one in which the letters are confused, a not unusual feature of Derby coins at this period. A rearrangement would give DVRBY. But this would still be unsatisfactory; such a spelling is never found on Derby coins. Acceptance of the alternative attribution, namely to Weardburh, presents no difficulties and in the light of the coin from the Chester hoard is, in our view, preferable to the somewhat strained attribution to Derby.

The two Monthegn coins of Athelstan [P1. XXXVII. 5 and 6] and the WE coin of Edwig [P1. XXXVII. 7] are mentioned here, in order to consider whether any of them is to be associated with Weardburh.

Monthegn is also known as a moneyer of Athelstan for the curious type B.M.C. III which has a flower design above and below the moneyer's name, somewhat reminiscent of the flower types of Edward the Elder. He is also known as a moneyer of Edmund of B.M.C. I, the variety that has a rosette of pellets above and below the moneyer's name. Neither of these coins has a mint name. The type of the first coin and the use of rosettes on the second both point to a Mercian origin, possibly north-west Mercia, and we feel that Brooke's reattribution to Wareham cannot be sustained.

The coins of Edwig's type B.M.C. II divide themselves into two groups. On the one no mint name appears but the letters in the middle line of the reverse legend effectively continue the word Moneta, which begins on the bottom line. These have rosettes above and below the reverse legend and, as has been pointed out in the report on the Chester (1950) hoard, may be attributed to north-western mints² and

¹ English Coins, p. 62.

² Brit. Num. Journ., vol. xxvii, pp. 131-3.

the tentative selection of Chester may now be said to have found

general acceptance.

The second group bears in the middle line the name of a mint and has a trefoil of pellets above and below the reverse legend. The following mints can be recognized with reasonable certainty in this second class: Bath, Bedford, Hertford, Oxford, and Winchester. Huntingdon is probably to be read on B.M.C. 12; the same moneyer struck a coin of Edgar, B.M.C. V with the mint name VN; Newark is possible for the coins that read NIPE or NEPE by the moneyers Cilm and Clac; a number of coins of the Hampton mint still await definite allocation between Southampton and Northampton; there is a mysterious coin by the moneyer Elfred from a mint that reads IIIDI and finally the coin of Mann from the mint WE.2

From this it appears that the north-western group is to be identified by the use of the rosette of pellets on the reverse and that the type, modified by the use of the trefoil in place of the rosette of pellets, was issued in Wessex and in the central and southern part of Mercia, extending to Bedford and possibly Huntingdon. The mint WE, the coin of which has the trefoil of pellets, should, therefore, be looked for

within that area.

It remains to be seen whether the numismatic evidence can provide any clue as to the area in which Weardburh might be sought and, in the light of that, whether any of the three coins of doubtful origin

are likely to have come from that mint.

Athelstan's type, B.M.C. V, with a small cross in the centre on either side, was struck over a wide area with generally little in the style to enable district allocations to be made on this basis alone. The name Burhtelm, the moneyer of the Weardburh coin, is only found elsewhere in this reign on coins of Langport and Shrewsbury. Another clue may lie in the curious title Rex Britanniae to which reference has been made. We have seen this title used in Athelstan's reign at

Gloucester, Hereford, and Stafford only.3

The undoubted Weardburh coin of Edgar, from the Chester hoard, has a moneyer Æthelfeth. This name (spelt Æthelferth) is found on a London coin of Edgar of B.M.C. V and on an Ilchester coin of B.M.C. VI.4 The type of the Weardburh coin, B.M.C. III, is again one that is found widely spread over the country. Differences in style are, however, found, and one can confidently rule out on these grounds the York area. Similarly one can probably rule out Chester and Derby on the grounds that the former generally have the To Brit title and the latter either To Brit or Saxoru. In the remainder of the country the title Anglorum is most usually found, although To Brit is used as an alternative at Tamworth and Wallingford and exclusively at Shrewsbury.

⁴ London, Hunter collection; Ilchester, Stockholm, Hildebrand, 10.

Lockett sale (1955) 629 ex Grantley 1094.
 The last two coins mentioned are in Mr. Blunt's collection; the former ex Grantley 1082, the latter without pedigree.

³ Gloucester, B.M.C. 20; Hereford, B.M.A. 517; Stafford, Bagnall collection.

The second coin of Edgar which we attribute to Weardburh is by the moneyer Ælfstan. A moneyer of this name struck B.M.C. II and VI in this reign at Chester and B.M.C. VI at Bedford and Exeter. It will be noted that Ælfstan is not known as a Derby moneyer unless indeed the coin that we attribute to Weardburh is of that mint.

Much of the evidence thus produced is either inconclusive or negative. The two most important points, in our view, are the use by Athelstan of a title that he only uses elsewhere on coins of Gloucester, Hereford, and Stafford, and the occurrence of the moneyer Berhtelm at Shrewsbury. Taken together these might be held to justify a very tentative attribution of the Weardburh coins to the west Midlands, possibly to the country that marched with Wales.

The location of the mint in that area would not entirely rule out the attribution to it of the Monthegn coins of Athelstan and Edmund. We feel, however, that the use of the title *To Brit*, coupled with the use of the Chester rosettes of pellets, makes such an attribution unlikely. Similarly we see no sufficient grounds to attribute to Weardburh the Edwig coin, reading WE, which could have come from one of

several other mints.

We are indebted to Mr. Stephenson of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland for kindly supplying us with a cast of the coin from the Skye hoard, to the authorities at the British Museum and the Museo Nazionale in Rome for casts and photographs of the coins in their care, to all these gentlemen for permission to describe their coins here, and to Mr. R. H. M. Dolley for help and advice on many points.

TWO ANGLO-SAXON NOTES

By R. H. M. DOLLEY

AN ENIGMATIC PENNY OF EDWARD THE MARTYR

The purpose of this note is not to claim that there was a late Saxon mint at Louth in Lincolnshire—the evidence is quite insufficient—but simply to draw attention to a broken and hitherto neglected coin from the 1914 Pemberton's Parlour hoard from Chester. The fragment in question (below) appears as no. 42 in Sir George Hill's masterly publication of the hoard, and is now in the British Museum. It is hoped that the enlarged photographs will enable the reader to judge for himself the essential accuracy of Hill's readings which were as follows:

Obv. $\dotplus [$]RE \dotplus ЛИБRev. []ЛLDN $^{-}$ ОLV $^{}$ []

The dots that appear beneath the initial cross on the obverse and the second N of the reverse legend were to indicate that Hill himself considered his interpretation of the letter doubtful. As regards the initial cross there can be little doubt but that it was correctly read, but in the



case of the second N on the reverse examination of the actual coin confirms that all that can be stated with any confidence is that it is a letter which has for its first element an upright stroke. As far as the numismatic alphabet of the tenth century is concerned, the letter

could as well be a B, C, D, E, F, G, H, L, M, P, R, or P.

Although not one letter of the king's name has been preserved, Hill listed the coin under Edward the Martyr, adding a note that the identification of the king was "not certain". Recent research serves only to confirm this attribution. The "Small Cross" issue to which the coin belongs was initiated by Eadgar, most probably in the early autumn of 973. As far as the numismatist can tell the great majority of the dies were cut at one centre if not indeed by one hand, though there is in the British Museum a York coin which does give the impression of having been struck from dies prepared locally. What is significant is that there appears to be no coin of Eadgar on which the

bust even approximates to that on the fragment with which we are here concerned, and the whole weight of the evidence must be that the fragment is later, and especially when the bust can be exactly paralleled on coins of Edward the Martyr. Under this king most of the dies continued to be cut at one centre, but in the Northern Danelaw we find two local styles, one associated with York and one with Lincoln. It is to the second of these that the fragment in question belongs though in fairness it must be remarked at once that this local style does continue into the reign of Æthelræd II, albeit normally with a deliberate "difference". "First Small Cross" coins of Æthelræd are so rare that it is very hard to generalize, but broadly speaking the policy of decentralization initiated under his half-brother is carried one step farther. A third local style emerges in Kent, and in the north-east the two local styles already existing are perpetuated. In the case of the "central" school of die-cutting, the source of almost every die used at a mint south and west of Lindsey and west of the Medway, the obverse dies are invariably "differenced" by the addition of three pellets arranged in an arc before the face of the king and joined by converging stems to the traditional pellet that represents the fastening of his cloak.² In Kent, too, three pellets are used as a "difference", but here they are arranged in a trefoil and a single stroke added to form a rudimentary sceptre.3 The "York" and "Lincoln" styles also are continued, and as far as is known all coins of the former are "differenced" in the same way as those from the "central" school. On "Lincoln" style coins, on the other hand, the three pellets are not normally joined to the shoulder-brooch, and may even lie on instead of inside the inner circle.4 On a very few dies, too, the "difference" appears to have been omitted. Thus, although the probability is that the fragment under consideration is to be attributed to Edward the Martyr, there remains the outside chance that a better-preserved dieduplicate will one day be discovered and prove it to be an anomalous coin of the first issue of Æthelræd II. However this may be, the absolute bracket already established (July 975-September 979) is so narrow that few will wish to essay any greater precision, and especially when such an attempt must involve its author in the controversy concerning the dates of Edward's murder and of Æthelræd's coronation.

The real problem confronting the numismatist, however, is the mint to which the coin should be attributed. Hill suggested London, and quite rightly pointed out that there is a known London moneyer of the period with a name that fits the three letters legible upon the coin in question, the moneyer being one Æthelwold or Æthelwald who strikes coins of "Small Cross" type for Eadgar (cf. B.M.C. 38), Edward the Martyr (cf. Hild. 18), and Æthelræd (cf. Hild. 2194). Against this attribution the present writer would set the fact that he has still to see a London coin of Edward the Martyr or of Æthelræd of

¹ Cf. B.N.J., vol. xxviii, part i (1955), pp. 88–92. ² Ibid., p. 89, fig. b—for the cloak-ties cf. Stowe MS. 944, f. 6. 4 Ibid., fig. c. 3 Ibid., fig. a.

"Lincoln" style. To date the British Museum possesses coins of this style from the following mints only, Caistor, Lincoln, Stamford, Torksey, and York, and the following table sets out the position as regards coins of those mints in the National Collection:

		Edward the	e Martyr	Æthelræd II		
		"Lincoln" style	Other styles	"Lincoln" style	Other styles	
Caistor				I		
Lincoln	-	10		7		
Stamford			21	I	3	
Torksey				I		
York.			8	4	3	

Mention should also be made, however, of two pennies, one of Edward (B.M.C. 9) and one of Æthelræd (Lockett I, lot 642, now in the British Museum), which in the past have usually been given to Northampton. Of these it may fairly be remarked that their style is inconsistent with that of all other coins of "Hamtun", including a number that are indisputably of Northampton, and that the traditional interpretation demands not merely the disappearance of all trace of the monetarius copulative but also that we read $\mathcal U$ successively as $\mathcal M$, $\mathcal M$, and $\mathcal M$ to suit the case. Nevertheless this traditional attribution is not impossible, and those familiar with Stainer's plates will remember two Oxford coins which may suggest that the limits of the "Lincoln" style extended at least as far as the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Dorchester.

What the above table does seem to indicate is that the "Lincoln" style is appropriately so named, and there can be little doubt that the dies were cut at Lincoln and supplied in the main to mints in the immediate vicinity. A striking parallel is afforded in Cnut's second substantive or "Pointed Helmet" type where we find a similar local style, on a smaller scale but with a wider distribution, recognition of which has been largely instrumental in securing acceptance of Newark as a late Saxon mint. Lest it be thought that the identification of this "Lincoln" style on "Small Cross" coins of Edward the Martyr and of Æthelræd is something unduly subjective, it may be as well briefly to recapitulate the essential criteria. As regards the lettering, N is almost invariably retrograde, and M is often replaced by N. Other letters also may be retrograde: one need cite only the S of the mintsignature of the Æthelræd coin of Caistor in the 1914 Chester hoard. Perhaps the most reliable criterion, however, is the use of + for X, a feature apparently never found on dies from other centres. There is also a characteristic epigraphy, but this need not concern us here. As regards the bust, the following criteria seem absolute. The large eye lacks a pupil, and there is no 'back' to the shoulders, the curves of the drapery stopping short, as it were, in mid-air. Normally there is

¹ N.N.U.M., Nov. 1956, pp. 215-19.

no eyebrow and little or no forehead, while nose, lips, and chin approximate to a straight line and a vertical one at that. On the great majority of the coins, moreover, there is clearly discernible a small pellet on the side of the face where the engraver has not troubled to touch out on his die the mark of the 'centre-bit" which sketched in the inner and outer circles. On Æthelræd coins, too, the pellets before the bust—where they are not just omitted—are *not* joined by converging arcs to the pellet that represents the king's shoulder-brooch.

Reference to the enlarged direct photographs at the head of this note should establish that almost all of the essential criteria of the "Lincoln" style are present on the coin with which we are here concerned. In the present state of our knowledge this fragment simply does not fit at London, and there are three possibilities that the numismatist should consider very carefully. The first is that the mintsignature was wrongly engraved, say, for argument's sake, LVND for LINDcol. Such an error would be very plausible if London and Lincoln dies were being cut together—the present writer has a suspicion that a certain die of Æthelræd II (Hild. 84) with mint-signature BYDFO may be an error for LYDFO on the part of a die-engraver who had just cut a number of dies for Barnstaple¹—but the evidence is that the die with which we are concerned was cut at a centre which was not supplying London with dies. Moreover, one could much more easily understand a metropolitan London engraver cutting LVND for LIND, than a native of Lincoln who would seem never to have had occasion to cut anything but LIN(D)col. An even more serious objection to the LVND for LIND theory is that it demands that we suppose an otherwise unknown (....) ALD moneyer of Lincoln to whom this "freak" die was supplied.

The second possibility is that we are confronted with a coin of an otherwise unrecorded mint, in other words that the mint-signature LV.. is not to be reconstructed LVND. As we have seen, the third letter could be almost any consonant except S, T, and D, and it is interesting to cast around Lindsey to see whether there is any place that would meet the requirements of the coin. Louth, in Domesday LVDE and a borough, seems the obvious candidate, and it is indeed tempting to postulate yet another addition to the canon of late Saxon mints on the strength of the fragment from the Pemberton's Parlour hoard. That there should be apparently only the one coin is no real objection in the case of a subsidiary mint to the east of the Trent. Caistor seems now to be generally accepted on the evidence of two coins, while one pair of dies under Æthelræd and one pair under Cnut would appear to account for the entire production of coin at Newark in the whole of the late Saxon period.³ In the case of Torksey, too, there are only two coins that are indisputably of that borough, 4 and,

¹ Cf. Antikvariskt Arkiv 9, 1958, p. 18.

² Cf. supra, p. 500, n. 1.

³ Cf. supra, p. 501, n. 1. ⁴ Cf. N.C. 1956, pp. 293-5.

admittedly moving much farther south, we have only one or at most two coins for the abbatial mint at Peterborough for which we happen to have specific documentary evidence. Moreover, it could be argued that there are other coins that could speciously be associated with a mint at Louth. Mr. F. Elmore Jones, for example, has kindly drawn the present writer's attention to Hild. 2857 of Æthelræd II where the unique "London" coin of a prolific Lincoln moneyer has a mintsignature that in fact reads not LVND but LVD—though Mr. Elmore Iones would be the first to stress how unsatisfactory is such a line of argument in the absence of further evidence.² All that the numismatist can claim is that there are one or two pieces which could be attributed to Louth, but that in the present state of our knowledge the

evidence is quite inconclusive.

The third possibility, and in many ways the most attractive, is that the Pemberton's Parlour fragment is, as Hill supposed, a coin of London, but one of quite anomalous style. During the last two or three years a close study has been made of Æthelræd II's "Last Small Cross" type, and a pattern established of regional die-cutting centres which is by no means invalidated by a degree of overlapping,3 Was there perhaps under Edward the Martyr a comparable use of the odd "London" die at Lincoln and vice versa? Against this theory it can be argued that we possess so many Lincoln coins of "Lincoln" style and so many London coins of "London" style that one would have expected any anomalous coin to have been discovered long ago, and to have been a little less ambiguous as regards the mint-signature. It is easy, too, to think of reasons why dies might have passed from London to Lincoln and from Lincoln to London in the troubled times when Æthelræd was engaged in mortal combat with the Danish invaders. but not so easy to find a convincing explanation of the same phenomenon in the context of the comparatively undisturbed reign of Edward the Martyr. 4 If, therefore, the numismatist awaits with impatience the discovery of a new coin which will clinch an attribution to Louth, the historian will not be disappointed if the new evidence should point in quite the other direction and demand acceptance of the use, albeit on a very limited scale, of the odd "Lincoln" die at London as early as c. 978. As we have seen, at first glance the evidence does seem very strongly to favour the hypothesis of a mint at Louth, but there are in fact no less cogent arguments in support of the view that the "Lincoln" die-cutter may have been brought to London towards the end of the "Small Cross" issue. There are, for example, a number of "First Hand" coins of London and of Canterbury that have features evocative of his work in the previous issue. A typical example, a

¹ Cf. B.N.J., vol. xxvii, part iii (1954), pp. 263-5.
² The same can be said for two pennies of the Confessor by the known Lincoln moneyer Thurcytel (Hild. 555/6) which have the ambiguous mint-signatures LV and LVD.

³ Cf. supra, p. 502, n. 1, op. cit., pp. 1-47.
⁴ The emphasis, however, must be on the "comparatively", cf. the anonymous Vita Sancti Oswaldi.

recent British Museum acquisition at the Taffs sale, is illustrated here:



In particular one may draw attention to the occasional use of the retrograde letter and to the "frontless" right-facing bust so reminiscent of the "backless" left-facing bust of the coins of Caistor, Lincoln, and Torksey. In the same way, too, the transfer to London of the diecutters established at York and Lincoln might help to explain why those major mints appear to have been unable to defy what seems to have been a total ban on minting-operations in the period c. 985-91.

In the present state of the problem, however, there are so many imponderables that it would be foolish to speculate at any greater length on the implications of the Pemberton's Parlour fragment with which this note has been principally concerned. What does seem important is that the anomalies that this coin presents should be clearly recognized, and it is to be hoped that the prominence here accorded them may lead to early reconsideration of the c. 973-9 "Small Cross" issue as a whole, and in particular of the different styles associated with different regions under Edward and Æthelræd. This diversity is in such marked contrast to the amazing degree of uniformity achieved by Eadgar that one may perhaps see in the latter the imprint of the extraordinary personality of the king himself. In this case the coins may be considered new and independent witnesses to the genius of Alfred's great-grandson of whom it was to be written wistfully in a later generation that there was not "fleet so proud nor host so strong that it got itself prey in England as long as the noble king held the throne".2

THE MYSTERIOUS MINT OF "FRO"

This note is concerned with a small group of late Saxon pence on which the mint-signature is frankly enigmatic. In each case the moneyer is the same, a certain Brihtwine, and his products may be arranged in chronological sequence as follows:

¹ Hildebrand records no B. 2 coin of Lincoln, and the only coin of that type given to York is misattributed. The question is discussed at greater length in a forthcoming paper by Mr. F. Elmore Jones and the present writer.

² Cf. A.S.C., s.a. 975 (D).

CNUT (1017-35)

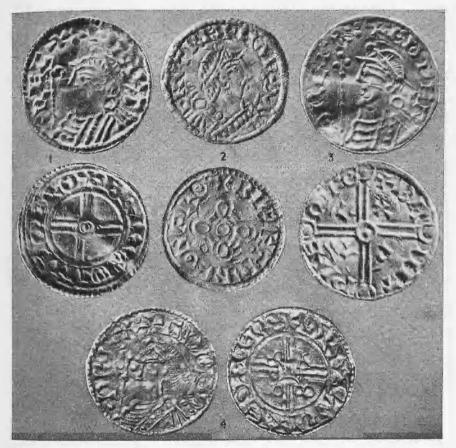
"Short Cross" issue (Hild. H = Brooke 4 = B.M.C. xvi)

? September 1029-? September 1035

I. Obv. +CNVT RECX Hild. 249 ("Cricklade")

Rev. +BRIHTPINE OFRO

(Fig. 1)



HARTHACNUT (with HAROLD)

"Jewel Cross" issue (with right-facing bust) (Hild. A = Brooke I = B.M.C. i) ? January 1036-? September 1037

2. *Obv.* +HΛRĐΛ CNVTRE *Rev.* +BRIHTPINE ONFRO A. H. F. Baldwin collection (unpublished)

(Fig. 2)

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR (1042-66)

Pacx issue (Hild. D = Brooke 4 = B.M.C. iv)

? September 1042-? September 1044

3. Obv. +EDPER DREXA. Rev. +BRITHTIPINE ONFO Hild. II6 ("York")

(Fig. 3)

Trefoil Quadrilateral issue (Hild. C = Brooke I = B.M.C. iii)

? September 1046-? September 1048

4. Obv. +EDPER •DREX• Rev. +BRIHTPINE ONFR• British Museum (ex H. A. Parsons (1954), lot 191)

(Fig. 4)

Coin I is slightly doublestruck at the critical point of the reverse legend, but it seems fair to say that the first letter of the mint-signature is at least as likely to be F as E, and especially when the coin is considered in the context of other pennies of Brihtwine which were not known to Hildebrand. In reading the mint-name ERO the great Swedish numismatist was undoubtedly influenced by the fact that there are genuine Cricklade coins which do read exactly that, but for the attribution to be maintained today one would have to find some convincing explanation of the phenomenon that Brihtwine seems always to have been sent down dies which not only read invariably F for E but also avoided the longer forms of mint-signature that occasionally found their way on to the dies of the other Cricklade moneyers. Coin 2, the superb and quite unpublished penny of Harthacnut in Mr. Baldwin's private collection, is beyond doubt the most convincing of them all. The reading FRO is quite indisputable, and the type is one where blunderings are conspicuous by their absence. On coin 3 the mint-signature was read by Hildebrand as EO, but even in an actualsize photograph the E appears curiously distorted with the bottom stroke running downwards rather like the tail of an R. Examination of the actual coin has confirmed the evidence of a photographic enlargement, and the first letter of the mint-signature is in fact F, the bottom stroke of the apparent E in fact being one of the many "pecks" that disfigure the whole surface of the coin. Support for this interpretation comes from the absence from the reverse field of any annulet. If the mint-signature were EO, the mint could only be York, the attribution proposed by Hildebrand. Brihtwine, however, is not otherwise known as a York moneyer, and all York coins of the type in question are distinguished by the occurrence of an annulet in one of the quarters of the reverse field. On coin 4 the obvious reading of the mintsignature is FRO, and to attempt to read it ERO is to strain the evidence.

In the period c. 1020-c. 1050 a Brihtwine is also found striking at a number of mints in the Thames valley. Very early in the reign of Cnut there is a Brihtwine at Oxford (cf. Hild. 3013/14), but a moneyer of the name has still to be recorded in the "Pointed Helmet" type, or indeed —the FRO coin apart—in the "Short Cross" type which represents Cnut's last substantive issue. Early in the reign of Harold Harefoot, however, we find a Brihtwine at Buckingham (cf. Hild. 37), and it would seem that he continued there into Harthacnut's effective reign (cf. Hild. 10). Perhaps the same individual begins to strike at this time at London (cf. Hild., Cnut 2063/4), and continues there for a year or so into the reign of the Confessor (cf. Hild. 432/3). At just this time a Brihtwine strikes at Wallingford (cf. Hild. 747/8), and again it would seem likely that we are dealing with the products of one and the same man, though unfortunately it has not yet proved possible to supply a valid nexus in the shape of die-links between the three mints concerned. Further to complicate the matter a Brihtwine also strikes at Malmesbury (cf. Hild. 591 and two unpublished coins in the collection of Mr. F. Elmore Jones), and it is just possible that we are dealing

with more coins of the same person. On balance, however, it seems preferable to draw a distinction between the Brihtwine of Oxford (c. 1020), the Brihtwine of Buckingham, London, and Wallingford (c. 1035-c. 1055), and the Brihtwine of Malmesbury (c. 1040-c. 1050).

There are then at least two moneyers of the name of Brihtwine who were striking within the period spanned by the FRO coins, but in neither case is one known at a mint or mints of which the signature could possibly be blundered to give those three letters. Indeed the first elements of the four mints concerned do not normally include even one of the letters in question. Cricklade admittedly is also a Thames valley mint, and sits neatly between Malmesbury and Wallingford, but already we have seen that there are very valid arguments against the hypothesis that FRO is a consistent error for ERO which for some reason is confined to the dies supplied to only one of the moneyers of the mint. Incidentally it is only when one has to consider problems of this order, that one begins to realize just how vital is the question of "the extent to which the business of die-cutting was centralized in London", and how destructive it would be of the modern school of Anglo-Saxon numismatics if any real case could be made out in support of irresponsible assertions that dies normally would be engraved by local goldsmiths. Unfortunately, too, the most careful search has failed to bring to light any use at Buckingham, Cricklade, London, Malmesbury, or Wallingford of one or more of the four obverse dies associated with the FRO group of reverses.

On this evidence there would seem to be a prima facie case for considering FRO to be the mint-signature of a mint not hitherto recognized by the numismatist. The identification of this mint, however, presents formidable difficulties, and a number of these will doubtless occur at once to those who rightly consider that "monetae non sunt multiplicandae praeter necessitatem". In the first place there is long overdue a systematic collation of Domesday and the coins to establish the apparent Domesday status of all those places which the numismatist is justified in claiming to have been mints in the late Saxon period. At present such a collation is readily accessible only in the pages of Ballard who was writing at a time when, for example, coins of Barnstaple were given to Bardney, and no coins were attributed to Bridport. In the second place, the numismatist and the historian will have to ponder together very carefully the question of those texts which seem to indicate that minting-rights were confined to boroughs. In this connexion repeated legislation by Æthelræd may suggest that a ruling was being honoured more in the breach than in the observance, while it could be pleaded that controls necessary in the troubled days of the great Danish attacks might well have been relaxed if not repealed when the reign of Cnut seemed to usher in a new period of

¹ A die-link under Cnut has been claimed between Oxford and Cricklade (Oxoniensia, vol. x (1945), p. 90, cf. Wilts. Arch. Mag., vol. lii (1949), p. 393), but a forthcoming note in the same journal will suggest that the critical coin is a doublestruck and misread coin of Harthacnut.

stability and peace. Of course new hoards may produce coins which confer on certain mints quite unsuspected antiquity—a recent visit to Bergen has convinced the present writer that Bruton was a mint as early as the end of the tenth century¹—but there are a number of mints which do seem to have come into being comparatively late, for example Bedwyn, Berkeley, Bury St. Edmunds, Hythe, Pershore, Petherton, Reading, Sandwich, and Steyning; and others, notably Horndon and Newport Pagnell, which may have been revived after half a century of desuetude.

This is not the place to suggest a positive identification for FRO, but in justice to Mr. R. A. Kinsey we must put on record the fact that he was the first tentatively to suggest Frome on the basis of the Parsons coin alone. At present such an attribution is still perhaps premature, but it must be admitted that there are few stronger candidates than a royal manor if the numismatist shall be forced one day to concede that in practice if not in theory a mint could exist in a place that did not

enjoy the full status of a borough.

¹ R. H. M. Dolley, Antikvariskt Arkiv 9, p. 34, n. 52.

THE SMALL CRUX ISSUE OF ÆTHELRÆD II

Bv B. H. I. H. STEWART

Possibly the most rewarding of all the new lines of approach, which have recently been followed up in respect of the late Anglo-Saxon coinage, is the systematized study of die-cutting centres and their areas of influence. The preliminary work on the "Quatrefoil" type of Cnut, published by Mr. R. H. M. Dolley in the Numismatic Circular, I gives some foretaste of the developments which can be expected. In the present note, I wish to make some remarks on the "Small Crux" type of Æthelræd II in general, and to outline what I believe to be the particular characteristics of the dies for this issue, cut respectively at London and Canterbury. It seems to be worth demonstrating that even in so homogeneous and peculiar an issue as the rare "Small Crux" type, separate (and consistent) die-cutting styles can be

distinguished.

Coins of this type, identified by Hildebrand² as variety Ca, are by no means common, and apart from London and the Kentish mints, they are very seldom met with in this country. There is no doubt, nevertheless, that the type is English, and not Scandinavian, although the very curious style and light weight at one time were considered suspicious. The great majority of these scarce coins come from the Danegeld hoards, and show the characteristic "pecking" of the surface: specimens are, however, occasionally found without this mutilation, and Mr. Dolley has published evidence of a find in this country.³ Probably other examples would transpire to have been unearthed in England if earlier recorders had differentiated the type. If further demonstration of the English origin of the type is needed, the curious Rochester penny of Sidwine (Fig. 15), discussed below, may be considered as conclusive even in itself that Canterbury, at least, was one centre where "Small Crux" dies were being cut during the course of the regular "Crux" issue, 991-7. In fact, the regularity of the issue and the consistency of "Small Crux" moneyers with those of the main "Crux" coins, leave no doubt that this was an organized and official, if limited, issue subsidiary to Æthelræd's third main type.

With regard to the low weight, no satisfactory explanation has yet been found: actually, the lightness is by no means consistent, either from coin to coin, or from mint to mint, a point which will be elaborated upon below. Clearly the issue is too large and general to be a fraudulent attempt by the moneyers to make large profits by striking light coin, as was done in Norman times: if this had been so, the names of the mint and moneyer would hardly have been so brazenly displayed.

[&]quot;The Regional Distribution of Dies in the West Country, c. 1017-1023", Num. Circ. 1956, pp. 321 and 373.

² Anglosachsiska Mynt, 2nd ed. (1881), p. 30.

³ Brit. Num. Journ. xxviii, 1955, 83.

Conceivably, the "Small Crux" coins might have been a specially struck light issue to deal with payment by tale: for "Crux", in its normal variety, and "Long Cross", which follows, are the two heaviest of Æthelræd II's types.



The description given by Hildebrand of the variety he labels Ca may be rendered from the Swedish as follows:

Variety a, though similar, is easy to distinguish because the coins are smaller and lighter. Weight 17·3 to 21·6 gr. Seven average 20·2 gr. Coins of this type are occasionally met with that are unusually thick and heavy, e.g. one of Godwine at Ipswich which weighs 28·5 gr., and others 51·7 gr. Frequently we find two pellets amongst the letters in the opposite angles of the reverse.

From this it is clear that Hildebrand separated the variety purely by size and weight, though, from the fact that his illustrated specimen is of Rochester, it has been assumed on occasions that only coins with the features listed below as common to the London and Canterbury dies are real Ca coins; this is certainly not what Hildebrand intended. The coins which he describes as Ca of mints other than London and the Kentish Trio¹ do not show features 3 and 4 below, though they naturally are small and weigh light, and often have unusual lettering. (Figs. 14 and 16 show examples of Lincoln and Cambridge.) It has not been possible for me to see a sufficient number of them to make an adequate survey within this note. They are mentioned, however, where they bear on the London and Canterbury types or on the status of the "Small Crux" type as a whole. At this point it should be stressed that the term "Small Crux" is here used to cover the whole issue of small, lightweight pence of "Crux" type; and that the term "Crux Ca", by which Hildebrand loosely designated all varieties of what are here called "Small Crux", is reserved for the characteristic style of London and Kentish coins.

Features common to the "Small Crux" pence of London and Kent (i.e. "Crux Ca" coins) are:

I. Small module of dies and flans; light weight.

 $^{^{\}rm r}$ But Mr. Dolley has notes of a few rare coins, with all the true "Crux Ca" features, from East Anglia also.

2. Plain, serifless letters.

3. Long, thin sceptre, at inclined angle to bust, cutting the drapery.

4. A curious treatment of the hair, by which the front part is swept back at an angle to the rest.

The combination of all these points, along with the very marked similarity of bust, would lead one to suppose, at first sight, that the issue was struck, at the mints under consideration, from dies all prepared by one hand.

That this, however, is certainly not the case, the enumeration of many small, but significant, differences will I hope show convincingly. It will be well to compare the London and Kent styles point by point, and then to summarize the characteristics of each separately at the end.

The Bust. Despite an over-all similarity, there are many small points of difference. The London engraver almost invariably places a large pellet on the point of the chin, and at the back of the hair, but neither is normally used by the Canterbury engraver. The lines of the London eye (Fig. 3) form almost an isosceles triangle with the base as the line of the forehead, and of the nose in continuation: normally the Kent eye (Fig. 4) is nearly almond-shaped, and, at any rate, the lines tend to be curved. The drapery is the readiest of all criteria, being the most consistent, and most pronounced: every "Crux Ca" coin that I have seen since the drapery styles were noticed has conformed in the style appropriate to its London or Kentish mint signature on the reverse. London obverses have normally three (four rarely; also two?) straight lines, radiating from a brooch (pellet) on the king's right shoulder, with lines of drapery parallel, and roughly horizontal, across from the king's left shoulder to the line or fold on the right. Canterbury obverses invariably have all the lines of drapery, some curved, radiating from, and united at, the brooch on the dexter shoulder—a far more realistic depiction. The contrast of the London and Canterbury styles is best seen in Figs. 1 and 2. It should be remarked that, on some London obverses, the transverse lines of drapery do tend to converge somewhat up towards the brooch: but they do not meet in the brooch, nor curve out from it, in the Canterbury fashion. The sceptre shows no conspicuous variation between the mints, and always, more or less obviously, cuts the dexter edge of the drapery. Three Canterbury dies have a leaf-headed sceptre, and an unusual form apparently appears elsewhere also, notably on two coins from East Anglia in the Igelosa hoard.

Inscriptions. The form of initial cross, and of the letter X, on London coins is patée, as if made of four wedges (Fig. 5); on Kentish coins it occasionally appears thus, but more usually is a plain cross, sometimes with an unequally long lower limb (Latin Cross), a disparity which is even reproduced in the X of REX on some dies (Fig. 6). The general form of the letters on all "Small Crux" coins is distinctive, being narrow, plain, and serifless. The digraph AE in Æthelræd is (as a general rule) on London dies, in the first position, a capital E

with a full-length diagonal (Fig. 7); in the second, E, with a very small wedge, horizontally or diagonally disposed from the top (Fig. 8), which is occasionally omitted or merged and indistinct: on Canterbury dies, first, a full (usually barred) A sharing the upright of the



FIG. 14

Fig. 15

Fig. 16

E (Fig. 9); second, either exactly the same, or as the first Æ on London coins. At both the London and Kentish mints a plain E is sometimes found; and whilst the distinctions noted occur in far more instances than they do not, the letter is obviously not, as such a small and variable a feature, by any means an infallible criterion. A is unbarred on London dies, almost invariably barred on Kentish dies. On a very few coins, only noticed of but not necessarily confined to Canterbury, a reversed M and/or round C are used. Stops of any kind are exceptional: pellets are very occasionally found (sometimes beneath the contraction mark on the reverse, MTO), and an extraordinary reverse die reads LEOFRICAMONEACAN, with wedge-shaped stops. The contraction of the ethnic, where a longer spelling than ANGLO is found, is also a point of difference. Canterbury dies read OR, plainly ligated (Fig. 12), sometimes with a diagonal contractive stroke through the tail of the R (Fig. 13); the London form is O, or O and a crescent combined as a round M, with a tail and contraction mark following disposed saltirewise (Figs. 10 and 11).

CRVX. The disposition of these letters differs in that on London dies the axis of the C and R is 90°, whilst on Canterbury cut dies the axis of C is 45°, and of R 135°. The letters V and X, of course, are disposed, by physical necessity, the same way on virtually all "Small Crux" and all "Crux" coins, at 225° and at 270°. This assumes the C to be in the first legendary (second heraldic) quarter; occasionally the C is in the first heraldic quarter (e.g. Hildebrand, pl. 3, var. Ca),

¹ Mr. Dolley records only two specimens from Igelösa: Canterbury, Wulfwig, cf. Hild. 250; Rochester, Edsige, cf. Hild. 3283 (illustrated); a die-duplicate of the former is in my collection.

or in the third quarter. The essence of the London rule of C and R at right angles to the cross, and the Canterbury rule of C and R diagonally, is not, however, affected.

Here it is worth remarking upon the Rochester penny of Sidwine,



FIG. 17

Fig. 18

Fig. 15. This is, in all respects other than in the sceptre, a very fine and characteristic penny of the normal "Crux" issue. It will at once be seen that the sceptre is long and thin, surmounted by three neat pellets, precisely as on "Small Crux" coins; what is more, it is inclined at an angle and cuts the fold of drapery in typically "Small Crux" fashion. The normal "Crux" sceptre is vertical; very short and stubby; never cuts the drapery; and is surmounted, rather loosely, by three large pellets. This penny of Sidwine stands out immediately from "Crux" pence at Rochester and other mints. It seems to have been engraved by someone who had in mind the "Crux Ca" type, and is added confirmation both of the English origin of the type, and

of its position within the main "Crux" emission.

There is one further peculiarity worthy of remark, viz. the two pellets, in the C and X quarters of the reverse, confined to, I think, and almost invariable on London reverses of the "Small Crux" type. In the British Museum Catalogue, No. 213 appears to be the only one of the type, and has the pellets. Hildebrand, in his later edition, gives 28 London pence of his type Ca, but does not mention any pellets; seven of these are certainly the same as the seven London Ca coins listed in his 1846 edition, all of which have a footnote indicating the two pellets. So presumably, although Hildebrand omits all mention, most of the others in the later edition, or all of them, have the pellets. All the London moneyers listed by H. A. Parsons² as issuing "Crux" type coins with two pellets in the reverse field are to be found in Hildebrand as moneyers of type Ca. The conclusion, I think, is that the two pellets are a deliberate part of the reverse design of London "Crux Ca" dies. From all evidence, it seems that the two extra pellets are invariable on real "Crux Ca" London reverses: the style of reverse and lettering suggest that one coin, reading DRHPOLDM-OLVN (? = Hild. 2308), is a mule, obverse "Crux Ca", reverse normal "Crux". This coin (Fig. 19) is the only example so far noticed linking the "Small Crux" with the regular issue.

¹ Mr. C. S. S. Lyon has one, **LEOFSTANM** OEÆNT.
² In "Symbols and Double Names on Late Saxon Coins", *Brit. Num. Journ.* xiii (1917) 1.

In summary, the features of the London (Fig. 17) and Canterbury (Fig. 18) cut dies are as follows:

London. Triangular eye; pellets on chin and at back of hair; parallel folds of drapery across body; diphthong AE and ORVM contraction as illustrated in Figs. 7, 8, 10, and 11; wedge-formed cross pate; pellets in C and X quarters of reverse; C and R at right angles to cross.

Canterbury. Almond-shaped eye; usually no pellet on chin or hair; radiating and curved folds of drapery; sometimes barred A, or reversed U; diphthong AE and ORVM contraction as in Figs. 9, 12, and 13; no pellets in quarters of reverse; C and R diagonally.

The moneyers given by Hildebrand for London and the Kentish mints are:

London: Ælfget (2052, 3); Ælfstan (2092); Ælfwine (2124); Brhwold (? = Brihtwold) (2234, 2308); Eadmund (2340); Edsige (2463); Edwine (2486, 7); God (2521, 2, 3, 4); Godric (2583, 4); Godwine (2624); Heawulf (2653, 4, 5); Leofwine (2750); Lifinc (2785, 6); Oda (2844); Oswulf (2870, 82); Sidwine (2909); Sweting (2921).

Canterbury: Eadwold (148, 9, 57); Godwine (178)? = Goldwine (135); Leofric (200, 1, 2, 3, 4); Leofstan (212, 21, 2); Leofwold (229); Lifinc (234, 5); Wulfwig (250).

Dover: Leofwine (419, 20); Wulfstan (428, 30, 1).

Rochester: Brihtmær (3270, 1); Eadsige (3275, 83); Sidwine (3309).

In addition to these, Leofric and Byrnmær of London were represented in the Igelösa hoard, and I have one of the latter moneyer; a Dover penny of Cenric was also found at Igelösa. It is to be expected that these lists of moneyers will be somewhat expanded in the future,

now that the type is more generally recognized.

The status of the "Small Crux" type is very problematical. From what has already been written here several facts emerge. The type is rare and probably short-lived; it is undoubtedly English. So much is certain. We do not know its exact position in the series, since mules with earlier or later types are not recorded. However, Mr. Dolley informs me that in the Glemminge Hoard from Skåne "Crux" is the latest type represented, but, of the 196 specimens of the type, none are "Small Crux". Since the late varieties of "Crux", such as those with the diadem or other affinities with the "Long Cross" type, and the "Intermediate Small Cross" coins, either as the pure type or as mules with "Crux", are all absent from the hoard, it is apparent that the hoard was deposited before these varieties, and before "Small Crux" coins could have found their way into it. So as a tentative date for the "Small Crux" type, we might suggest the last two years of the "Crux" period, c. 995–7. The close affinity of the "Crux Ca" bust

with that on the late "Crux" variety with curly hair and no sceptre reinforces arguments for the late issue of "Small Crux".2

Purely from the moneyers' names on "Small Crux" and other types of Æthelræd II it is difficult to draw any positive conclusions in this direction. Sufficient of the "Small Crux" moneyers coin normal "Crux", and the types before and after, "Hand" and "Long Cross", to confirm that "Small Crux" was a limited subsidiary issue to "Crux"; and apparently, since some quite common moneyers (e.g. Leofstan at London) strike the main "Crux" issue, and others before and after, but seem not to have left any extant "Small Crux" coins, possibly for a time "Crux" and "Small Crux" may have been struck concurrently. Whether this is the accepted solution, or whether we prefer to consider "Small Crux" as a separate issue (chronologically) the problems it presents are equally formidable.

If "Small Crux" and "Crux" were being struck simultaneously, it must have caused intolerable difficulties to have two very mistakable issues of slightly different weights, not only in the keeping of mint accounts, but in everyday transactions. This the more so, since there seems to be a progressive scale of weights, normal "Crux" being the heaviest at about 24 gr. or so, and provincial "Small Crux" being the lightest at about 18-19 gr., but the Igelösa hoard appears to indicate that London "Small Crux" consistently achieve a rather better weight, at least 21 gr. in many cases, and sometimes more—

an impression confirmed by my own and other specimens.

Even if "Small Crux" was struck in an interval of the main "Crux" issue at London, the Kentish mints and some other towns, there is no reason to suppose that other important mints, such as Winchester, Thetford, Worcester, Norwich, Salisbury, or Stamford, would have interrupted their "Crux" issue. Lincoln, the other outstanding mint not credited with Ca coins by Hildebrand, is, however, now represented for the "Small Crux" type by pennies of the moneyer Colgrim in the

Igelösa hoard and in my collection.

As regards the pattern of "Small Crux" mints, they cover most of the main areas, though only London and the Kentish mints made strong contributions. The notable absence of Winchester from the list brings to mind the mutually exclusive tendency of "Small Crux" and the "Intermediate Small Cross" group of coins. The latter, including the late varieties of "Crux" distinguished by Mr. Dolley and Mr. F. Elmore Jones, have predominantly a Wessex origin, a weak area for "Small Crux". Conversely, the great rarity at London and complete absence in Kent of the "Intermediate Small Cross" and the associated late "Crux" varieties is to be noted. What this means is not clear, but it does suggest that the two groups of coins may have been to some extent complementary, even perhaps

Brit. Num. Journ., vol. xxviii, pl. iv, nos. 27-30, and Fig. 4 on p. 79.
 Mr. Dolley will be developing this point in a forthcoming paper.
 "An Intermediate Small Cross Issue of Æthelræd II and some Late Varieties of the Crux Type", Brit. Num. Journ., vol. xxviii, p. 75.

contemporaneous. This would allow the possibility that while the Wessex mints were issuing their late varieties of "Crux", and the "Intermediate Short Cross" type, London and Kent may have been occupied in the interval, between the main "Crux" type and the



Fig. 19 Fig. 20

main "Long Cross" type, with the issue of "Crux Ca". A notable fact, of which the meaning is not clear, is that, whilst Canterbury supplied her dependent mints, Rochester and Dover, with "Crux Ca" dies as in the ordinary course, mints which normally received supplies of dies from London do not appear to have been issued with "Crux Ca" dies.

At least three separate Canterbury obverse dies have the sceptre-head decorated with three leaves: one of Godwine (with reversed M's) was found at Igelösa; one of Leofric (noted above with reference to its wedge-shaped stops and curious reverse inscription) was found at Hemse, Gotland; another similar is at Stockholm; and a penny of Godwine, with normal reverse inscription, is in my collection (Fig. 20). One or two other coins have an irregular sceptre-head: a London coin of Edsige came from Halsarve, Gotland; and Igelösa also produced pennies of Ælfric at Huntingdon and of Hunstan at Cambridge. Coins with the leaf-headed or other unusual sceptres are thus extremely rare, as their infinitesimal incidence in the Swedish hoards demonstrates. Their significance, if any, is difficult to assess.

What prompted such an emission is again purely a matter for speculation. It can only be supposed that the issue was intended to deal with some situation for which lighter coin would prove profitable or at least acceptable. In any transaction dependent on weight, such as Danegeld most probably was, there would be no advantage in striking lighter coins: in fact, apart from the confusion caused by two—or more—standards, there would be the added labour involved in striking a greater quantity of lighter coins. Indeed, it is noticeable that the two types, "Crux" and "Long Cross", current during the most extortionate period of Danegeld, are, with the exception of some pence after the change in standard under Edward the Confessor, consistently the heaviest of the main types of the late Anglo-Saxon coinage. Further, even in Hildebrand only one in ten of the "Crux" coins is of the "Small Crux" variety; and Igelösa and other Scandinavian hoards suggest that "Small Crux" coins may not have comprised much more than 5 per cent. of all "Crux" pence; so that, in practice, the type appeared in Danegeld incidentally rather

than deliberately. The requirement for "Small Crux" is thus resolved: either into some form of tribute, or tax, levied in pence by tale, for which lighter coins would suffice; or into the need for more, even if lighter, money within the realm, whilst so much was being bled out in Danegeld. Coined money was always at a premium over bullion, and no doubt the English had to be content with what they could get.

It had been Mr. Dolley's intention to append to this paper a discussion of the Ca coins in the Igelösa hoard which he has been able to re-examine in the light of an early draft of this paper. Unfortunately his note will require illustrations for which there is no space available in this number of the *Journal*, and will have to be held over. We have discussed, however, a number of aspects of the problem, and Mr. Dolley has been able to lend me his complete set of photographs of all the true Ca coins in the hoard.

THE COINS OF THE SUSSEX MINTS

PART III: LEWES

By horace H. King

To this last part are added Addenda and Corrigenda, which the author

hopes will not be considered excessive.

Once more his thanks are due to Dr. N. L. Rasmusson of the Swedish Royal Collection, Dr. Georg Galster of the National Museum at Copenhagen, Mme. Markova of the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Mr. H. C. F. Brazenor of the Brighton Museum, Mr. C. E. Blunt, and Mr. F. Elmore Jones, for information and supplying casts or photographs for the plates, and especially to Mr. R. H. M. Dolley and the staff of the British Museum Coin Department for supplying photographs and for putting up with the author's continual requests for information and checking the entries.

9	Moneyer	Location or authority
LEWES	1.10110901	Education of animormy
ÆTHELRÆD II		
Type B.M.C. VIII: Hild. E		
Gold +ÆÐELRÆD REX XNGL +LEØFPINE M'Ø LÆPE:•	Leofwine	B.M.C. I (ex R.C.L. coll.) (Pl. XXIX, 1)
ATHELSTAN		
Type $B.M.C.$ V		
I. +/EÐELSTAN REX. *TOT. BR*I +PILEBALD.MTO.L/E.VR.B	• Wilebald	Brighton (ex C-B. sale, 1913, 387 (PI. XXIX, 2)
Type $B.M.C.$ VIII		
2. +/EÐELSTAN REX +EADRIC•MONETA•L/E	Eadric	Museo Nazionale, Rome Rome hoard: N.C. 1884, p. 243 (PI. XXIX, 3)
Edgar		
Type $B.M.C.$ VI		
3. +EADGAR REX ANGLO√X +GOLDSTAN M [™] O L∕EPE•	Goldstan	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (PI. XXIX, 4)
4. As no. 3 +XEXBYRHT M ⁻ O L/EP•	Sexbyrht	Hild. 17
5. Unascertained+ZEXBYRHT MO L∕EV	"	Leningrad
6. As no. 3 +ĐEODGAR M [™] O LÆPE•	Theodgar	B.M.C. 20
Edward the Martyr ¹		
 7. +EADPEARD REX ANGLOX +SEHXBYRYHT M[™]O LÆV• 	Sexbyrht	Huntr.

¹ The B.M. Catalogue and Brooke in English Coins give Mannic as a moneyer of Lewes under Edward the Martyr but the author has been unable to trace any coin of his.

0	As no. 7	<i>Moneyer</i> Theodgar	Location or authority B.M. (PI. XXIX, 5)
	+DEODGAR MO LÆV	Thooagai	D.M. (11. 121111, 0)
9.	+EADPARD REX ANGLOR As no. 8	,,	Sainthill's <i>Olla Podrida</i> , vol. ii, p. 133
Æт	HELRÆD II		
10.	Type B.M.C. I: Hild. A (early issue +/EDELR/ED RE TNGLOR +HEHEBRYHT MO L/EP	1e) Herebyrht	Hild. 1420 (PI. XXIX, 6)
II.	Type B.M.C. IIa: Hild. Br (First +/EÐELR/ED REX ANGLOX +EADGAR M ⁻ O·L/EPE	Hand issue) Eadgar	B.M.C. 127
12.	+ÆÐELRED REX ANGLOX +GOLDSTAN MO LÆVE•	Goldstan	Hild. 1418, Copenhagen
13.	As no. II +HEREBRVHT MO LÆPE	Herebyrht	Hild. 1422
14.	As no. 12 +HEREBRVHT MO LÆV	,,	Lund University
15.	As no. II +HEREBIRHT MTO LÆ•	,,	Stockholm (Inv. 23040)
16.	As no. II +LEOFSTAN M ⁻ O L/EP•	Leofstan	Hild 1441
17.	As no. II +LEOFSTAN MTO LÆPE	,,	Brighton, H.H.K. (PI. XXIX, 7), Hild. 1442
18.	+/EÐELR/ED REX ANGLOX +ĐEODGAR M ⁻ O L/EPE	Theodgar	Brighton, Hild. 1472
19.	+ÆÐELRÆD REX ANGLOX As no. 18	,,	H.H.K. (ex Duke of Argyll's coll.), Hild. 1473
	Mule: Type B.M.C. IId/IIa: Hild.	B2/BI	
20.	+ÆÐELRÆD REX ANGLOX As no. 18	Theodgar	H.H.K. (Pl. XXIX , 8)
	Type B.M.C. IId: Hild. B2 (Second	nd Hand issue)	
21.	+ÆÐELRÆD REX ANGLOX +GOLDSTAN MOLÆPE	Goldstan	Hild. 1419
22.	As no. 21 +HEREBREHT M ⁻ O L/EPE	Herebyrht	B.M.C. 128 (Pl. XXIX, 9), H.H.K. (ex Lockett sale, 1955, 674), Hild. 1421
	Type B.M.C. IIf: Hild. B3 (Third	Hand issue)	
23.	+ÆÐELRÆD REX ANGLX +LEOFPINE MO LÆ	Leofwine	Stockholm (Inv. 14452: Glem- minge hoard)
24.	+/EĐELRÆD REX ANGLO† +OSPOLD MO LÆPE	Oswold	H.H.K. (ex A. H. Baldwin coll.) (Pl. XXIX, 10)
	Type B.M.C. IIIa: Hild. C		
25.	+ÆÐELRÆÐ REX ANGLOX +ÆLFGAR MÖÐ LÆPE	Ælfgar	H.H.K., Hild. 1402
26.	As no. 25 +/ELFNOÐ M ⁻ O LÆPE	Ælfnoth	B.M., H.H.K., Hild. 1404
27.	+/EÐELRED REX ANGLOX As no. 26	,,	Uppsala University

Ĭ		Moneyer	Location or authority
28.	+/EÐELRÆD REX ANGLOX +LEOFNOD MTO LÆP	Leofnoth	B.M.C. 129, H.H.K., Brighton
29.	As no. 28 +LEOFNOÐ M ⁻ O LÆPE	"	B.M.C. 130, H.H.K. (Pl. XXIX, 11)
30.	As no. 28 +LEOFNOÐ M ⁻ O C/EP	11	Hild. 1436
31.	As no. 28 +LEOFPINE M ⁻ O LÆPE	Leofwine	B.M.C. 131, H.H.K., Hild. 1447, Reykjavik
32.	As no. 28 +LEOFPINE M ^T O L/EP	11	H.H.K., Brighton, Hild. 1446
33.	As no. 28 +LEOFPINE MO LÆPE	"	H.H.K.
34.	As no. 28 +LEOFPINE MTO LÆ	"	Lund University
35∙	Unascertained +LEOPINE MO LÆPE	,,	Montagu sale (2nd portion) 1896, 16
36.	+ÆÐELRÆD REX ANJLOX +OSPOLD MÖD LÆP	Oswold	B.M.C. 133, Hild. 1470
37.	As no. 36 +OSPOLD M ⁻ O LÆPE	"	H.H.K. (ex Duke of Argyll's coll.), Hild. 1471
38.	As no. 36 +PVL·FSTAN M ^T O LÆPE	Wulfstan	H.H.K. (ex Evans coll.), Uppsala Univ.
39.	Type B.M.C. IVa: Hild. D +•ÆÐELRÆD REX ÄNGLO +ÆLFGÄR MO LÆPE	Ælfgar	B.M., Brighton, H.H.K., Trondheim, Visby
40.	As no. 39 +ÆLGXR M'O LÆPE	Ælfgar	Uppsala University
41.	+ÆÐELRÆD REX ΧΝΙΙΟΧ +GODEFRIÐ Μ•Ω•Ο LÆP	Godefrith	H.H.K.
42.	+ÆÐELRÆÐ REX ⊼NŪLOX ÆREBYRHT ΜΩ• LÆP+	Herebyrht	Brighton, H.H.K. (Pl. XXIX, 12), Hild. 1423
43.	Same die as no. 42 + HEREBYRHT M'O L/EP	n	B.M.C. 134, H.H.K. (ex Argyll coll.), Hild. 1424, Leningrad
44.	+ÆÐELRÆÐ REX ANGLO +ÆREBYRHT MO LÆP	, ,,	Stockholm (Inv. 16504)
45.	+ÆÐELRÆD REX XNGL. +HEREBYRHT M'O LÆPE	"	Hild. 1425
46.	As no. 41 +LEOFNOÐ MOO LÆPE	Leofnoth	H.H.K.
47.	+ÆÐELRÆÐ REX ⊼NGLO +LEOFNOÐ Mo LEP	,,	Hild. 1440
48.	As no. 42 +LEOFPINE MOO LÆPE	Leofwine	B.M., H.H.K., Hild. 1448
49.	As no. 42 +LEOFPINE M'O LÆPE	,,	Hild. 1449, Copenhagen
50.	+ÆDELRÆD REX ANG +MEREP¹NE M'O LÆP	Merewine	Hild. 1461
51.	+ÆÐELRÆÐ REX ANGLO As no. 50	.,	Hild. 1462

		Moneyer	Location or authority
	+ÆÐELRÆD REX ⊼NGLOX +MEREPINE MΩO LÆP	Merewine	Hild. 1463
53.	+ÆÐELRÆD REX ⊼NGI +MEREPINE M <u>o</u> O LÆPE	,,	Hild. 1464
	As no. 51 As no. 53	"	Stavanger, Visby
	As no. 52 As no. 53	"	B.M., Brighton, H.H.K. (ex Parsons sale, 1929, 136)
56.	Type <i>B.M.C.</i> VIII: Hild. E +ÆÐELRÆD REX XNGL +LEOFPINE MO LÆPE	Leofwine	Hild. 1450
57.	+ÆÐELRÆÐ REX ÆNGLO +LEOFPINE MO LÆPE	,,	Hild. 1451
58. -	+ÆÐELRÆD REX ÆNG +LEOPINE MO LÆPE:	,,	Hild. 1452
	As no. 56 +LEOFPNE M⊙ LÆPE	,,	Stockholm (Inv. 16504)
60.	+ÆÐELRÆD REX ⊼NGLO +L⊙•FPNE M○O LÆE:	,,	H.H.K., Hild. 1460
	As no. 56 Same rev. die as no. 60 but pellets in 1st, 2nd, and 4th quarters	"	H.H.K. (ex Wheeler sale, 1930, 62) (Pl. XXIX, 13)
	+ÆÐELRED REX XN As no. 60	,,	Visby
	Unascertained +LEPINE MOO L/EPE	,,	Montagu sale, 1896, 31
	As no. 56 +LEVIFA• MΩO L•ÆPE•	Levifa? Leofa?	B.M., H.H.K., Hild. 1454
	+ÆÐELRÆD RE+ ⊼NJL +LEFF⊼•MΩ⊙ L•ÆPE•	,,	Brighton (ex C-B. sale, 1913, 521)
	As no. 56 +MEREPINE M'O LÆPE	Merewine	B.M., Brighton, H.H.K. (ex Taffs sale, 1956, 86), Hild. 1466
	As no. 56 +MEREPNE MO LÆPE	,,	Hild. 1467
•	Type B.M.C. I: Hild. A (late issu	ie)	
68. ·	+ÆÐELRÆD REX ⊼NGL +ÆLFPERD ON LÆPE	Ælfwerd	Hild. 1405
	+ÆÐELRÆD REX ANGLO As no. 68	**	B.M.C. 123
	+EÐEL•RÆD REX X•NGL•OΩ +ÆLFPERD: ⊙N LÆPE:	,,	Hild. 1407
	+EÐELRED REX ANGLO +ÆLFPERD ⊙N: LÆP:E:	,,	B.M.C. 122
72. 1	As no. 68 +/ELFPERD: ON L/EPGE	,,	H.H.K., Hild. 1408
73.	+EDELR•ED REX•⊼NC: +ELFPERD•⊙N: LEPEC•		H.H.K. (ex W. C. Wells coll.)
74.	As no. 69 As no. 71	,,	Hild. 1406
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Ü		Moneyer	Location or authority
75	As no. 68	Ælfwerd	Visby (Stora Sojdeby hoard,
	+/ELFPERD ON: L/EP•E.	1Dirword	1910)
<i>7</i> 6.	As no. 68 +/ELFPERD: ON· L/EPE	,,	Visby
77.	+EDELR/ED REX ANGLO +GODEFERÐ ON L/EPGE	Godefrith	B.M., Hild. 1409
<i>7</i> 8.	+EÐELR/ED REX X•N□L•⊙⊙ As no. 77	,,	Stockholm (Inv. 14565)
79.	+EDELR/ED REX TNGLOX As no. 77	,,	Uppsala University
80.	+/EÐEL•R/ED REX•⊼NG +GODFERD: ⊙N L/EPE:	,,	Brighton, H.H.K. (ex Lockett sale, 1955, 650), Hild. 1416
81.	+/EÐELR/ED REX ANGLO +GODEFRIÐ ON:L/EPE	,,	H.H.K. (ex Montagu, 1895, 764 and Grantley 1944, 1110 sales), Hild. 1410
82.	As no. 77 +GODEFRYD ON L/EPEN	,,	Hild. 1412
83.	+EDELR/ED REX ⊼NGLO As no. 82	,,	Visby
84.	+EÐELR/ED REX ANGL⊙ +GODEFRYD ON L/EP	,,	H.H.K.
85.	+/EÐELR/ED REX ANG As no. 81	,,	Hild. 1413
86.	As no. 80 As no. 81	,,	Hild. 1414
87.	+/EDELRED REX TNG +GODEMTN ON L/EP	Godeman	Hild. 1415
88.	As no. 80 +GODPIG: ON L/EPE:	Godwig	Stockholm (Inv. 23040)
89.	X/EÐELR/ED REX AN XLEFA ON L/EHPE•A	Leofa	B.M.C. 124, Hild. 1426
90.	+/EDELRED REX TNGLO As no. 89	,,	Hild. 1427
91.	+/EÐELRED REX XNG• +LEFA•ON LÆPE	,,	Hild. 1428
92.	+/EзL·RED REX ⊼NGLO +L·EF⊼: ⊙N L/EPE	,,	Hild. 1429
93.	+/EÐELR/ED REX XNGLO +LEOFX ON L/EHPGE:	,,	Brighton (ex C-B. sale, 1913, 470), Hild. 1430
94.	+/EÐELR/ED REX ANGL +LEOFX OM L/EP.VE:	,,	H.H.K. (ex Argyll coll.), Hild. 1431, Copenhagen
95.	+/EÐELR/ED REX ANGLO +LE⊙FF⊼ ⊙N: L/EPE	,,	B.M., Hild. 1432
96.	+/EÐELR/ED REX ⊼NG +LEV⊼: ⊙N•L/EPE:	,,	Hild. 1453
97.	+/EÐELR/ED REX XIC +LEOFNOÐ: ON L/EPE:	Leofnoth	Hild. 1433
98.	+/EÐELR/ED REX XNGL• As no. 97	,,	B.M., Hild. 1434
99.	As no. 95 +•L•EOFNOD: ON L•/EPE	,,	Stockholm (Inv. 20879)

	scholars to policial	Moneyer	Location or authority
100.	+ÆÐELRÆD REX ÄNJLO +LEOFNOÐ ON LÆPE	Leofnoth	Hild. 1435
101.	+ÆDELRÆD REX ÆNG +LEOFPINE M•ON LÆP	Leofwine	Hild. 1443
102.	+/EÐELR/ED REX XNGI +L•EOFPINE ON L/EPE	,,	B.M.C. 125, Hild. 1444
103.	+/EDELR/ED REX ANGLO +L·EOFPINE MON L/EPE	,,	Hild. 1445
104.	Two pellets in field of rev. Same die as no. 103 Same die as no. 103 but three	,,	Hild. 1445
105.	pellets on rev. +ÆDELRED•REX A +LE⊙FPINE ON LE	,,	H.H.K.
106.	As no. 101 +LIOGPINE MON LÆP	,,	H.H.K.
107.	+/EDELR/ED REX AND +LIOFPINE M·ON L/EP	,,	Hild. 1456, Trondheim
108.	+EÐELRÆD REX ÄNGLO +LIOFPINE ON LÆPEN•	,,	B.M., H.H.K. (ex Montagu sale, 1897, 8) (Pl. XXIX, 14)
109.	+/EDELR/ED REX ANGLO Same die as no. 108 but two pellets in field	,,	H.H.K.
110.	+ÆDELRÆD REX ÄNGL As no. 108	,,	Hild. 1457
III.	+/EDELR/ED REX ANGLO As no. 108	,,	Hild. 1458
112.	+EĐ·ELR/ED REX X•NGL•OO As no. 108	"	Hild. 1459
113.	+/EDELRDE REX XNGL +LIOFSTAN MO L/EPE	Liofstan	Brighton, Hild. 1455
114.	As no. 108 +LIOFXTXN MON LÆPE X in field of rev.	,,	Stockholm (Inv. 17747)
115.	+/EĐELR/ED REX ANGLO +LIOFSTĀN MON L/EP	,,	Stockholm (Inv. 17747)
116.	As no. 110 +LYOFSTAN MON L/EP	"	B.M.
117.	+EDELRED REX ANGL' +ONLAF MON L/EPE	Onlaf ^r	Hild. 1468
118.	+EDELRED REX ANGL• +ONLAF MON LEPE	,,	B.M.C. 126, H.H.K. (ex Montagusale, 1897, 8), Hild. 1469
119.	+/EÐELRÆD REX ANI +:PN•E ON ON LÆPE:	Wine?	Copenhagen
120.	Same dies as no. 119 but three pellets in field of rev.	"	Copenhagen
Cnu	T		
121.	Type B.M.C. VIII: Hild. E +CNVT REX ANLIORVM +/ELFPEARD MM L/EEP	Ælfweard	Hild. 1256
R	¹ Brooke gives OSL	AF, probably a p	orinter's error.

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О.		Moneyer	Location or authority
122.	+GNVT•REX ANGLORV +/EL•PERD: M L/EP	Ælfweard	Hild. 1260
123.	As no. 122 +ELPERD ON L/EP))	Visby (Gandarve hoard, 1952) (Pl. XXIX, 15)
124.	+ENVT REX ANGLOR As no. 123	,,	Visby (Gandarve hoard, 1952)
125.	+CNVT REX A +/ELFPINE L/EEP	Ælfwine	Copenhagen
126.	+ENVT REX ANGLO +EALDRED O L∕EE	Ealdred	Hild. 1265, Copenhagen
127.	+GNVT REX ANGLORVMM +EALDRED M L∕EPE	,,	Hild. 1266
128.	+CNVT REX ANGLOR +EDPERD ON L∕EP	Edwerd	Visby (Stora Sojdeby hoard, 1910)
129.	+CNVT.REX.ANGLORV: +GODEFREÐ: N LE	Godefrith	B.M.C. 254
130.	As no. 124 +GODEFR:D ONL/EEH	"	Hild. 1277
131.	+CNVT REX ANGLOR• +GODEFR:D MO LEE••	,,	Brighton
132.	+CNVT REX ⊼NGL⊙RV +GODEMĀNON LÆ	Godeman	B.M., Hild. 1278, Visby
133.	+CNVT R∙EX ⊼NGL +GODM⊼N L:⁄EE:	"	Hild. 1279
134.	As no. 132 As no. 133	,,	Copenhagen
135.	As no. 126 +CODMXN ON L•/ELE:	,,	Copenhagen
136.	As no. 126 +□ODM⊼N ON LÆ•IE	,,	Oslo
137.	+CNVT REX ANGLOR +LEOFA ON LE•	Leofa	Huntr.
138.	+CNVT REX ANGLORV +LEEFA MONE LÆE:	"	Hild. 1281
139.	+CNVT: REX:ANGLORV +LEOFNOD M L/EP	Leofnoth	B.M.C. 255
140.	+CNVT REX TNGLOVI +LEOFPINE: L/EE	Leofwine	Hild. 1284, Copenhagen
1400	As no. 140	,,	Mr. F. Elmore Jones
141.	+CNVT REX ANGLORVM +LEOFPINE L/EP	"	Hild. 1285
142.	+CNVT REX ANGLOR +LEOFPINE OI L/E	,,	Copenhagen
143.	+CNVT REX ANGLORV +LE:OFPIN ONL/E	,,	Copenhagen
144.	As no. 143 +LEOFPINE ON /E	"	Stockholm (Inv. 23695)
145.	+CNVT REX ANGLORV +LEOFPINE I L/EE	,,	Stockholm

		Momenton	Incation on authority
- 16	+ENVT REX ANGLOR:	<i>Moneyer</i> Leofwine	Location or authority
	+LEOFPNE L/E:	Leolwine	Copenhagen
147.	+CNVT R. ANGLOR +LEOFPINE O L∕EVE	,,	Oslo
148.	+ENVT RE+ ANGLOR +LIOFPINE ONLÆVE	"	Stockholm (Inv. 11661)
149.	+ENVT REX ANGLORI +LIOFSI ON LÆPEEI	Liofsi	Hild. 1286
	Type B.M.C. VIIIa: Hild. Ea	(bust to r.)	
150.	+ENVT REX.ANGLORV +LEFA. ON: L/E:	Leofa	Copenhagen (Pl. XXIX, 16), Bergen
	Type B.M.C. XIV: Hild. G		
151.	+CNVT REX XNGLO +/ELFPERÐD ON L/E•P•PE	Ælfweard	B.M., H.H.K., Hild. 1259, Leningrad (Pl. XXIX, 17)
152.	+CNVT RECX Λ As no. 151	,,	Copenhagen
153.	As no. 152 +ÆLFPERÐ ON LÆPE	,,	H.H.K.
154.	+CNVTIRECX Λ As no. 153	,,	B.M.C. 256
155.	As no. 154 +/EL•FPERD ON L/EPE	,,	Hild. 1257
156.	+CNVT. REX AN +COLLINI ON L/EP	Collini	B.M.C. 257, Hild. 1263
157.	+CNVT RECX A: +COLLINI ⊙N L ÆP:	,,	H.H.K. (ex Sutton coll.)
158.	+.CNVT REX X +EX*DPINE ONL/EPE*	Eadwine	Hild. 1264, Copenhagen
159.	+ENVT R•EX A: +GODEFRIÐ ⊙ LÆPE	Godefrith	B.M.C. 258
160.	+CNVT: EX XNGL.: +GODEFRIÐ ON LÆPPE:	"	H.H.K.
161.	+CNVT RECX A +GODEFRIÐ ON LÆPE	,,	Hild. 1272
162.	As no. 161 +GODEFRIÐ ON LÆ:	"	Copenhagen, Frederiksborg (Copenhagen)
163.	+CNVT RECX AN +LEOFX ON L/EPEE	Leofa	B.M.C. 259
164.	As no. 161 As no. 163	,,	Hild. 1282
165.	+ENVT REX ANGLO +LEOFX ON L/EPPEE:	,,	Hild. 1283
166.	As no. 157 +LEOFA ON L/EPEE	,,	Stockholm (Inv. 16295)
167.	As no. 157 +LEOFX ON L/EPEE:	,,	Stockholm (Inv. 16504)
168.	+ENVT EX ANG +LEOFSI ON L/EPVDE	Leofsi	Oslo, Bergen
169.	Type B.M.C. XVI: Hild. H +CNV*T RECX +/ELFPERD ON L/EP:	Ælfwerd	B.M.

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170	+CNVT •RECX ⊼	<i>Moneyer</i> Ælfwerd	Location or authority Brighton, H.H.K.
	As no. 169	71511 WCIG	Diighton, 11.11.K.
171.	As no. 170 +/ELFPARD ON L/EP	,,	Hild. 1255
172.	As no. 170 +/EL•FPERD ON L/EPE•	,,	Copenhagen
173.	+CNVT REC: +EDPINE ON L∕EPE:	Edwine	B.M.C. 260
174.	As no. 173 +EDPINE ON L/EPE	,,	Hild. 1268
175.	As no. 170 As no. 173	"	B.M., Hild. 1269
176.	As no. 170 As no. 174	"	Hild. 1270
177.	+CNVT ·RECX +GODEFRIÐ ON LÆPE	Godefrith	B.M.C. 261
178.	As no. 177 +GODEFRIÐ O LÆP:	"	Hild. 1274
179.	+CNVT·R·ECX.·. +GODEFRIÐ ON LV/E	n	B.M.C. 262
180.	As no. 179 +GODEFRIÐ ON LEPE	,,	H.H.K. (ex L. A. Lawrence coll. and Grantley sale,
181.	+GN·VT RECX	"	1944, 1156) (Pl. XXIX, 18) Uppsala University
182.	As no. 177 +ENVT TR•EEX: +EODMAN ON L/E	Godman	Hild. 1280
	Type B.M.C. XVII: Hild. I ¹		
183.	+ENVT REEX AN: +EDPARD ON LÆVE EDPAR	Edward	B.M., Hild. 1267
184.	+CNVT RECX AND +EDPINE ON LÆVE ONÆ	Edwine	Hild. 1271, Copenhagen, Leningrad (PI. XXIX, 19)
185.	+CNVT RECX A: +NORÐMAN ON LÆVEN	Northman	Hild. 1287, Copenhagen
Har	old I		
	Type B.M.C. I: Hild. A		
186.	+HAROLD RECX +EDPERD ON L∕EPEE:	Edward	Hild. 317, Copenhagen, Visby
187.	+HAROLD REX +EDPINNE ON L/EPE:	Edwine	Brighton (ex Ready sale, 1920, 146), Leningrad, Copen- hagen (Pl. XXIX, 20), Frederiksborg(Copenhagen)
188.	+HAROLD RE +NORÐMAN ON LÆP:	Northman	Hild. 320
189.	Type B.M.C. Vc: Hild. B +HAROF.D RECX +EDPAR.D ON L/EP	Edward	Hild. 316 (PI. XXIX, 21)

¹ It seems probable that this type was issued at the beginning of the reign of Edward the Confessor but as it is not certain it is put here. See Mr. Peter Seaby's "The Sequence of Anglo-Saxon Coin Types, 1030–1050" in this volume, p. 111.

1100 00110	of the Sudden	
	Moneyer	Location or authority
190. +HARO:LD REL* +EDPERD ON L/EP	Edward	Hild. 318
IGI. +HAR•OL•D REX +EDPINE ON LÆPE	Edwine	Hild. 319
192. +HAR•OL•D R•EEX As no. 191	,,	Frederiksborg (Copenhagen)
193. +HAROL·D REEX. +ED:PINE ON L·/EVE:	"	Oslo
194. +HAROLD R·EEX +GOPINE ON LÆPE	Godwine	B.M.C. 42
195. As no. 191 +NORĐMAN ON LÆ:	Northman	Hild. 321
196. As no. 191 +NORÐMAN O LÆP	,,	Hild. 322
HARTHACNUT		
Type B.M.C. Ia: Hild. Aa (bus	The second of th	TT'1 1
197. +HARÐAENVT RE +ED•PERD ON L∕EPE:	Edward	Hild. 70
198. +HARĐA•ENVT RE +NORĐMAN ON LÆ•:	Northman	Hild. 71
Type B.M.C. I: Hild. A (bust	to 1.)	
199. +HA•R•ENVT R• +NORÐHAN ON L∕EP:	Northman	Stockholm (Inv. 17747)
200. +HARÐAENVT R +PVL•FRIE ON L∕EPEI	Wulfric	H.H.K. (ex Drabble sale, 1939, 515) (Pl. XXIX, 22)
Type $B.M.C.$ II: Hild. B		
20I. +HΛRD•Λ•ΕΝ/Τ +EDVARD ON LÆVELÆ•	Edward	Frederiksborg (Copenhagen) (Pl. XXIX, 23)
Edward the Confessor ¹		
Type Brooke 1: B.M.C. III		
202. +EDPE AD REX	Edward	Copenhagen
+EDPERD ON LÆPE.	zawara	oopennagen
203. +EDPE···•RD REX +EDPERD ON L•EXPE	,,	Mr. F. Elmore Jones
204. +EIDPI •RD REX +EDPINE ON L∕EPE:	Edwine	H.H.K. (ex E. H. Wheeler sale, 1930, 119)
205. +EDP•E••••RD REX• +GODRICE ON L∕EPEEI:	Godric	B.M.C. 577
206. +EDPE: RD RE+: +GODRIC ON ON LIE:	,,	Huntr.
207. +EDP··· REX +LEFONOÐ ON LEPEI:	Leofnoth	Brighton
208. + *EDPE··RD REX· +OSMVND ON LEAPE·	Osmund	H.H.K., Hild. 253
209. Effaced	,,	B.M.C. 578

¹ There is considerable doubt as to the order of the first four types of Edward's reign See Mr. Peter Seaby's "The Sequence of Anglo-Saxon Coin Types, 1030-1050" in this volume, p. 111. They are put here in the order given in Brooke's *English Coins*.

+OSHVND ONN LEPE

Ü		Mossesses	Location
	LEDO DE DEVI	Moneyer	Location or authority
210.	+EDP •RD REX +OSPOLD ON•L/EPE	Oswold	H.H.K. (ex C-B. sale, 1918, 1773) (Pl. XXIX, 24)
	Type Brooke 2: B.M.C. I		
211.	+EDPERD REX ∧ +EDPINE ON LÆPEE•.•	Edwine	H.H.K. (P1. XXIX, 25), Hild. 248, Oslo
212.	+EDPERD REX. +OSPOLD ON L/EPE	Oswold	Hild. 254
213.	Unascertained +OSPOLDD ON LEPE	,,	Walters sale, 1913, 36
	Type Brooke 3: B.M.C. II ¹		
214.	+EDPI RD RE +DIRINE ON L∕EPENEN	Dirinc	B.M.C. 576
215.	+EDPE RD RE +DIRINE ON L	,,	B.M.C. 45 (under Canterbury), H.H.K., Hild. 34
216.	+EDPE D RE ∀ +EADPIG ON L∕EPEN	Eadwig	B.M.C. 572, Brighton (ex C-B. sale, 1916, 1113) (Pl. XXIX, 26)
217.	+EDPARD R: +EDPERD ON L∕EP	Edward	Hild. 246
218.	+CDPE: ND RC +EDPINE ON LÆY	Edwine	B.M.C. 573
219.	+EDPA RD RE +LEFM⊼N O L∕EPE	Leofman	B.M.C. 574, Brighton
220.	+EDI RD RX∙ +LEOFPI ON L∕EP	Leofwine	B.M.C. 575, Brighton
221.	+EDPERD RE +OSMVND O L∕EPE	Osmund	Hild. 252
	Type Brooke 4: B.M.C. IV		
222.	+EDPERD •RECX +EDPINE ON LÆPEE	Edwine	H.H.K.
223.	+EDPERD ·REX ⊼: +NORÐ:MAN O Lư	Northman	H.H.K. (ex R. C-B. coll.) (Pl. XXIX, 27)
224.	Unascertained +NORÐNAN O LÆ	,,	Montagu sale, 1895, 831
	Type Brooke 4: B.M.C. IVa		
225.	+EDPERD REX +EDPINE ONN L∕EPE*	Edwine	Hild. 250
226.	+EDPERD REX: +EDPINEE ON L/EPE	,,	Hild. 251
	Type Brooke 5: B.M.C. V		
227.	+EDPNE •RD RE +/ELFSIE ON L/EPEE•	Ælfsie (Ælfsige?)	B.M.C. 579, Brighton, H.H.K.
228.	+EDPE: •RD REX: +ÆLFSIE ONN LÆPEE:	,,	B.M.C. 580, H.H.K. (ex W. C. Wells coll.)
229.	Unascertained +/ELFSIE ON L/EPE	"	N.C. 1876, p. 358 (City Hoard)

 $^{^{\}rm I}$ Oswold is given as a moneyer of Lewes in Brooke Type 3 in Spicer's "Coinage of William I and II" in N.C. 1904, but the author has been unable to trace any coin of Oswold of Lewes of this type.

	Manager and the second second	Mongolay	Location or authority
020	+EDPE RD RE	Moneyer Edward	B.M.C 581
230.	+EDPERD ON LÆPEE•	Edward	D.M.C 301
231.	+EDPE: •RD REX +EDPERD ONN L/EPE•	"	B.M.C. 582
232.	+EDPA· ·RD RE· +EDPERD ON L∕EPE:	,,	Brighton, H.H.K.
233.	+EDP· ·· R·D REX	Godwine	B.M.C. 583
	+GODPINCE ON LÆ Limbs of cross united by one circle only		
234.	+EDPA··RD REX +GODPINE ON LÆPE	,,	B.M.C. 584
235.	As no. 234 +OSPALD ON L/E/EPE	Oswold	H.H.K. (ex Spink's <i>Num. Cir.</i> , June 1906, and Dr. J. F. Lucey coll.) (Pl. XXIX, 28)
	Type Brooke 6: B.M.C. VII		
236.	+EDPARD ON LÆPE:	Edward	B.M.C. 585, Brighton, H.H.K.
	Var., sceptre ends in fleur-de-lis		DMC 796 Duighton /on
237.	As no. 236 +EADPARD ON L/EPE: Var., sceptre ends in fleur-de-lis	,,	B.M.C. 586, Brighton (ex Chancton hoard and Evans coll.), H.H.K. (Pl. XXIX,
238	+EDPER• D RE+	Edwine	29) B.M.C. 587, H.H.K.
	+EDPINE ON LÆPE	Lawine	
239.	+EDPE D RE• +EDPINE ON L/EPEE••• Var. scentre ends in fleur de lis	,,	B.M.C. 588, H.H.K.
0.40	Var., sceptre ends in fleur-de-lis +EDPER D RE+	Codwina	DMC 580 HHV
	+GODPINE ON LÆPI	Godwine	B.M.C. 589, H.H.K.
241.	+EDPER D RE+ +OSPOL•D ON LÆPE	Oswold	B.M.C. 590, H.H.K. (ex Duke of Argyll coll.)
242.	+EDPA D RE+ +OωPOL•D ON L/EPEE•	,,	B.M.C. 591, Brighton (ex Chancton hoard and Evans coll.), H.H.K. (ex Ready, C-B., and R. C-B. colls.)
243.	Same die as no. 242 +0\(\sigma\)POL\(\delta\)D ON L\(\text{EPEE}\)\(\delta\).	,,	H.H.K. (ex W. C. Wells coll.)
	Type Brooke 6: B.M.C. VIId (b	ust to left)	
244.	+EADPE • ARD REX Same die as no. 241	Oswold	H.H.K. (ex C-B. 1913, 610 and Ryan, 1952, 855, sales) (Pl. XXIX, 30)
	Type Brooke 7: B.M.C. IX		, ,
245.	EAPPARP REX AUGL •• +EADPARD OUN LÆPE	Edward	B.M.C. 592, H.H.K.
246.	Same die as no. 245 +EADPARD ON LÆPE	,,	B.M.C. 593, Brighton, H.H.K. (Pl. XXX, 31)
247.	As no. 245 +EADPARD ONN LÆP:	,,	Brighton
248.	As no. 245 As no. 247 but pellet in first	,,	Brighton (ex C-B. sale, 1913, 616)
	quarter		

55			
		Moneyer	Location or authority
249.	EAD•PARD REX AUGLOV +EADPINE OU LÆP:	Edwine	B.M.C. 594, Brighton (ex Chancton hoard, Evans coll., and C-B. sale 1916, 1113), H.H.K.
250.	Same die as no. 249 +EADPINE ON LÆPE	,,	B.M.C. 595, Brighton
251.	Unascertained +EADPINE ON L∕EPE:	,,	S.A.C. 1868, p. 220 (Chancton hoard)
252.	EAPPARD REX AUGLO +GODPINE ONN LÆPE	Godwine	B.M.C. 596, Brighton, H.H.K.
253.	EADPRD RX ANGOR∙ +O∞POLD: ON LÆPEN:	Oswold	B.M.C. 597, Brighton (ex Chancton hoard, Evans
			coll., and C-B. sale, 1916, 1113), H.H.K.
٠,	Same die as no. 253	"	H.H.K.
	Same die as no. 254 +OSPOLD ОИИ LÆPE	"	B.M.C. 598, Brighton, H.H.K.
256.	Unascertained +OSPOLD ON LÆPE	"	N.C. 1876, p. 358 (City hoard)
	Type Brooke 8: B.M.C. XI		
257.	+EADPAR RD RE +GODPINE ON L∕EPE•••	Godwine	B.M.C. 599, H.H.K.
258.	Same die as no. 257 +GODPINE ON LÆPE.	,,	Brighton, H.H.K.
259.	Unascertained +GODPINE ON L/EPE	,,	S.A.C., vol. 33, p. 9 (Sedlescombe hoard)
260.	Unascertained +GODPINE ON LEPE	,,	S.A.C., vol. 33, p. 9 (Sedlescombe hoard)
261.	+EADPAR RD RE∙ +LIOFPÆRD ON LÆPE	Liofweard	B.M.C. 600, Brighton, H.H.K.
262.	+ADPAR· RD RE +OωPOLD: ON LÆPE···	Oswold	B.M.C. 601, Brighton, H.H.K.
<i>2</i> 63.	Same die as no. 262 +OωPOLD: ON LÆPE:	,,	Brighton, H.H.K. (Pl. XXX, 32)
	As no. 257 +PVLFPINE ON LÆPE	Wulfwine	B.M.C. 602
265.	As no. 257 +PVLFPINE ON LÆPE•	,,	Brighton
	Type Brooke 9: B.M.C. XIII ¹		
266.	•EADPARD RE• +GODPINE• ON L∕EPE	Godwine	B.M.C. 603, Brighton, H.H.K.
267.	•EADPARD RE+• +LEOFPORD ON L∕E	Leofword	Brighton, H.H.K. (Pl. XXX, 33)
268.	+DREDPDEDD RIA Same die as no. 267 but three pellets in field	,,	B.M.C. 604
269.	EADPARD RE+ +OSPOLD•ON LIEPE	Oswold	B.M.C. 605, H.H.K. (ex W.C. Wells coll.)

¹ The coin from the City hoard given in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1876, p. 358, as +/EGELPINE ON LEP is very unlikely to be of Lewes: probably Leicester.

The Coins of the Sussex Mints 531				-
		Moneyer	Location or authority	
	EADPARD REX A As no. 269	Oswold	Huntr.	
271.	Type Brooke io: B.M.C. XV EADPARD REX: +GODPINE ON L•/EP	Godwine	<i>B.M.C.</i> 606, Brighton	
	EADPARD REX +LEOFPORD ON L/EP•	Leofword	B.M.C. 607, H.H.K. (ex Drabble sale, 1939, 542)	
	Same die as no. 272 +L•EOFPORD ON L•IEP	,,	Brighton, H.H.K. (ex Argyl coll.) (Pl. XXX, 34)	1
	DDPARD••• AEIPDI• +OωPO•LD ON L/EPE	Oswold	B.M.C. 608, Brighton	
HARO	OLD II			
	Type Brooke 1: B.M.C. I ¹			
275.	+HAROLD REX AN: +GODPINE ON LEPE:	Godwine	<i>B.M.C.</i> 43, H.H.K.	
	+HAROLD REX ANJO +LEOFPARD ON LEPE:	Leofward	B.M.C. 44	
	+HAROLD•REX ANGL• +OSPOLD ON LEPEI	Oswold	B.M.C. 45, H.H.K.	
	+HALOLD REX ANG +OZPOLD ON LEPEEI	,,	B.M.C. 46, H.H.K. (Pl. XXX) 35)	,
Will	там I			
	Type $B.M.C.$ II			
	+PILLEMVS REX +O∽POLD ON LIEPEEI	Oswold	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Pl. XXX, 36)	l
	Type <i>B.M.C.</i> III ² +PILLEMVS REX	Winræd	Huntr. (P1. XXX, 37)	
	+PINERICN ON LEPEI Type B.M.C. IV			
281.	+PILLEM [REX II]NGLOI +IE[LF]RIC ON LIEPENI	Ælfric	H.H.K. (ex Bute sale, 1951, 61) (Pl. XXX, 38)	
282.	+PILLEM REX IINGLO +OSPOLD ON LIEPEI	Oswold	B.M.C. 241	
	Same die as no. 282 +OSPOLD ON LIEPENI	"	B.M.C. 242	
	+PILLEM REX IINGLOII +PINERED ON LIEP! Trefoil instead of pellet on king's right shoulder	Winræd	B.M.C. 243	
0.	Type $B.M.C.$ V		D.16.0	

Brooke gives LEOFA as a moneyer of Lewes for this reign, but the author has been

Oswold

B.M.C. 328

285. +PILLEM REX IINI

+OSPOLD ON LIEPEII

unable to trace any coin with this form of the name.

2 Oswold is given as a moneyer of Lewes in this type in Spicer's "Coinage of William I and II" in N.C. 1904, but the author has been unable to trace any coin of Oswold of this type.

•		Managan	Logation on a the
0.6		Moneyer	Location or authority
286.	+PIIIIIIEXIII Same die as no. 285	Oswold	B.M.C 329
287.	+PILLEMI REX ANII +PINRED ON LIEPII	Winræd	H.H.K. (ex "War Area" find, B.N.J. XII. 21, R. CB. coll. and Lawson sale, 1954, 126) (Pl. XXX, 39)
	Type B.M.C. VI		33 (7 = 1) (= = =============================
2 88.	PILLELM REX +PINRED ON LIEP	Winræd	B.M.C. 414 (Pl. XXX, 40)
	Type B.M.C. VII		
289.	+PILLELM REX +P[IN]RED ON LIEPEI	Winræd	B.M.C. 460 (P1. XXX, 41)
	Type B.M.C. VIII The quarter in which the word the reverse reading, the quart of 242.		
290.	+PILLELM REX +IELFRIC ONLIEPE (3)	Ælfric	B.M.C. 735, Brighton
291.	+PILLELM REX +IILFRIC ON LIEPE (4)	,,	H.H.K. (ex C-B. coll.)
292.	+PILLELMEX +IELFRIC ON LIEP (I)	,,	B.M.C. 736
293.	Same die as no. 292 +IELFRIC ON LEPIE (4)	,,	B.M.C. 737, Brighton, H.H.K.
294.	Same die as no. 292 Same die as no. 291	"	Brighton, H.H.K. (ex Lawson sale, 1954, 164)
295.	As no. 290 +IELFRIC ON LEPE (I)	,,	Copenhagen
296.	+PI[LL]ELM RE[X] +IELFRI[C ON] LIEPI (4)	"	Mr. F. Elmore Jones
297.	+PILLELM REX +OSPOLD ON LIEPIE (3)	Oswold	B.M.C. 738
298.	Same die as no. 291 +OSPOLD ON LIEPE (2)	,,	B.M.C. 739, H.H.K. (ex Marshall sale, 1946, 44)
299.	+PILLELM REX +PINRED ON LIEPI (3)	Winræd	B.M.C. 741, Brighton, H.H.K. (Pl. XXX, 42)
300.	Same die as no. 299 +PINRED ON LIEPN (2)	"	B.M.C. 742
301.	Same die as no. 299 +PINRED ON LEPI (2)	,,	B.M.C. 743, H.H.K.
302.	Same die as no. 299 +PINRED ON LIEPE (4)	,,	B.M.C. 744
303.	Same die as no. 299 +PINRED ON LIEP (2)	,,	B.M.C. 745
304.	Same die as no. 299 +[PI]NRIED ON LIEP (I)	,,	B.M.C. 746, H.H.K.
305.	As no. 299 but different die +PINRED ON LEPEN (3)	,,	Brighton, H.H.K. (ex Lawson sale, 1954, 164)

The Coins of the Sussex Mints 533			
	Moneyer	Location or authority	
WILLIAM II		M +39 Miller Reg	
Type $B.M.C.$ 1: Brooke 1			
206. +PILLELMREXI +IELFRIC ON LIEPIE	Ælfric	B.M. (ex Dudman, 1913, 289, and Lockett, 1955, 996, sales), Brighton, H.H.K. (Pl. XXX, 43)	
Type B.M.C. 2: Brooke 2			
307. +PILLELE REX +IELFRIC ON LIEPE	Ælfric	B.M.C. 102	
308. As no. 307 +IELFRIC ON LIE	"	B.M.C. 103	
309. [+PI]LLELM RE Same die as no. 308	,,	Archbishop Sharp coll.	
310. +PIL[LEL]M RE +BRIH[TMIE]R ONLEP	Brihtmær	Brighton (ex C-B. sale, 1916, 1295)	
3II. +PILLEM REX +BRIHTMER ON LE	,,	H.H.K. (ex C-B. sale, 1918, 1884, and Lockett sale, 1955, 1010) (Pl. XXX, 44)	
312. +PILLELM REX +PINRIED O.NLIEPE	Winræd	B.M.C. 104	
Type <i>B.M.C.</i> 3: Brooke 3			
313. + • · LLEL • · · E +BRIH • · ER ON LIEP	Brihtmær	B.M.C. 192	
314. +PILLM ••••• +BRITMIER ONL•E•D	,,	H.H.K. (ex Dakers sale, 1946, 37) (Pl. XXX, 45)	
315. Unascertained +BRITMIER ONLIEP	,,	Parsons sale, 1929, 270	
316. +PILLELM REI +PINRED ONLIEP	Winræd	B.M.C. 193	
317. ····LEM RE ·· +PINR ·····LIEPI	,,	Brighton (ex C-B. sale, 1918, 1893)	
Type B.M.C. 4: Brooke 4 318. +PILLELMREEX [+P]INRIED ONL •• E	Winræd	H.H.K. (ex C-B. and R.C-B. colls.) (Pl. XXX, 46)	
Type B.M.C. 5: Brooke 5 319. +PILLELM•••	Ælfwine	Huntr.	
+IELPINE ON LEPI			
320. +PILLELM RE+ +BRIHMTIE¥N LIEP	Brihtmær	B.M.C. 266	
321. Same die as no. 320 +BRITMIER ONLEP	,,	B.M.C. 267, H.H.K. (Pl. XXX, 47)	
Henry I			
Type B.M.C. 1 322. +HNRI RE+	Ælfwine	B.M.C. 4	
+IELFPINE ONL]EP	Brihtmær	B.M.C. 5	
+BR[IHT]MR ON LEP	Dillitillæi		
324. +HI ••• CC+NI +BRIHTMR ON LIEPE	,,	Brighton (ex Bliss sale, 1916, 119) (Pl. XXX, 48)	

JJT			
		Moneyer	Location or authority
325.	+HNRI RE+ N +BRIHT[MR] ON LEPE	Brihtmær	H.H.K. (ex W. J. Andrew coll. and Ryan sale, 1952, 898)
326.	Same die as no. 325 +PINNRED ONLEI	Winræd	H.H.K. (ex Wigan, Brice, Montaguand Thorburncolls, and Lockett sale, 1955, 1043)
327.	Type B.M.C. II +HENRI REX +PINRED ON [LIEP]	Winræd	B.M. (P1. XXX, 49)
328.	Type B.M.C. XII +hENRICVS +EDMVND ON LEP	Edmund	Ex Lawrence sale, 1903, 106, and C-B. coll. (<i>B.M.C.</i> , p. ccxix) (P1. XXX, 50)
	Type $B.M.C.$ XIV		
329.	+h·····V·· +EDMVND:[ON:]LAPA	Edmund	H.H.K. (ex C-B. coll. and Lockett sale, 1955, 1078), J.L.D.
330.	+henrievs ·R +OSPOLDVS:ON:LEP:	Oswold	B.M.C. 135, H.H.K. (ex Parsons sale, 1929, 287) (P1. XXX, 51)
331.	+hENRIEVS R: As no. 330	,,	Brighton (ex C-B. sale, 1916, 1382)
STEI	PHEN		
OILI	Type B.M.C. I		
332.	+STIEFNE RE: +hERREVI:ON:LEPE:	Herrevi	Welsh Nat. Museum, Cardiff (ex Rashleigh, 1909, 523 or 525, and Lockett, 1955, 1,100, sales), H.H.K.
333.	+ST····E R: +OS····:ON:LEPE:	Oswold? Osebern?	B.M.C. 49
334.	+STIEFNE · · +PILLEM:ON·LEPE	Willem	Brighton (ex Rashleigh sale, 1909, 524, and Roth coll.), H.H.K. (Pl. XXX, 52)
335.	Unascertained +[PI]LLEM:ON:LEPE Octagonal	"	Wills sale, 1938, 403
336.	Type B.M.C. II +STIEFNE: +[AE]LMAR:ON:LEPE	Ælmar	Brighton, H.H.K. (ex Nunn sale, 1896, 221) (Pl. XXX, 53)
337.	+STE··NE: +OSEBE·N:ON:LEV:	Osebern?	B.M.C. 153
338.	Type B.M.C. VIIEFNRE: +hVN[FREI:O]N:LEV	Hunfrei	Reynolds sale, 1919, 60 and Wills sale, 1938, 403
339.	Type <i>B.M.C.</i> VII EFN E +hV EI:ON:LEV:	Hunfrei	B.M.C. 195 (Pl. XXX, 54)
340.		,,	B.M., F.E.J. (ex Roth coll. and Lockett sale, 1955, 1142)

Monever

2

?

Location or authority

HENRY III

"Tealby" or Cross and Crosslets Type, Class E or F

34I. [+]h[EN]R ... A

F.E.J. (ex C-B., 1916, 1510, Grantley, 1944, 1331, and

Marshall, 1946, 91, sales)

Class F

+F.I ...:LEV:

342. +hENRI REX X +....RT:ON LEPIES: B.M.C. 375 and 376 (PI. XXX, 55)

B.M.C. 376 is on a square flan.

343. ... NRI:REX + R EVAS

Possibly Lewes

B.M.C. 377

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

Add the following:

CHICHESTER

ETHELRÆD II, type B.M.C. IId: Hild. B2

12a. As no. 11 +PVNZTAN MTO CIZE Dunstan? Wunstan?

Stockholm

Type B.M.C. IIIa: Hild. C

23a. As no. 16

Æthestan

Stockholm (Inv. 16200)

+EDESTAN MTO CISI

Type B.M.C VIII: Hild. E

44a. Unascertained

Heawulf

Stockholm (Inv. 14376)

+HEVLF MOO CYZECESTR.

CNUT, type B.M.C. VIII: Hild. E

56a. +CNVT REX ANGLORV +/EIELM ON CIZE

Æthelm

Stockholm (Inv. 9392)

60a. + ENVT REX ANGLORY

Leofric

Stockholm (Inv. 16295)

60b. +ENVT REX ANGLOR

+LEOFRIE ONCIZ

Liofweard

Stockholm (Inv. 16009)

+LIOFPERD O II I

61a. +CNVT REX ANCLORV

Leofwine

Stockholm (Inv. 18287)

+LEOFPIE ONLIZ

RYE

Stephen, type B.M.C. I

Cut halfpenny

+ s [[+RXDVL:ON:RI

Raulf

B.N.J. XXII, p. 332

It has been doubted if Nos. 342 and 343 are of Lewes. They are all from the Leicester hoard which would lead one to expect them to be of Leicester or some mint not too far away, not of what seems to have been at this time a small mint in the extreme south of the country. Leicester, however, seems to have shut down at the end of Class A, and, though there was a RODBERT coining at Leicester in the early "Tealby" type, these are of late "Tealby". He is not known of Lewes. LEPIES at least seems to point clearly to Lewes, not Leicester.

CHICHESTER

- 181a. Mr. R. Carlyon-Britton has a coin of William II, type 3, which was in the C-B. sale, 1913, lot 765 and the Lockett sale, 1955, lot 1022, which has been read as GODPINE ON CIC. It may be but the CIC is far from clear. It is referred to in Norman Kings, p. ccvi, as "Mint doubtful, probably London".
- I84a. Mr. R. Carlyon-Britton has a coin of Henry I, type IV, which reads clearly COLBRAND ONCISI. The spelling CISI had not been used for Chichester since the end of Cnut's reign and was never used again. Colbrand is not known as a moneyer of Chichester apart from this coin, though the extreme rarity of all the early types of Henry I reduces the force of this argument. The author has doubts of its attribution to Chichester. One might accept one of these difficulties but hardly both. Mr. F. Elmore Jones, however, accepts it as being of Chichester (see p. 652 of this volume) and one must give great weight to his knowledge of this period.
- 186. This coin of Henry I, type VII, should have been given as doubtful, since the initial cross and the second Γ are not clear. Norman Kings, p. ccxxiv, gives it as "mint uncertain, perhaps Chichester". Brand (or Brant) is not known of any other mint at this period.
- 196 and 197. All these three coins should be classed as mules, Groups Vb/Va. They have the cross pommée, but on both sides normal, not reversed, S.
- 200. Omit initial cross on obverse.

STEPHEN TYPE VII

By f. elmore jones

In Num. Chron. 1955, p. 243, Mr. R. A. G. Carson published the reattribution of the Stephen type VII coin B.M.C. (Norman Kings) No. 214 from Thetford to Hereford on the strength of a die-link discovered by myself with a coin in an important private collection the existence of which was unknown to the late Dr. Brooke.

This is but one instance of the many reattributions and additions to the tables of mints and moneyers in the Introduction to B.M.C. which a thorough study of the coins of this rare and interesting type

has revealed.

The type is remarkable for the crop of new moneyers' names which it reveals and as the majority of the coins are very badly struck it is inevitable that a number of readings must remain indeterminate, but the following summarized version of Table A at the end of this paper shows at a glance the full extent of the reattributions and additions which are now made possible.

Add Bedford Tomas.
Bury. Add Willem delete
Gilebert.
Canterbury. Add Edward.
Add Colchester God..
Exeter. The moneyer is
A(i)lric.
Gloucester. Add Willem.
Add Hedon Gerard.
Add Hereford Driu.
Huntingdon. Add Waltier.

Add Ipswich. A -- RI (? Alfric) and Paen.
Lincoln. Add G -- -- and
Paen.
London. Add Terri. D.
delete Tomas.
Delete Northampton.
Norwich. Add Davi. For
HILDE -- - read Hildebran.
Pevensey. Add Felipe.

Salisbury. Add Vinman (Wineman).

Sudbury. Add Edward.
For --- EBERT read Gilebert.

Thetford. Delete Driu.
Add Warwick Everard.

Wilton. Add Eller.
Add Worcester Adam and Allem.

York. Add Gefrei and ---- N.

As the majority of these relate to coins in the National Collection and others of which Brooke had knowledge (and I have found his box of plaster casts with the provenances and readings meticulously recorded an invaluable help) the impression cannot be avoided that the treatment of type VII falls short of the standard of the rest of the *Catalogue*—that is to say a standard which is wellnigh perfection.

I cannot avoid the suspicion that this the final phase of a vast work (and Stephen type VII embraces only 48 coins out of a total of something like 2,000) may have been completed a little too hastily or else that the author was slightly intolerant of badly struck and generally

illegible coins.

He once described any attempt to interpret the inscriptions on "Tealby" type pennies as a "misfortune" and, since the immediate predecessors of those terribly ill-struck pieces exhibit the same characteristics of irregular flans and uneven striking (and the usual effect of this is not just a faint outline—it produces a space which is

completely blank; nothing at all is visible), it is possible he may have felt the same way about Stephen type VII. Be that as it may and no doubt because I have a marked partiality for "misfortune" of the kind mentioned I personally have found these badly struck and often "illegible" coins of Stephen a most fascinating study and one which

has proved highly rewarding in results.

Perhaps I may quote one outstanding example which resulted in the clarification of no less than four uncertain readings, as even in this series it is not often one has the good fortune to "break down" so many uncertain readings at once. The B.M.C. uncertain No. 223 reading +ELLE——, Carlyon Britton lot 1479 +E——:ON:PILT and the Bruun coin lot 227 thought to read [+SAI]ED:ON:P—— for Winchester are all from the same dies and combine to give the complete reading of +ELLER:ON:PILT (Wilton), thus providing an unpublished moneyer and an interesting name which may well be a derivative of the rare name Ealla which occurs at the neighbouring mint of Salisbury in the preceding reign. This reading in turn helps out with a fourth only partially legible coin, the uncertain H.M.R. 64 coin (P1. XXXI, 22) reading +EL——E——TV which is virtually certain to be of the same moneyer (ELLERE) although this is not as yet provable from a die-link.

Whilst it is felt that all new material by way of reattributions and additions to Norman Kings should now be recorded in the Journal in a composite form, I should like to make it clear that I originally embarked on this paper with little more than that objective in mind. In point of fact my notes for this paper were virtually completed something like ten years ago, but so many unexpected developments have cropped up during their final revision that I have gone a good deal farther than I originally intended and have allowed myself to become involved in a discussion of some of the many intricate problems of this reign. Even so, nothing in the nature of a corpus of the coins of the type is attempted nor do I envisage a full-scale review of its historical background. The more one studies this reign, including the comparatively straightforward part of it comprised in types II and VII, the greater the impression one gets that almost anything

is liable to happen.

Many problems are still as insoluble as they were say fifty years ago, and I am not sure that we even know the right chronological sequence of the main types of the reign, or for that matter that we can really be sure that there actually are any main types apart from B.M.C.

types I, II, and VII.

In touching on these complex problems in the light of what seems to emerge from a study of type VII, I do so in the hope that it may stimulate a reappraisal of the reign as a whole including the baronial and irregular issues (a formidable task indeed). I quite realize that any present theories of my own may well be proved wrong and that in this reign it is probably unwise even to go so far as to theorize.

DESCRIPTION OF TYPE

Brooke's description of the type in B.M.C. is as follows:

Obv. Bust three quarters 1., bearded, crowned, holding sceptre in r. hand. Around inscription divided by bust; all within a beaded circle.

Rev. Cross voided within beaded quatrefoil, in centre an annulet, in each angle a fleur-de-lys springing from the quatrefoil; a pellet in each outer angle of the quatrefoil. Around inscription between two beaded circles.

The thirty specimens illustrated on PI. XXXI are a typical cross-section of the type from the point of view of condition and legibility.

Primarily these examples have been selected for their interest and rarity rather than for condition and the majority comprise important coins which have not been illustrated before.

Both as to obverse and reverse the type bears a marked resemblance to type II—a resemblance which frequently led to confusion in the sale catalogues of about half a century ago. Following the precedent of types II and VI the obverse legend invariably reads STIEFNE only, without any title—abbreviated or otherwise. The lettering is very well formed and on the reverse is evenly spaced and regularly punctuated; I know of no instance of ligation being used.

It is significant to note that the coins reveal a remarkable degree of uniformity, from which it may be inferred that the dies were all engraved at one centre, presumably London. The type does, however, contain what seems to me to be a quite disproportionate number of irregular dies of tolerably good workmanship but with meaningless reverse inscriptions. These pieces are usually of base metal and light weight. They must be contemporary forgeries and are, of course, exceptions to the rule of uniformity. Many of them are strongly suggestive of Scottish work (cf. B.M.C. pl. lvi, no. 16) but their source of origin is quite obscure. Two good examples (not of the Scottish flavour variety) are illustrated (Pl. XXXI, 29 and 30). It should be noted that the dies of the regular coins are of a high standard of workmanship as well as uniformity² and that the reverse inscriptions are remarkably free from blunders in spelling. Actually I know of only one possible instance of a blundering of the moneyer's name—a London coin which seems to omit the second R of Ricard. The coin is not fully legible at this point and the mis-spelling could result from the addition of the initial of a surname with a colon on each side of it. This feature occasionally occurs in this type and it is a departure from the normal which resulted in some quite extraordinary blunderings when the dies of the earliest "Cross and Crosslets" coinage came to be engraved a few years later.

I do not know of a single instance of a blundered mint signature unless the mysterious EIPEI (possibly EIPEN or EIPER but definitely

¹ Since writing I have found one exception to this rule, viz. R.C.L. 1128 of type II which reads **STIEFNE:R**. Presumably this is a very early die; it is certainly a significant one from a chronological standpoint as it links type II with type I.

from a chronological standpoint as it links type II with type I.

² One small detail which does vary considerably from die to die (and which is most useful when looking for possible die-links) is the angle of the two strokes which form the outline of the king's shoulder. These may be anything from vertical to horizontal.

not EIPES) is an exception to this rule. This mysterious reading occurs on a unique coin in the Royal Copenhagen Museum (Pl. XXXI, 25 and B.M.C. pl. lv, no. 15). Brooke does not mention the coin anywhere in the text of B.M.C. but his note with the cast in the British Museum shows that he assigned it with a query to Ipswich and its position on the plate in the catalogue between a Huntingdon and a Lewes confirms his tentative attribution to that mint.

Is it possible he had second thoughts about it and I wonder if he ever considered the possibility of this being the name of a mint starting with the letter \mathbf{C} ? Unfortunately the moneyer's name is completely illegible beyond its being one ending with a D. Although Brooke does not record Ipswich as striking in this type two undoubted Ipswich coins exist. One of these is in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, of which Brooke had a cast and about which I shall have a good deal to say later on from the point of view of chronology. The mint signature is very clear but the name of the moneyer is only partially legible; from such letters as are visible ($+\pi$ - - RI -) ALFRIC and ALVRED are both possible, the former seeming the more likely of the two.

The second Ipswich coin is quite "new" and Brooke could not have known of its existence. It is illustrated on P1. XXXI, 10; the moneyer is PAIEN or PAEN who is known to have struck at Ipswich in Stephen's first type. On both these coins the mint signature clearly shows the normal Ipswich spelling of GIPE(S) and it is significant to note that the form of the letter G is always round at this period—not square.

I cannot believe there is any likelihood of GIPESWIC ever being given such an unusual form as CIPENSWIC and, that being so, there seems a strong possibility that **CIPEN** may turn out to be a new mint. In that case it is presumably as completely new to the whole English series as are BRAN and HEDVN neither of which, so far is at present known, occurs in any other Stephen type or any other reign. It is surprising that a type of which the total number of coins extant is unlikely to exceed 150 should produce at least two mints which are unknown in any other type and it seems probable that its output was on a far greater scale than we have ever envisaged. Both BRAN and **HEDVN** have formed the subject of short papers of mine in *Brit. Num.* Journ. (vol. xxv (1947), pp. 119–24 and vol. xxvi (1949), pp. 28–30 respectively). One coin of the BRAN mint is plated in B.M.C. and another is illustrated in several well-known sale catalogues, but I think I am right in saying that neither of the two known specimens of HEDVN has ever been illustrated before. At any rate both are now illustrated together for the first time (PI. XXXI, 8 and 9). No. q is the coin mentioned by Brooke on p. clxxi of B.M.C. and is in the Hunterian Museum. No. 8 is in the collection of Mr. Fred Baldwin and is, of course, the same coin as that published in my article on the HEDVN (Hedon, near Hull) mint in Brit. Num. Journ. vol. xxvi. It is one of the many unique coins of type VII in Mr. Baldwin's collection. I am most grateful to him for permission for its illustration here and for the facilities he has so kindly given me for the study of all his coins of the type. His collection has enabled me to include the names of several unpublished moneyers in my tables and seven of his coins are illustrated here.

CHRONOLOGY

Apart from epigraphy, which at this period is none too reliable a guide, the only evidence which exists for putting this type as the last of the reign is that provided by the Awbridge (nr. Romsey, Hants) Find of 1903. It is believed that this originally comprised about 180 coins; of the 138 recorded specimens which were examined at the British Museum 31 were Stephen type VII, 104 were early "Cross and Crosslets" pennies of Henry II, and 3 were of the SANSON ONANT variety of Stephen type I (B.M.C. Irregular var. 7). I should very much like to see a reappraisal of these last-named perplexing coins which were found in both the Linton (an early Stephen hoard) and the Awbridge Finds (and which, as Brooke points out, are undoubtedly of irregular origin) in the light of what I now regard as the virtually certain evidence that SANSVN (and that exact spelling occurs on one of the "Stephen" coins) is a Canterbury moneyer early in the "Cross and Crosslets" coinage of Henry II. Such reappraisal would, I am sure, completely vindicate Brooke's reluctance to associate these pieces with Southampton either from the point of view of source of origin or mint signature. Whilst I do not think this new evidence can possibly provide the whole answer it may well be a pointer to the dating and background of these most puzzling coins. If, as Brooke infers, they originate from "organized forgery" it must have been forgery on a very large scale since at least six reverse dies of the "Stephen" coins are known and, as the "Cross and Crosslets" coins of SANSVN are of irregular work, the indications are that it may have even continued into the next reign. Whilst this may well account for the presence of the ONANT coins in Awbridge, it now makes their presence in Linton the anomaly unless types II and VII are closer chronologically than has hitherto been envisaged. Whilst it may account for the ANT mint signature the many other baffling problems of the background of these pieces still remain.

Hoard evidence has been known to be misleading but in the case of Awbridge it can hardly be otherwise than entirely conclusive; it may, therefore, be taken for granted that type VII is correctly placed as Stephen's last and that it ran from about 1150 to 1158. As is well known this four-year overlap into Henry II's reign is well authenticated by the numerous references in the Pipe Rolls to the arrangements for the initiation of the new coinage in the latter year. Whilst there is no doubt as to the terminal date of type VII it is quite a different matter to decide which type of Stephen's was its immediate predecessor and whether our present chronology of this most complex

period is the best possible in the light of the available data.

In studying type VII I have been struck by its marked similarity to type II both as to obverse and reverse and, as to the obverse in

particular, to those dies which omit any trace of an inner circle. (Cf. Brit. Num. Journ. 1956, pl. xxi, nos. 39 and 41 as a clear example of this where the type II is struck on a larger flan than usual and the distinctive differences in the drapery are hardly discernible.) I cannot avoid the impression that this resemblance is so very close that type VII may well have immediately followed type II. In other words I am wondering whether the Stephen type classification of the Carlyon-Britton sale catalogue era of some 40 years ago may not be more

realistic than our present one.

This three-type classification only recognized B.M.C. types I, II, and VII as main types, the four intervening B.M.C. types being classified as very rare varieties. That seems reasonable enough in the case of B.M.C. types III, IV, and V which are so rare that there are only five specimens in all in the British Museum and very few, if any, more than that number elsewhere, and perhaps a digression on this theme may precede consideration of the relative position of types II and VII. Whilst I certainly do not regard types III and V as having quite the same "Baronial" origin as, for instance, the Derby "Martlets" type or that very queer piece from Corby, Northants, undoubtedly an irregular coin of this period, which Mr. Dolley published and discussed in Brit. Num. Journ. 1955 (p. 195), I do not consider them to be regular issues or substantive types.

So few are known that it is dangerous to theorize, but on their style and epigraphy they give me the impression of being local varieties or irregular issues of Midlands and Eastern Counties origin from the mints of Lincoln, Nottingham, Northampton and, if B.M.C. 176 and 177 are correctly attributed, Norwich. No London specimen is known of either type nor does it, I think, exist. Type V is a combination of a type I obverse with a reverse design which seems to have affinities with both types I and IV and it is confined to the Leicester mint and one moneyer—Simun. The queried attribution of R.C.L. lot 1134 to Exeter is based on a mis-reading. Only four specimens of the "type" are known—there are certainly two reverse dies but probably only one obverse die. The moneyer SIMUN is also known in type I.¹ Surely this "type" too cannot be otherwise than a local variety of irregular origin and peculiar to the mint of Leicester.

Type VI is, however, clearly in a different category from III, IV, and V since, although very rare indeed (and the number of known specimens probably does not exceed 25), it is known of at least 8 mints including London and Canterbury and, although not perhaps up to the best standard achieved in types I and II, the dies are clearly of official workmanship. It is true that a few of the surviving coins appear to be of inferior metal and one at least is claimed to be plated, but is that surprising in the light of conditions prevalent at the time?

^I Two die-duplicate coins in the B.M. (ex Catalogue), one ex the South Kyme (Lincs.) Find which contained quite a considerable sprinkling of Baronials. Incidentally I am convinced that the famous "Exeter variant" coin R.C.L. 1155 and English Coins, pl. xx. 2 (now in the B.M.) is also a product of the same hand—and the Leicester Mint. On the basis of all the published coins I have been able to trace, Simun as an Exeter moneyer is a myth.

Type VI should therefore be regarded as making a fourth type for the reign, and an analysis of the mints of Stephen's two intermediate types (B.M.C. types II and VI) exactly accords with the following passage of Brooke in *English Coins*, p. 91, which I quote in full:

The establishment of the Angevin strongholds in the West limited the king's mints to the Eastern half of the country, except in the first and last types of the reign. New mints were opened at Castle Rising (Risinges) and Rye (Rie). Another result of the civil war was the failure to change the first type at the usual period; it was the model for coins which were struck by the Empress not earlier than 1139, and other varieties of the first type seem to belong to the time of Stephen's captivity in 1141.

The following table shows the mints of the two types and, I think, gives them their right perspective as substantive issues of the king's "half" of the country:

		M	int			Type II	Type VI
Bedford	•					+	+ (R.C.L. 2961 and H.A.P. 254)
Bury St. E	dmu	ınds			.	+	"
Canterbury						+	+
Castle Risi	ng				.	+	+
Colchester						+	- Ently with
Dover						+	
						(Unpubd. coin in Vienna Mus.)	
Hastings		10.11			.	+ ,	+
Ipswich						<u> </u>	<u> </u>
Lewes					.	+	+
London						+	+
Norwich					.	+	+
Pevensey						++	_
Rye .						+	_
Sandwich						+	-
Sudbury						_	+
Thetford			•			+	(B.M.C. pl. lv, no. 5)*
Totals						15	8

^{*} A new attribution correcting Brooke's tentative reading of the mint name as "SOR" to the much more probable "SVB".

In considering whether types III, IV, and V are regular or Baronial issues it is significant to note that of the five mints recorded for them in B.M.C. only one (Norwich) occurs in the foregoing list. Furthermore the attribution of B.M.C. Nos. 176/7 to Norwich as against Northampton is by no means certain. The mints of Leicester, Lincoln, Northampton, and Nottingham appear to have been outside the king's control.

Unfortunately our knowledge of the coins of both these types (II and VI) is very slight and hoard evidence is confined to Linton; so far as is known no single type VI has an English hoard provenance. It is therefore virtually impossible to determine their relative position chronologically, and Brooke considered type VI to be the later on the evidence of the epigraphical data.

Whilst this may well be right, and the evidence of Linton and other "pointers" is definitely in its favour, I do not think a firm conclusion is possible. As to "pointers" to an earlier dating for type VI I am not unduly influenced by the unique coin R.C.L. lot 1138 which might, with some justification, be claimed as being a type I/VI mule but which is, I am sure, simply a combination of two types by an imaginative and tolerably skilful, but nevertheless "irregular", die-engraver. But I am influenced by a consideration of those two very remarkable type VII coins Nos. I and 2 on Pl. XXXI and their implications in the matter of chronology. Both coins are from the same obverse die and one which, when the two coins are checked against each other, is seen to be transitional between types II and VII. In common with several other type II dies (presumably late ones) it omits the partial inner circle; No. 2 on the plate shows that the bust and drapery exactly conform to type II and No. I clearly shows the addition of the beard of type VII. Both reverse dies are pure type VII. No. I (the "true" coin) is the Hunterian Museum coin of the mint of Ipswich which is referred to earlier in this paper. No. 2 is B.M.C. No. 185 which formed the subject of an article of mine in Brit. Num. Journ. xxv (1947).2 It is virtually certain that the monever's name is Rodbert (a name which is perhaps not quite so widespread as in type I but which is known to occur in type VII at London, Canterbury, and Hastings, and at Castle Rising in types II and VI) and it is very unlikely that Brooke's interpretation of such of the mint signature as is actually visible as elements of EAN for Canterbury would ever have been queried had not the obverse dielink with Ipswich come to light.

The fact that I am now able to put forward a possible reattribution of this truly remarkable piece is entirely due to two things: (I) Mr. Dolley's refusal to accept an Ipswich/Canterbury die movement as in any way possible, even in this reign, and (2) to his putting me on the scent of a possible interpretation of the only elements of the mint name which are in fact visible on the coin, viz. three firm downstrokes

I By the same token I am bound to say that I would not allow myself to be influenced to any greater extent by the famous Sheldon Find mule of types I/II (B.M.C., pl. liii, No. 1) as proving that type II must necessarily precede type VI. This has an obverse die of quite good type I standard but the crude letter-forms on the reverse plus the unprecedented spelling of WILLEM as VILAM (and is this name capable of any other interpretation?) give me the distinct impression that this coin too may well be irregular and a "mule" by accident only. I see that I have already expressed much the same opinion as this in my article in Brit. Num. Journ., vol. xxxv, p. 230.

² In this short article ("An unpublished mule of Stephen") I published this coin (B.M.C. 185) as being a type II/VII mule and I accepted its B.M.C. attribution to Canterbury.

It is now clear of course that what I wrote then needs complete revision in the light of the emergence of the Ipswich obverse die-link. The coin is not, in fact, a II/VII mule since it is now established that the obverse die was made for use with a type VII reverse die and was in fact so used. Having regard to the condition of the die when it was used to strike the "Canterbury" coin I could not possibly have known this when writing about it in 1947—without the Ipswich coin I was very largely working in the dark. This is but one of the many coins of type VII which can only be "broken down" by stages (see Tables B and C for others). Even now the final stage of the "breaking down" of B.M.C. 185 still has to be reached; its place of mintage still has to be determined with certainty.

without the all-important crossbar of the N but with the possibility

of the loop of an H or R to the first one.

Whilst this reading must remain one of my many tantalizing type VII puzzles it may well be that this is a coin of the Castle Rising moneyer Rodbert hitherto unknown in type VII but well authenticated from several coins of types II and VI.

It is in fact a curious feature of the very rare type VI that of the dozen or so known specimens no less than four are of this mint and moneyer. It is very possible that Rodbert was still in office early in

type VII before being superseded by Hiun.

Although not provable I now suggest that Brooke's LAN is to be read as AN and I am adopting this as the only reattribution which is possible on the basis of this unique coin. Eventually another may turn up to settle the matter one way or the other. I do not exclude the possibility of this proving to be a completely new mint altogether but there the matter must rest until a specimen with a full reading of the mint name makes its appearance or until the answer is revealed by a clue in the Pipe Rolls which has not hitherto been noticed.

THE PIPE ROLLS

I have already drawn attention to the extent to which a study of the entries in the Pipe Rolls of Henry II's early years has assisted the interpretation of the readings and the mint attributions of the later coins of *Stephen's* reign and in particular those of type VII (B.N.J. xxv, 1947). These entries which cover the first twenty-two years of Henry's reign are recorded and discussed by Carlyon-Britton in Brit. Num. Journ. ii (1905), 183–242, and I mention in Brit. Num. Journ. xxv that the names of some 20 Stephen moneyers may be identified from the approximately 75 names which the Rolls disclose.

To that number three more possible identifications have emerged from readings which were unknown to me when my 1947 paper was written—they have in fact only come to light within the last few weeks during the revision of my earlier notes. As all three are of considerable significance to a study of type VII and each affords a striking example of the value of Carlyon-Britton's research (when applied to both Stephen's and Henry's coins), I trust the details will

be considered worthy of being recorded here.

I. The unique coin in Mr. Baldwin's collection (Pl. XXXI, 18) read by me as +VINMAN ON SAL (and it is only the last letter of the mint name which has hitherto been in doubt and gave rise to other attributions) may be associated with the Wineman of the two Pipe Roll entries under Wiltshire which are extracted in *Brit. Num. Journ.* ii, p. 201 and the coin may now be assigned to Salisbury. As this is a very rare moneyer's name at this period (it is unrecorded in *B.M.C.* for any mint) I feel that any possible element of coincidence may be ruled out.

2. Another of Mr. Baldwin's coins gives the missing second (which here is also the final) letter of the mint name of B.M.C. 183 and, since this proves to be U and not A, the British Museum coin tentatively attributed to Bury St. Edmunds may now be read in conjunction with the undoubted Sudbury B.M.C. 211 and both coins associated with the Gillebert of the numerous Pipe Roll entries under Norfolk and Suffolk. In this way the "uncertain" mint of one British Museum coin (No. 183) is identified as well as the uncertain moneyer (--- EBERT) of another (No. 211). It should be mentioned here that since the Pipe Rolls provide no clue as to whether the references are to "old" or "new" moneyers Carlyon-Britton assumed these particular ones to relate to the "Cross and Crosslets" moneyer Gillebert of Norwich. However, on balance and considering the date of the earliest entry (in which connexion the four-year overlap of type VII into Henry's reign must be borne in mind) Gillebert of Sudbury seems to me to be equally relevant if not actually the more likely of the two.

3. Whilst it would be very gratifying to claim this next identification as established I feel that it can only go forward as a tentative one since it rests on the rather too slender foothold of its being possible to distinguish between Γ and Γ (and the two letter forms *are* very different even with only three-quarters of the letter being visible as is the case here) and to distinguish between the space required for a

five-letter mint name as against one of only four.

Should my tentative attribution eventually be proved right, it would be a particularly gratifying identity to have established, and perhaps the best example so far of the value of the Pipe Roll extracts in the interpretation of readings where only an odd letter or two is actually visible on the coin. It would establish the identification of the Essex moneyer Alexander of the Pipe Roll entries of 5 Hy. II, p. 5, and 6 Hy. II, p. 11, which have hitherto, and without any real justification, always been considered to relate to the London moneyer of the same name (B.M.C. 196).

If my interpretation of what is visible of the mint name on the two coins (PI. XXXI, 5 and 6) is right they combine to give the reading ALISANDEROND—E, but I must wait for the appearance of a third specimen to show that the missing letters are in fact the O and L

necessary to complete the Colchester reading.

I do not think any significance attaches to the spelling ALISANDER as against the ALISANDER of the undoubted London coin B.M.C. 196. The former is, I think, simply a slightly earlier spelling of the name since it also occurs in type I at London and if it is established at Colchester in type VII I should not be surprised to find that both spellings are used in type VII at both mints. For the present a reattribution to Colchester is not claimed as established but I have, however, included Alisander in the following list of type VII moneyers with possible Pipe Roll identifications.

This list includes all type VII moneyers known to me who, from the names and mint signatures on the coins, may reasonably be identified

with the entries as published in Carlyon-Britton's article in *Brit*. *Num. Journ*. ii and is without reference to any subsequently published translations or amendments of those on which Carlyon-Britton relied

for his paper.

It follows the same form as that adopted by D. F. Allen (B.M.C. Cross and Crosslets Coinage, p. lxxi) to record the names which are identifiable from Henry II's coins. A comparison between the two lists shows that four names are duplicated; since the entries are under counties and not towns and no distinction is drawn between active moneyers and those no longer active, such an apparent anomaly is quite readily explicable.

P.R. county	Possible Type VII moneyer	Original entry	Repeat entries
Bucks. and Beds.	Tomas, Bedford	1159–60	1160-1 to 1166-7
Devonshire	Al(f)ric, Exeter	1160-1	1161-2 to 1162-3
Essex	Alisander, Colchester	1158-9	1159–60
Kent	Adam, Dover	1157-8	1158–9
Lincolnshire	Gerard, Hedon	1156-7	
	(Yorks.)		
London	*Geffrei	1158-9	1159–60
	*Rodbert	1162-3	
Norfolk and Suffolk	Alfric, Norwich	1158-9	1162–3 to 1165–6
	Davi, do.	1158-9	1159–60 to 1160–1
	Edward, Sudbury	1159-60	
	Geffrei, Thetford	1158-9	1160–1
	*Gillebert, Sudbury	1158–9	1175–6
	Raulf, Norwich	1162-3	1163–4 to 1165–6
	Thor(t), do.	1162-3	1163–4 to 1165–6
	Willem, do.	11578	
Sussex	Orgar, Bramber	1160-1	
Wiltshire	Wineman, Salisbury	1158–9	1159–60
	*Willem, Wilton	1158-9	1159-60 to 1174-5

In addition to the foregoing *Edred (Warwick)*, *Alard and Wulfric (Worcester)*, and *Walchelin (Derby)* are identifiable as Stephen moneyers (these mints were not working in Henry's reign) but they are unknown in type VII and are unlikely to have been active so late in the reign.

* Denotes moneyers who are common to both reigns (Stephen's and Henry's) so that if

not the same individual the identification could apply to either.

MINTS AND MONEYERS

The tables which follow, viz. Tables A, B (unidentified mints), C (unidentified moneyers), and D, disclose a total of 34 mints and some 65 moneyers. These numbers are surprisingly high in relation to the rarity of the coins. A comparative analysis of the mints and moneyers with those of Stephen's other types could be made but it would not, I think, serve any useful purpose as it is clear that our present knowledge of the overall picture of type VII cannot be anything like complete.

It has already been remarked that the type certainly gives us two mints which are entirely new to the English series and it is quite likely that there are two more still awaiting identification. Whilst the mints at present known are still predominantly in the eastern half of the country the area to which the mints of types II and VI were restricted is now extended northwards to York and westwards to Exeter and to Hereford on the Welsh borders. Many of the traditional mints of the north-west and midlands counties are absent, but since Awbridge in Hampshire is the only known find spot, this may well be accounted for by the accident of discovery.

As to the moneyers, something like one-half of the approximate 65 recorded names are only known in this one type. These names can easily be extracted from the tables and I do not consider that any useful purpose would be served by their being analysed here.

I do not think further comment is called for by way of introduction of the four tables and trust they will be found to be self-explanatory. For the sake of clarity (as well as brevity) pedigrees are reduced to a minimum, but sale catalogue lot numbers are given where of significance and in all instances where a coin has a catalogue illustration.

TABLE A

Mints and Moneyers

Explanatory notes

- * Denotes coins which are die-duplicates.
- † Denotes coins from same obverse die. ‡ Denotes coins from same reverse die.

Abbreviations used: F.B. (A. H. F. Baldwin) F.E.J. (Writer's coll.) R.C.L. (the late R. Cyril Lockett) P.C.-B. (Carlyon-Britton Sale Catalogues)

Mint	Moneyer	Provenance or Location	Remarks
Bedford	Tomas	1. Ryan 918† 2. F.E.J.†	The mint name on both these coins is BEDE. No. I was formerly misread as LVNDE and assigned to London in B.M.C. (p. ccxxv), P.CB. (1473) and other sale catalogues. Several casts of No. I are in existence in well-known collections. Tomas is also known as a Bedford moneyer in type II (cut ½d. in B.M.) and in type VI (R.C.L. 2961).
"Bran" (? Bramber)	Orgar	1. R.C.L. 1140* 2. Copenhagen Mus.*	For attribution to this mint and possible identification of this moneyer with the Orgar of the P.R. entry of 7 Hy. II, p. 13 see B.N.J. 1947, p. 119.
	Willem	1. B.M.C. 181* 2. F.E.J.* 3. B.M.C. 182	B.M.C., pl. lv. 6.
Bury St. Edmunds	Willem	See Remarks (Pl. XXXI, 3)	This unpublished moneyer (the earliest of the three "Cross and Crosslets" moneyers at this mint) is identified from a unique coin ex Ministry of Works excavations at Thetford which was exhibited to the Society by Mr. S. E. Rigold in 1953. It reads *PILLE — ED. The writer is confident this can only be completed as PILLEM: ON:SC:ED, as on the earliest coins of Henry II. The moneyer GILEBER T is now reattributed
Canterbury	Edward	1. B.M.C. 186 2. F.B. (Pl. XXXI, 4) 3. Bruun 227	to Sudbury $(B.M.C. 183)$. Now reattributed to this moneyer.
	Rodbert	Ashmolean Mus.	B.M.C. 184 is of London (same obv. die as B.M.C. 202). For B.M.C. 185 see Table C.
	Rogier	1. B.M.C. 187* 2. B.M.C. 188*	B.M.C., pl. lv. 9.

Mint	Moneyer	Provenance or Location	Remarks
Castle Rising	Hiun (or Iun)	1. B.M.C. 189 2. R.C.L. 1139† 3. F.E.J.†	B.M.C. pl. lv. ro. See Table C for possible identification of the moneyer Rodbert (already known in types II and VI) in this type. A cut farthing of this mint in Mr. Doubleday's collection and found at Dunwich appears to be a die combination of Nos. 1 and 3.
Colchester	GOD	G. V. Doubleday ex R.C.L. 1141	B.N.J. 1941/2, p. 20, no. 202. No. 202a there recorded is of type II. See Table C for possible identification of the Essex Pipe Roll moneyer Alexander to this mint.
Dover Exeter	Adam Ailric	B.M.C. 190 1. P.CB. 1471 2. P. Brettell [†] (PI. XXXI, 7)	B.M.C., pl. lv. 11.
Gloucester	Ralf Willem	3. B.M.C. 191‡ B.M.C. 192 1. B.M.C. 193* 2. F.E.J. ex Wills 411*	B.M.C., pl. lv. 12. B.M.C., pl. lv. 13. Now reattributed to this moneyer. No. 2 corrects attribution to Rochester in P.CB. and Wills sale catalogues. A moneyer of this name has recently been identified as having struck for Henry of Anjou at this mint. See B.N.J.
Hastings	Rodbert	H. H. King ex	1947, p. 228. B.N.J. 1956, pl. xxi, no. 41.
"Hedun'' (Hedon, E. Yorks.)	Gerard	Bruun 227 1. Hunterian Mus.† 2. F.B.† (PI. XXXI,	For attribution to <i>Hedon</i> , nr. Hull and possible identification of this moneyer with the Gerard of Grimsby of the Pipe Roll entry
Hereford	Driu (or Driv)	8 and 9) 1. B.M.C. 214* 2. "Archbishop Sharp" coll.*	3 Hy. II 83, see B.N.J. 1949, p. 28. B.M.C., pl. lvi. 10. For reattribution to Hereford see Num. Chron. 1955, p. 243. A moneyer of this distinctive name strikes at this mint in the next reign but is not neces-
Huntingdon	Godmer	B.M.C. 194	sarily the same individual. B.M.C., pl. lv. 14. The attribution of P.CB. 1471 (now F.E.J.) to this moneyer is com-
	Waltier	 R.C.L. 2963* F.E.J. ex Drabble 995* 	pletely uncertain. Unpublished moneyer for this reign; No. 2 corrects attribution to London in Drabble sale catalogue. B.M.C. 228 by a moneyer of this name and with no vestige of the
Ipswich	A RI (or E)- ? Alfric Paen (or	Hunterian Mus. (PI. XXXI, 1) F.E.J.	mint signature visible may be of this mint but there is no die-link. This remarkable coin with its "transitional type II" obverse die is fully discussed earlier in this paper. Unpublished mint for this type.
Lewes	Paien) Hunfrei	(PI. XXXI, 10) 1. B.M.C. 195 2. F.E.J. ex R.C.L.	B.M.C., pl. lvi. 1.
Lincoln	Hue	J. W. F. Hill ex	
	Paen	R.C.L. 1143 1. B.M.C. 204* 2. Fitzwilliam Mus. ex Clark 66*	Now reattributed to this mint.
London	G—— or O—— Adam	(PI. XXXI, 12) F.B. (PI. XXXI, 11) F.E.J. ex Wills 406	If G possibly Gladwin; if O possibly Oslac, both these moneyers being known in type I.
	Alisandre Dereman Geffrei	(PI. XXXI, 13) B.M.C. 196 B.M.C. 199	B.M.C., pl. lvi. 2. See also Table C.
	Raulf Ricard	B.M.C. 200 B.M.C. 201 I. P.CB. 1472 2. R. P. Mack	B.M.C., pl. lvi. 4. See Table C for Ricard with initial of surname.

Mint	Moneyer	Provenance or Location	Remarks
London	Rodbert	1. B.M.C. 202† 2. B.M.C. 184† 3. P.CB. 1970	
	Terri. D.	1. F.B.† (Pl. XXXI, 14) 2. Copenhagen Mus.† 3. F.E.J.†	Unpublished moneyer for this type.
	Wulwin	1. Ashmolean Mus. 2. ex "S.M.S." coll. 3. B.M. ex R.C.L.	This is a very uncertain attribution. Only the first three letters of the name are visible and these might be read as PVD—or DVD—.
Norwich	Alfric(h)	 B.M.C. 205* Norwich Cas. Mus. ex Rashleigh 544* 	B.M.C., pl. lvi. 5 and English Coins, pl. xix no. 17.
	Davi	B.M.C. 222 (PI. XXXI, 15)	Although the mint name is incomplete it i regarded as virtually certain that this is th moneyer of the Norfolk and Suffolk Pip Roll entries of 5 Hy. II, p. 13, 6 Hy. II p. 4, and 7 Hy. II, p. 2.
	Hildebran Raulf	B.M.C. 206 Hunterian Mus. (PI. XXXI, 16)	Ryan 917 in type 6 gives full spelling of thi name which is only known from these two coins.
	Thor(t)	1. B.M.C. 207* 2. F.E.J.*	B.M.C., pl. Ivi. 6.
	Willem	1. Drabble 996*† 2. F.E.J.*† 3. R.C.L.†† 4. Norwich Cas. Mus. ex Roth 132‡	A coin in Norwich Cas. Mus. discloses a Nor wich moneyer with the initial of a surnam G. The Christian name is probably Willen but it cannot be read with certainty.
Nottingham	Swein	1. P.CB. 1474 2. F.E.J. ex P.CB.	
Pevensey	Alwine	1. H. H. King ex R.C.L. 1146	B.N.J. 1956, pl. iii. 47.
		2. F.E.J. ex Drabble	This obverse has been described as "kin, holding sceptre with both hands" but thi is an illusion due to a freak of striking.
	Felipe	F.E. J. (Pl. XXXI, 17)	B.N.J. 1956, p. 74, no. 12. Unpublished moneyer for this reign and the first appear ance of this name which does not reappear until the Shortcross period.
Salisbury	Stanung	1. B.M.C. 208 2. {F.E.J.* 3. {B.M.C. 209* 4. cR.C.L.* 5. {Parsons 258*	
	Wineman	F.B. (Pl. XXXI, 18)	See B.N.J. ii. 201 for reference to Pipe Rol extracts. Unpublished moneyer for thi reign and the only instance of this namin the Norman series. The name occurs a this mint in the Confessor's reign.
Sandwich	Osbern Wulfric	B.M.C. 210 1. R.C.L. 2964‡ 2. F.B. ex Wills 414‡	B.M.C., pl. lvi. 7.
Sudbury	Edward	(PI. XXXI, 19) B.M. ex R.C.L. 1147	Assigned to Southwark in P.CB. (1477) sal catalogue with a reference to W. J Andrew's attribution to Sudbury pre sumably in the light of Pipe Roll evidence. The mint name is indeterminate but Sudbury as an attested type VII mint is the more likely choice.
	Gilebert	1. B.M.C. 183* 2. F.B.* 3. F.E.J.*	B.M.C., pl. lv. 7. Now reattributed to this mint
		4. B.M.C. 211	B.M.C., pl. lvi. 8.

Mint	Moneyer	Provenance or Location	Remarks
Taunton Thetford Warwick	Gefrei Everard	B.M.C. 213 B.M.C. 215 F.E.J. ex Wills 424 (Pl. XXXI, 20)	B.M.C., pl. lvi. 9. B.M.C., pl. lvi. 11. Unpublished type for this mint; the moneyer is already known in type 1.
Watchet	H——— (possibly Hue)	B.M. ex R.C.L. 1148	B.M.C., pl. lvi. 12.
	TI——	F.E. J. ex Drabble 711 (Pl. XXXI, 21)	The writer reads this as *T!————————————————————————————————————
Wilton	Eller	1. B.M.C. 223* 2. P.CB. 1479* 3. F.E.J.* 4. Reynolds 64 (Pl. XXXI, 22)	The unpublished moneyer referred to earlier in this paper; the spelling on No. 4 is presumably ELL ERE.
	Willem	1. B.M.C. 216* 2. R.C.L.* 3. B.M.C. 217 [±] 4. B.M.C. 218* [±] 5. F.E.J.* [±] ex P.CB. 1480	B.M.C., pl. lvi. 13. B.M.C., pl. lvi. 14.
Winchester	Hue (or Hugo)	B.M.C. 220	B.M.C., pl. lvi. 15. Cf. electrotype in B.M. of coin ex Murdoch 247 which is probably of this mint and moneyer but there is no dielink.
Worcester	Adam	I. B.M. ex Catalogue* 2. F.E. J.* (P1. XXXI, 23)	
	Allem	I. B.M. ex Catalogue* 2. F.E.J.* (PI. XXXI, 24)	
York	Gefrei ——n	N. C. Ballingal ex R.C.L. 1149 I. Copenhagen Mus.* 2. F.E. J.*	Unpublished moneyer for this type. Possibly Martin or Turstan.
	?	B.M.C. 221	

TABLE B

Unidentified Mints

 $(N.B.\ \ All\ \ three\ \ readings\ \ occur\ \ on\ \ coins\ \ of\ \ which\ \ only\ \ one\ \ specimen\ \ is\ \ known\ ;$ without knowledge of the missing letter or letters any present attribution is completely speculative.)

Mint	Moneyer	Provenance or Location	Remarks
BVR	}	R.C.L. 1145	The writer accepts the late Mr. Wells's reading of the only letters visible on the coin being as given here and in the Lockett and Roth sale catalogues but feels no great confidence in the present attribution to Peterborough; nor apparently did Brooke as the coin is not recorded in B.M.C. The attribution is discussed at length in Wells's article on Peterborough as an Ecclesiastical Mint published in Spink & Son's Numismatic Circular for March 1929.

Mint	Moneyer	Provenance or Location	Remarks
CIPEN (or R)	—D	Copenhagen Mus. (Pl. XXXI, 25)	B.M.C., pl. lv. 15. This strange mint reading is discussed elsewhere in this paper. A mint in the eastern half of the country is probable since it is certain that the coin has a Danish find provenance and Ipswich cannot be ruled out. The alternative is an entirely new mint.
—A M	Alvred	B.M.C. 212 (Pl. XXXI, 26)	Brooke read this three-letter name as TAM and assigns the coin without a query to Tamworth. Actually no vestige of the first letter is visible and the writer is by no means certain that T is necessarily the only possibility. Although Tamworth is otherwise unknown in this reign Taunton is known in both types I and VII (the moneyer in type I being Alfred; in type VII it cannot be read) but the writer feels that P for PAM (Pembroke) another known type I (and early Henry II) mint is by no means an improbability. H for Hamtune must be ruled out as Northampton is invariably NORHAN at this period; so must B for Bamborough, but not for any reason connected with spelling! The writer wonders whether Brooke was influenced in his Tamworth attribution by that extraordinary uncertain Baronial coin B.M.C. 293 reading very clearly *TALFRDONTOM. If he was it is curious he makes no mention of it and that the Baronial coin itself is not assigned to any mint.

Table C
Unidentified Moneyers

Moneyer	Provenance or or Location	Remarks
Alisander	 B.M. Copenhagen Mus. (P1. XXXI, 5 and 6) 	London or Colchester. The possibility of these 2 coins being identified with the Alexander of the Essex Pipe Roll entries is fully discussed elsewhere in this paper.
"(C)olbern"	F.E. J. (PI. XXXI, 27)	This coin clearly reads —OLBERN:ON:S—. The moneyer is otherwise unknown. The writer has wondered whether this name might be associated with the Colbert of the P.R. entry of 6 Hy. II, p. 42 under Dorset, and therefore with the mint of Shaftesbury but this, or any other possible attribution is entirely speculative. It is even possible that the first letter of the name may be otherwise than C but if so the name is unrecorded.
Ricard (with initial of surname)	F.E.J.	Presumably a second moneyer of this name at London but the initial cannot be read with certainty (? B or P) and the mint name is illegible.
Rodbert	B.M.C. 185 (Pl. XXXI, 2)	The possibility of this moneyer being attributed to Castle Rising is fully discussed elsewhere in this paper.
Simun	B.M.C. 227	The reading in B.M.C. cannot be extended and no identification of this moneyer is possible. The name occurs at Leicester in types I and V and Baronial issues, but apart from this coin is otherwise unknown in type VII. It is another name which does not reappear until the "Shortcross" period.
"——-ard"	Ashmolean Mus. (Pl. XXXI, 28)	This reads — A: () N BR— and is of completely uncertain attribution. A third moneyer at Bramber (the position of the A will not fit Orgar) or an unknown mint for the type (? Bristol) seem to be the only possibilities.

TABLE D

Coins of Irregular Work or False Dies

- Two coins (apparently die-duplicates) assigned to Carlisle—of crude style, possibly the work of a Scottish die-sinker and of irregular origin.
 - Obv. **STEF**—(very coarse lettering).
 - Rev. Showing elements of a reading which Andrew considered might be extended to [ħ]€NRIC :D[€]□⊼[RD]. (1) B.M. ex Drabble 719. (2) R.C.L.
- 2. B.M.C., nos. 224-6 and pl. lvi. 16. Of crude style and with meaningless reverse inscriptions. Sceptre over *left* shoulder of bust on nos. 225 and 226 (same die). Also possibly of Scottish work, see B.M.C., p. 376, footnote.
- Coin of crude style and coarse letter forms. Rev. inscription has been read as TCEBI:
 ONVN—but is unintelligible.
 Grantley 1300.
- 4. Coin of base metal and light weight with meaningless reverse inscription.

R.C.L. 2965.

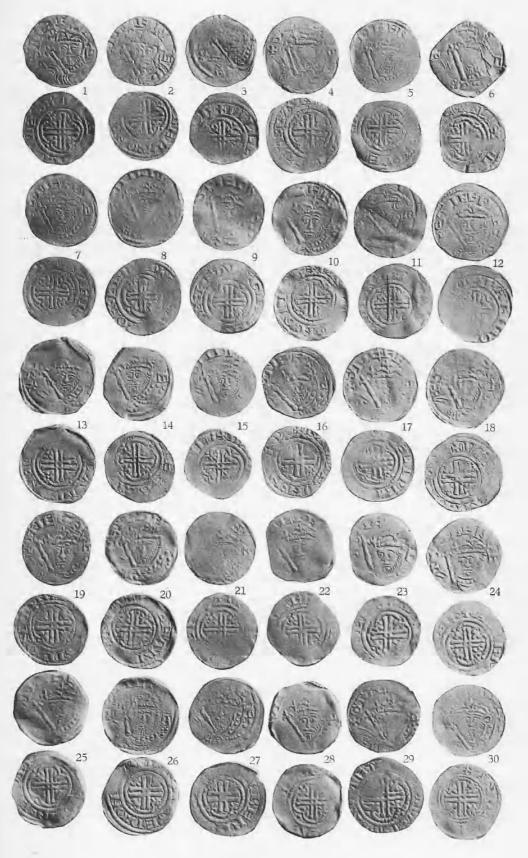
- Coin of normal official style (the obv. possibly a "regular" die) but with meaningless rev. inscription.
 Hunterian Mus. (Pl. XXXI, 29).
- Coin generally similar to no. 4—a very colourable copy but with very curious lettering and meaningless rev. reading.
 F.B. (Pl. XXXI, 30).

KEY TO PLATE XXXI

YCTIEFNIE	AT DI CALCIDES		
I. #STIEFNE	₩⊼RI-:ON:GIPES	IPSWICH	(Hunterian Mus.)
2. —TIEFNE	-DBERT:ON:-	Unidentified	(B.M.)
3. *S —	*PILLE—ED	Bury St. Edmunds	
4. *STIEFNE	——⊼RD:ON:E⊼N—	CANTERBURY	(F. B.)
5. —TIEFN—		Colchester (or Londo:	, ,
6. ★—EFNE	₩ \TLI S \TNDE\TE	do.	(Copenhagen Mus.)
7. *STIEFNE	₩XLRIC:ON:EXECS	Exeter	(P. Brettell)
8. ★STIEFN E	₩GERARD:ON:hED∀V	Hedon	(F. B.)
9. *S TIEFNE	★ GERARD:ON:hEDV⋈	do.	(Hunterian Mus.)
10. —IEFN-	. PT-N:ON:GIPE:	Ipswich	(F. E. J.)
11. ★ ——NE	 ★Gior O)LINEO:	Lincoln	(F. B.)
12. #STIEFNE	★ PAEN:ON:LINCO:	do.	(Fitzwilliam Mus.)
13. \STI ——	⊼D⊼M:ON:LV	London	(F. E. J.)
14. —NE	-TERRI:D:-	do.	(F. B.)
15. *STIEFN -	₩DAVI:ON:IC:	Norwich	(B.M.)
16. *STIEFNE	* R⊼VLF.ON:NORP	do.	(Hunterian Mus.)
17. *STIEFNE	₩FELIPE:ON:PEN	Pevensey	(F. E. J.)
18. XS ——NE	★VINM XN:ON: S XL	Salisbury	(F. B.)
19. #STIEFNE	★ PVFRIC:ON:S\\TN	Sandwich	(F. B.)
20. #SIEFNE	₩EV ERXRD: ○N: PXRP	Warwick	(F. E. J.)
2I. —NE	★Tl(or E)ChE	WATCHET	(F. E. J.)
22. —IEFN—	₩ EL`ETV	WILTON	
23. *STIEFNE	★ ⊼D⊼M:ON:PIRCES	Worcester	(F. E. J.)
24. #STIEFNE	* ALLEM:ON:₽IREC:	do.	(F. E. J.)
25STIEFN-	D:ON:CIPEN(or R)	Unidentified	(Copenhagen Mus.)
26. *STIEFNE	*TLVRED:ON:-TM	do.	(B.M.)
27. —NE	-OLBERN:ON:S-	do.	(F. E. J.)
28. —STE	—_⊼Ř-:○N:BR—–	do.	(Ashmolean Mus.)
29. #STIE —E	Unintelligible		(Hunterian Mus.)
30. ?	do.		(F. B.)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I have already expressed my gratitude to Mr. Fred Baldwin for having given me facilities for the study and publication of his many important coins. The extent to which I have been helped by my many other friends in the Society will be apparent from the recorded provenances and my thanks are due to each and all of them. I am also indebted to the Keepers of Coins at the Ashmolean, Fitzwilliam, and Hunterian Museums for kindly supplying me with casts and permission to publish the coins in their museums. To Dr. Walker and the staff of the Coin Room at the British Museum I am particularly grateful for help and advice throughout and for having made my many visits to the Department such a pleasant task. Last but not least a specially warm word of thanks to Mr. Dolley whose help I have sought in a multiplicity of ways; no matter what my need has been—the checking of a reading or a die-link, a reference to a sale catalogue or the Pipe Roll extracts—the answer has always been forthcoming with a minimum of delay and a maximum of accuracy.



STEPHEN: TYPE VII

A FURTHER FIND OF EDWARD PENNIES AT NEATH ABBEY

By R. H. M. DOLLEY

In November 1956 a small hoard of exactly 100 silver pence of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries was found in the course of Ministry of Works maintenance work on the western range of the monastic buildings at Neath Abbey. An earlier paper has suggested, it is hoped convincingly, that the concealment of the hoard is to be associated with the search for the fugitive Edward II who was arrested at Neath in the late autumn of 1326. Early in April 1957 in the course of further works there was discovered a second hoard, this time of 66 coins, concealed in a "putlog" hole of the vault at a slightly lower level and some three feet away from the cache which had contained the original parcel. Again there is no trace of a container, and the archaeological evidence is that the two groups of coins had been concealed in separate hiding-places at about the same time. A detailed study of the coins favours this hypothesis, and in the paper that follows it is hoped to demonstrate that the weight of the evidence suggests very strongly that the two parcels had been concealed by the same individual on the same occasion. At an inquest held in June a further verdict of treasure trove was returned. The finders have received the full market value of the hoard which has been acquired by the National Museum of Wales.

The 66 coins, again all silver pennies, may be listed as follows. Weights are given in grains, the coins being weighed before any chemical cleaning so that if anything the weights are a trifle on the

high side.

Mint of Rerwick-upon-Tweed

ENGLAND

EDWARD I

grains

Blunt, N.C. 1931, pp. 28-52, Class IVc	21.79	I
Mint of Bristol Fox, N.C. 1917, pp. 279–97, Class III d Class IX b (with star)	17·82 19·82	I
Mint of Bury St. Edmunds (Abbatial)		
Fox, Class IV e^2 X c	20·95 22·39, 20·77, 16·01	1 3

¹ B.N.J., vol. xxviii, part ii (1956), pp. 294-9.

² The Fox brothers considered these coins to belong to Class IVe though lacking the pellets that are the most obvious characteristics of this variety. They claimed that the irons are the same as those used for undoubted IVe coins of London, and, of course, it is more tidy to have any gap inserted between the Robert de Hadeleie and the mint-signed issues. Mr. Elmore Jones has made the suggestion that it might be desirable to consider the problem afresh, and the present writer would agree that the possibility that the IVe coins be reclassified as IVe should be investigated.

550 A Further Fina of Eawara Pennies at Nea	th Abbey	
Mint of Canterbury (King and Archbishop)	grains	
Fox, Class Illg	21.10	
IVa-c	20.23	I
IVd	21.11	I
Xb	20.75	I
Xb var. (EDVVR R)	19.47	I
	:23, 20:34, 19:95	4
this trial is not been broadle by a bid unsequines have been a fine	3, 34, -9 93	4
Mint of Durham (Episcopal)		
King's Receiver		
Fox, Class IXb (no star on breast)	20.97	I
X <i>c</i> -	24.35, 20.66	2
Mint of London		
Fox, Class Id	20.85	I
$\underline{\underline{\Pi^1}}$	20.66	I
IIIc and d	20.51, 18.89	2
arprojling arp	21.49	I
IIIg	21.49	I
	.78, 17.82, 17.07	4
IVd	19.98	I
IVe	21.90	I
VIII	21.12	I
$egin{array}{ll} { m IV}b & { m (no\ star\ on\ breast?)} \ { m X}a \end{array}$	21.53	I
Xc- 21.85, 21.61, 21.42, 21.30, 21.06, 20.	21.11	I
	·51, 20·28, 17·08	II
	J1, 20 20, 17 00	
Mint of Newcastle upon Tyne		
Fox, Class IXb (no star on breast?)	20.86	I
reasonate men or fem tennel man meta		
Mint of York (Royal)		
Fox, Class IXb (no star on breast)	21.85	I
Enward II		
Edward II		
Mint of Bury St. Edmunds (Abbatial)		
Fox, Class XIb	·81, 20·77, 18·84	3
Mint of Canterbury (King and Archbishop)		
	·49, 21·11, 19·52	3
XIII	20.83	I
XVb	21.08	I
Mint of Dunham (Phinonhal)		
Mint of Durham (Episcopal)		
Sede Vacante? ²	18.26	I
Fox, Class XIa	10.20	•
Mint of London		
	21.17	I
Fox, Class XIa XIb	21.86, 21.83	2
XIV	21.60	I
VII A	22.00	

¹ According to Mr. G. L. V. Tatler's classification (B.N.J., vol. xxvIII, part ii (1956), pp. 288-93) the coin ranks as a "IIb".

² The writer is not convinced that this coin does not belong to the last months of Bek's disgress of 1905, 1907.

disgrace of 1305-1307.

IRELAND EDWARD I

230 111110 1		
Mint of Dublin	grains	
Dolley, $B.N.J.$ 1955, pp. 147–68, Class III b	17.90	I

FLANDERS

COUNT ROBERT DE BETHUNE

Mint of Alost	
An Chautard no	Ta but D

20·I2 I

PORCIEN

COUNT GAUCHER II DE CHÂTILLON

Mint	of Florennes	;
	autard 250	

19-40 1

LORRAINE

Temp. DUKE FERRY IV

Mint of Toul
As Chautard 198

16·94 I

CONTEMPORARY FORGERIES

Very crude style and light weight Good style but apparently base	14·40 17·85	I
3 11 3	, 0	

For the numismatist as such the most significant coins are the continental sterlings of Porcien and Lorraine. Coins of the former are far from rare in English finds, but almost invariably they prove to be from mints of Yves and Neufchateau. The Inventory of British Coin Hoards, indeed, does not include Florennes in its index of mints, though, in fact, it lists a single specimen as occurring in the Tutbury hoard. Hence the occurrence of a second example in a slightly later context is of some importance for the continental as well as the English student. The anonymous sterling of Toul is by no means a rare piece, but its presence in a hoard from Wales beside English coins all to be dated before c. 1325 is yet another nail in the coffin of the theory which sought to associate this issue with the episcopacy of Thomas de Bourlement.¹ It is satisfactory, too, that an example of the group which read EC(ce) MONETA NOSTRA should have occurred in a small parcel that is so closely associated with another containing a specimen of the group which read HIC for ECCE. Clearly, little or no chronological significance attaches to the variety, but, though the Inventory records specimens of one or other grouping as having been present in a number of hoards from the 1320's, this would seem to have been the first occasion when both were represented in the same context.

The date of deposit of the new hoard can be fixed with some precision. Included in it are coins of the last three Fox classes, i.e.

¹ Cf. N.C. 1914, p. 382, a statement of the facts that seems to have been overlooked by subsequent writers the other side of the Channel.

nos. XIII, XIV, and XV, associated with the reign of Edward II, and in this respect the hoard is paralleled exactly by the earlier parcel. It is true that the latest coin in the new find is of Fox Class XVb whereas the earlier discovery also included XVc, but the XVb coin is appreciably worn, while, as we shall see, there is a very plausible explanation of the two deposits which suggests that in amassing the second their owner was deliberately eschewing new money of good weight. There is, then, every reason to believe that the two hoards were concealed on the same occasion, and, as the report on the earlier find suggested, there is a very obvious explanation in the general hue and cry which accompanied the hunting down and arrest of Edward of Carnarvon at Neath in the late autumn of 1326. It remains to consider the relationship between the two hoards, and in particular it is necessary to decide whether we are, in fact, confronted with two separate parcels of coins or simply with a single hoard from which some coins have trickled down to another level.

The respective contents of the two groups can be summarized as follows:

English											Foreign					
	Berwick	Bristol	Bury	Canterbury	Durhan	Lin:oin	London	Neucasil:	York		$Dubl^{!}n$	Scotland	Conimeria	Forgeries		
Hoard A Hoard B	2 I	3 2	4 7	33 14	11 4	I	39 30	 I	3		I	ı 	2 3			

The position as regards the pence amenable to the Fox classification is as follows:

								Fox X				
Hoard A		2	9	9	 	 I	II	38	II	 I	3	9
Hoard B	I	I	6	9	 	 I	5	23	IO	 I	I	I

At first sight there seems to be little essential difference in the composition of the two parcels, but the following frequency-table of weights presents another picture:

	-14.99	15.00-15.49	15.50-15.99	16.00-16.49	65.91-05.91	17.00-17.49	17.50-17.99	18.00-18.49	18.50-18.99	64.61-00.61	66.61-05.61	20.00-20.49	20.50-20.69	21.00-21.49	21.50-21.99	22-00-22-49	22.50-
Hoard A			I			I	2	I	I		8	6	30	23	19	5	3
Hoard B	I				I	2	4	I	3	2	4	6	16	13	II	I	I

On average the coins in the second hoard weigh just over I gr. lighter than those in the first parcel, and so consistent a distinction cannot be coincidental. The percentages here set out in tabular form reflect, it is hoped, the essential difference in the composition of the two parcels:

		Hoard A $\%$	Hoard B %
English pence		96	90
Coins weighing less than 18.5 gr		6	21
Coins weighing more than 22.0 gr		8	3
Coins struck before 1300		25	36
Coins struck between 1300 and 1317		62	59
Coins struck after 1317		13	5

Nor should we overlook the fact that the second hoard contains both the contemporary forgeries, one of which is of the crudest execution and palpable in all but the poorest of lights. It is hard, too, to accept the hypothesis that in fact 166 coins were concealed, and that it is quite by chance that exactly 100, generally of good weight and style, should have remained in one place, while the remaining 66, generally of poorer quality, should have trickled sideways and downwards to

come to rest altogether neatly in a second pocket.

It is the belief of the writer of this note that we are dealing with two distinct hoards concealed by the same individual upon the same occasion. The hoard found in 1956 represented his "nest-egg" or "wallet", one hundred coins carefully selected and kept back from general currency, and the new find of 1957 is to be interpreted as his ready money or "purse" from which to meet day-to-day expenditure. The fact that neither hoard appears to have been concealed in a formal container suggests that they were hidden in haste, and the failure to recover what must have been quite a respectable sum is perhaps not without significance in the context of a religious house of which the peace cannot often have been shattered. The fact remains, however, that the two parcels were concealed at the very end of the reign of Edward II, and that at just that period there was a general hue and cry in Glamorgan which culminated in the arrest, actually at Neath itself, of the fugitive king and of a number of his more faithful adherents. Pending, therefore, positive evidence to the contrary, and this may well be forthcoming, there must be a presumption that the two hoards from Neath Abbey are in some way connected, albeit indirectly, with the downfall of Edward of Carnarvon. It only remains for the present writer to express his gratitude to Mr. O. E. Craster, T.D., F.S.A., and Dr. H. N. Savory, F.S.A., for permission to study and to publish a most interesting hoard, and to Mr. F. Elmore Jones and Mr. B. H. I. H. Stewart for assistance in the arrangement and classification of the English coins.

HENRY VIII—THE SEQUENCE OF MARKS IN THE SECOND COINAGE

By W. J. W. POTTER

THE problems surrounding the sequence of mint-marks in the Second Coinage of Henry VIII have been very fully dealt with by the late Mr. C. A. Whitton in his "Coinage of Henry VIII and Edward VI in Henry's Name" published in the *Journal* (vol. xxvi, 1949). Nevertheless, he confesses that the solution of many problems eludes him, and that his final suggested order, viz. Rose, Lis, Sunburst, Lis, Arrow, Pheon, is not entirely satisfactory.

The chief reasons he gives for this state of affairs can be summa-

rized in his own statements, viz.:

p. 59: 1. The uncertainty of the precise position of the Sunburst.

2. The use of the Lis on muled coins at widely separated periods.

As to his first point, the chief difficulty is that there are no known mules with this mark in any denomination, nor any Sunburst crowns, although a continuous series of these coins was issued. As to his second point, this might be elaborated by further quotations:

p. 60: "The earlier and later Lis dies are indistinguishable."

"We cannot identify post-Arrow true coins with i.m. Lis."

"The Pheon, for some unexplained reason, is sometimes found muled with the Lis."

The late Dr. Brooke in his *English Coins* deals with the same question as follows:

p. 176: "It is evident from muled groats, and from the alterations on the sovereign from Sunburst to Lis, that the Lis was used twice, the order being: rose, lis, arrow, sunburst, lis, pheon, but is is not at present possible to distinguish the earlier and later issues of silver coins with the Lis mark."

on which Mr. Whitton has commented:

p. 18: "Thus though Brooke lists the order of these sovereigns correctly, viz. Sunburst, Lis, Lis/Arrow, he is inconsistent elsewhere (English Coins, p. 176) in placing Arrow before Sunburst."

In spite of these differing views, however, I think it is possible to give a coherent picture of the use of the mint-marks during the Second Coinage which will not only explain the position of the Sunburst and its significance, but also identify the several appearances of the Lis. This will show that Dr. Brooke's order of marks was quite correct, but only for the silver, and I think it will appear that most of the confusion and difficulty with this coinage is due to mistaken efforts to find an order which will apply equally to the fine and crown gold, and to the silver. I find it hard to understand why this should be considered a *sine qua non* of any system. One has to go no further than the previous reign to find marks common on the silver but unknown on the contemporary gold. It will be understood, therefore, why

I propose to deal with the metals separately. My first task was to examine the very common Lis groats for the purpose of differentiating the early from the late issues, and the obvious starting-point was the lettering, which I have always found very reliable for such a purpose. Mr. Whitton, of course, recognized this point well, but, he states:

p. 55: "... so faithfully were the letter-puncheons reproduced that no clear catena can be traced."

Fortunately, this is not strictly true. Certainly, after the very early experiments with Roman lettering in the first rose-marked coins, a remarkable uniformity of style is maintained. Nevertheless, I found one letter which does change in such a way as to give most valuable aid in determining the order of the marks. This is the F in FRANCE, of which I soon found three very distinct forms. The next thing was to check the Rose, Arrow, Sunburst, and Pheon groats for these F's, with the result that another type of F was found on the first of these marks, and two forms of M on the early reverses. Eventually, the following picture emerged:

Mini	t-mark			Letters
Ros	e			F1, F2 (RR), M1
Lis	I			F2, MI
Lis	2			F ₃ , M ₂
Arre				F3, F4 (RRR), M2
Sun	burst			F ₃ (RRR), F ₄ , M ₂
Lis				F4, M2
Phe	on			F4, M2

The order shown is very simply established. There has never been any question that the rose was the first of the new coinage marks. Only on these groats do we find experiments in bust, lettering, and reverse cross-ends. That the lis followed is demonstrated by the mules existing which also show Lis I with F2 and MI. To prove that Lis I was then immediately followed by Lis 2 with F3, making together the



first issue of the Lis mark, it is only necessary to point out that the Arrow is the only other mark commonly showing F₃, and of this mark there are also rare specimens with F₄, the F found on the Pheon mark.

Similarly, the Sunburst must have followed the Arrow, as though the majority of these scarce groats have F4, very rare specimens are known with F3. We are left with another issue of the Lis, and the Pheon, both with F4, and there is no question as to the order of these two as the Pheon was the last mark of the coinage, found with the Irish title assumed in 1542, and also found muled with the first mark of the Third Coinage, i.e. Lis 4.

This order, which has been established for the silver, completely

disposes of the difficulties regarding the various issues of the Lis, and it also explains very simply the Lis/Pheon and Pheon/Lis mules which worried Mr. Whitton; these, of course, all have F4 on the obverse. Mules with the Arrow mark are rather more difficult. Both Lis/Arrow and Arrow/Lis mules are known, but unfortunately they are very rare. There is no Lis/Arrow in the B.M. collection, and my own specimen (Taffs) does not show a clear letter F.¹ The point, of course, is that there should be Lis 2/Arrow mules, and also, if the Sunburst, as I hope to show, was a mark outside the normal series, Lis 3/Arrow mules, from Arrow reverse dies put aside to be used up when the Sunburst was discontinued. Mr. Whitton states, on what evidence I do not know, that the Arrow groats with AGLIE instead of the usual AGL are the late ones, in which case any Arrow/Lis mules with AGLIE should also link up with the later Lis 3, though unfortunately there is nothing to identify the different Lis reverses. On the other hand the solitary Arrow groat with F4 in my collection has AGL.

Before I conclude this first section of my survey I would like to quote in full what Mr. Whitton has said regarding the late use of the Lis

mark:

We cannot identify post-Arrow true coins with i.m. Lis. This view is borne out by at least two coins in the British Museum: a Lis/Pheon muled groat struck from the same obverse die as a true coin with Lis both sides. This would presumably have been claimed by Brooke as a true coin of his later Lis, but it does not differ materially from scores of similar groats in the Museum's trays, some of which must be true coins of the earlier Lis. All the mules I have seen of this type show Lis dies of a style previously employed.

I have examined the two coins to which Mr. Whitton refers, and they both have F4, and therefore do "differ materially from scores of similar groats", as many of these latter would have F2 or F3; and if anyone has any lingering doubts as to the ability to distinguish between the three F's found on the Lis groats and crowns, I would like to emphasize their fundamental differences as follows:

F2—Semi-open F with concave top and gap between heavy seriffed arms.

F3—Open F with short straight arms of equal size.

F4—Closed F with wavy top and short closing bar sloping inwards. (F1 has a longer and thinner bar sloping outwards).

Occasionally on poor specimens F2 and F4 may be confused, but in addition to the reverse M's which should distinguish them but might also be indecipherable, the earlier A's on the obverses have a nearly flat crossbar, whereas the late A's have a markedly wavy top with pointed centre.

All the groats so far considered have borne the title REX. ANGL. Z. FRA. In January 1542 Henry assumed the title of King of Ireland, and the title HIB. REX is found on a few rare Pheon groats of rather poor work, having also the numeral 8 instead of VIII after Henry's

¹ I have since seen the Parsons specimen and this also curiously has the F obliterated.

name. In addition to these, as already mentioned, there are in existence some very rare Pheon/Lis groat mules having the HIB. REX title on the obverse, and a reverse mint-mark of a new shape, while Mr. Winstanley has in his possession a unique Lis/Pheon mule with this form of Lis on the obverse. It is illustrated by Mr. Whitton on p. 57 of his article

It is an extraordinary fact that the three Lis mint-marks, as well as the six Lis in the arms on the reverse of the

groats, from the later Rose to the ordinary Pheon marks, could all have been struck from the same (punch, as they are of the same irregular shape as shown in the illustration (A). This last of the ubiquitous Lis mark, Lis 4, however, is definitely from a



new punch as shown (B), and is in fact identical with the mark used on the first issues of base silver.

The reverses of these Pheon/Lis mules have the normal second coinage form with saltires in the cross-ends, but there are two reasons other than the new form of Lis on the reverse for allocating them to the third coinage:

I. They are obviously of base silver.

2. There are rare groats with the same reverses but with full-face obverses.

These latter are sometimes called 3rd coinage/2nd coinage mules, but the weight of evidence is, I think, in favour of their being the first

true base silver groats.

Finally, there are the famous groats of York, struck by Thomas Wolsey, the Cardinal Archbishop, bearing his initials TW and his cardinal's hat on the reverse. They were issued only from early in the Second Coinage up to his fall in November 1530, a period of four years, and the dies were, of course, prepared at the Tower and therefore with the consent of the king, tacit or otherwise, though the archbishop's coinage rights had previously been strictly limited to silver

not exceeding the half-groat in value.

The issue probably commenced a little later than the Tower coins, as no York groats are known with the experimental busts or Roman lettering as on the first Rose groats. The first mark was the voided cross, as only these groats have F1. It continued in currency probably a little later than the Rose, however, as of the 20 groats in the B.M. collection, 17 have F1 and 3 F2. The few known mules between the voided cross and the only other mark, the acorn, as well as all the scarce groats of the latter mark which I have seen, have F2, so that there is no question as to which mark came first. As the issue probably continued until Wolsey's fall late in 1530, a very few acorn groats might exist with F3.

There is, of course, no question that the scarce voided-cross groats without TW on the reverse were anything but die-sinkers' errors, or that they had anything to do with any Sede Vacante period. In any

case no such period occurred with regard to the groats after Wolsey's death, as the issue had already been declared illegal in his indictment, and would certainly never have been granted to his successor.

I would now like to consider the crowns and the valuable evidence they afford for dating the earlier mint-marks. These coins are identical in size to the groats and carry the same lettering, the F's being found on what is called the reverse, that is the shield side. A fifth form of F is found on the earliest crowns, but it is not relevant to my argument. When the mint-marks found on the crowns are listed we immediately come up against a very curious circumstance. Though the bullion records show that crown gold was regularly being struck up to March 1544, there are no specimens known with the Sunburst, Lis 3, or normal Pheon marks (two solitary specimens have the HIB. REX title).

I have an explanation to offer as to the absence of the Sunburst crowns, but the non-appearance of crowns with the other two marks, if not due to mischance, can only be explained in one way, and that is that the Arrow mark was continued on the crown gold until the early months of 1542. No proof of this can be offered, but an indication is obtainable from the initials which appear on both sides of these coins. The mint-marks and initials on the known crowns are as follows ignoring mules:

Rose	(FI, F2)			HK)
Lis	(F2, F3)			HK —for Katherine (1526–33)
Arrow	(F ₃).			HK)
	(F_3) .			HA—for Anne Boleyn (1533-6)
	(F_3) .			HI—for Jane Seymour (1536–7)
	(F_3, F_4)			HR—for Henry alone (1537–42)

There are only three Arrow crowns with HR in the B.M. collection, two of which have F3 and one F4, but this is the indication I mentioned that the Arrow did continue on until the HIB. REX issue, an indication which might become a certainty if any number of these

crowns are extant with F4.

Unfortunately, crown mules are almost non-existent, the only specimen known to Mr. Whitton being the Rose/Lis mule in the B.M. This coin, incidentally, has F3 on the Lis side and is one more proof that Lis 2 followed directly on Lis 1. This does not, of course, indicate that there were no Lis 1 crowns, as, in fact, of the 13 crowns with Lis both sides in the B.M., 3 have F2 and 10 have F3. It does show, however, that Lis 1 only lasted a comparatively short period on the crowns, whereas on the groats I think it lasted at least a year, to judge by the comparative rarity of the two Lis marks. It is all a question of the change in letter punches not taking place simultaneously on the two metals.

We now have some useful dates to apply to the full list of marks on the silver, for which I suggest the following:

Rose			1526-9	Sunburst			1537-8
Lis 1, 2			1529-32	Lis 3			1538-41
Arrow			1532-7	Pheon			1541-2

The bullion records published by Miss E. Stokes in the *Num. Chron*. 5th ser., vol. ix, 1929, give these details for the silver:

Period		lb.	Suggested marks
Michaelmas 1526-Michaelmas 1532 ,,, 1532-,,, 1537 I May 1537-31 May 1540. Michaelmas 1540-Michaelmas 1541		115,688 18,897 58,723 8,261	Rose, Lis 1, Lis 2 Arrow Sunburst, Lis 3 Pheon

These figures agree very well with the suggested dates, and also the comparative rarity of specimens, Lis 3 being the commonest type found, and Pheon the rarest, though the latter is really a good deal scarcer than the total coined would suggest. This may well be due to the large proportion of coins melted down for the base money.

It is now time to deal fully with Mr. Whitton's problem No. 1, viz. uncertainty as to the precise position of the Sunburst. To summarize

the unusual circumstances connected with it, these are:

(a) The total lack of mules.

(b) The absence of crowns of the mark.

(c) The rarity of the groats compared with other marks.

All these factors led me to suspect a special issue, the occasion for which might be suggested by its date. I have mentioned a unique Sunburst groat with F3; all the other specimens I have seen have F4. Assuming the changes in form of the letter F to have taken place on crowns and groats within a few months of each other, it is reasonable to think that the Sunburst might first have appeared towards the end of 1537. Did anything occur about this time which might justify a special issue, and one with such a curious but significant mark?

Surely the obvious answer is the birth of Henry's long-looked-for son and heir, Edward, in October 1537. This was the one thing lacking to set the seal on his life, and for it he had broken with Rome and committed most of the crimes in the calendar. No doubt he considered that this showed that the Sun of Heaven, so long obscured, was once more shining on him. The special character of the issue is sufficient to explain the lack of mules. It would also explain why no crowns are known with the Sunburst, whereas there are rare fine gold sovereigns and angels with the mark, the first known in the second coinage. Obviously, only fine gold and fine silver were fitting to celebrate an event of such importance to the Tudor dynasty.

We are at last in a position to deal with the fine sovereigns on which Mr. Whitton has based most of his case for the order and dates of the marks in this coinage, particularly his theory that the Sunburst was current in 1532-3 preceding the Arrow. He has presented a most painstakingly detailed history of all known specimens, and has traced one obverse die through some remarkable changes, noting all the coins struck from it with their attendant reverses. In essentials the evidence

provided is as follows:

I. A sovereign is known with Sunburst on both sides, each mark being struck over a Portcullis, i.e. first-coinage dies altered.

- 2. Another sovereign is known struck from the same two dies with a Lis struck over the Sunburst in each case.
- 3. A third sovereign is known from the same obverse die as I and 2, but with considerable alterations in lettering and design detail, i.e. a third version of the die though still with the mintmark Lis. This is known with two different reverses having the mint-mark Arrow.

Here the order of marks is certainly shown to have been: Sunburst, Lis, Arrow, and having in mind the position of the Arrow mark on crowns and groats, Mr. Whitton has naturally had to make his full list: Rose, Lis, Sunburst, Lis, Arrow, but I think I have already shown that the Sunburst followed the Arrow, and therefore in the case of the fine sovereigns we have to accept the fact that after the Sunburst and Lis 3, the Arrow, which had not previously appeared on these coins and was then current on the crowns, was adopted.

Strangely, and obviously without realizing it, Mr. Whitton has provided a very strong indication, if not proof, that the Arrow was, in fact, current on the sovereigns immediately before the 23 ct. coinage

of 1544. On p. 18 he says:

The letter punches in question (used on the sovereigns) show different forms of A, E, and V, forming links as follows:

I. Between the old Lis dies in their altered form (AI, EI, and VI) and the new Lis

dies (AI, EI, VI, and V2).

2. Between the new Lis dies (AI, EI, V2) and the Arrow dies (AI and A2, EI and E2, V2 and V3).

3. Most conclusively, between the latest Arrow die and the earliest die (i.m. Lis) of the next coinage of 1544 (A2, E2, V3 on both).

This third link of Whitton's would be acceptable if it represented a lapse of one or two years, but to my mind it would be quite incredible, if, as Whitton thought, a gap of II or I2 years was involved.

To show that this was, in fact, what Mr. Whitton had in mind it is only necessary to quote the following from later on the same page as

the above:

... a surviving Pyx trial record shows that between March 1533 and October 1534 no fine gold was coined at all. Nor does fine gold appear in any later trial. This may perhaps imply that the coinage of fine gold and therefore of Second Coinage sovereigns had ceased before March 1533, when, moreoever, the Arrow period was not very old. The Pyx trial records referred to are those quoted by Mr. H. Symonds in the B.N.J. vol. x, and reference to them will show that the fine sovereigns are not, in fact, mentioned at all. Here is a summary:

Date		Period	Metals tested		
4.6.1527 .		22.10.1526 to 4.6.1527	(Fine gold (Angels and halves, George nobles and halves) (Crown gold (Crowns and halves)		
21.11.1527 .		4.6.1527 to 21.11.1527	Silver only		
20.5.1530 .		4.6.1527 to 20.5.1530	,,		
1.3.1533 .		20.5.1530 to 1.3.1533	,,		
30.10.1534 .		1.3.1533 to 30.10.1534	Crown gold (Crowns, halves)		
8.5.1537 .		(No details)			
10.6.1540 .		(Period not given)	Crown gold (Crowns, halves)		

If these records are to be taken at their face value then no crowns or halves were coined between 4 June 1527 and 1 March 1533, which is

manifestly absurd. I think we can ignore the Pyx records.

Mr. Whitton has only made passing mention of the bullion records of fine gold coinage, but they certainly do not support his theory that sovereigns were being struck in 1532-3. The first entry specifically mentioning 23\frac{3}{4} ct. gold appears during the mint year Michaelmas 1536 to Michaelmas 1537, that is, incidentally, the year finishing fourteen days before the birth of Edward VI. While confirming pretty closely my date for the beginning of the Sunburst mark, this does appear to spoil the dramatic possibilities of my theory as to its significance. It is true that it is only a small quantity of 31 lb. or say 750 sovereigns, while what was probably the main issue is concealed in the gold total for the following three years where the fineness is not given. It is just possible that this was an isolated issue with another mark, Lis or Arrow, made for another purpose, and of which no specimen has survived, but I think it could very well have been an issue prepared a month or two before the expected event, so that if the child were of the desired sex, distribution of the new pieces could be made without any delay.

The last point which Mr. Whitton brings forward in support of his early date for the Sunburst is the E with weak centre bar which appears on all groats of that mark (in HENRIC and on the reverse). This he has found also on some Lis dies, and on half-groats of York of Archbishop Lee (1531-4). He does add, however: "and oddly, perhaps a belated survival, on a Pheon reverse muled with the Lis". It is true that some Lis 2 groats have this letter, but I have found it also on several Lis 3 dies, on Pheon/Lis and Lis/Pheon mules, and also on groats with Pheon both sides, so that its use was not confined to one period, and it is quite valueless as an indication of date. Incidentally, it is one of the few cases I know where punches of an

unusual type were used at widely separated times.

Having presented my own case and answered to the best of my ability the arguments Mr. Whitton gives for his, I will conclude with a table of the marks and dates for the Second Coinage which I hope I have now successfully established:

Mark	Groats	Crowns	Sovereigns
Rose	1526-29	1526–29	
Lis 1 Lis 2	1529-32	1529-32	·
Arrow	1532-37	1532-37	
Sunburst	1537–38		1537-38
Lis 3	1538-41		1538-41
(Arrow)		1537-42	1541-42
Pheon	1541-42	1542	

SOME NOTES ON THE COINAGE OF ELIZABETH I WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HER HAMMERED SILVER

By I. D. Brown

Introduction

When considering the transformation which occurred in the English coinage between the end of the Middle Ages and the late seventeenth century, it is surprising to find a period of forty-three years during which the coins are chiefly remarkable for the uniformity shown during the reign of Elizabeth I. It is this uniformity which has led to the absence of practically any detailed study of the coins of this reign. Yet, in spite of the uniformity shown by the coins themselves, there can be traced during the reign the beginnings of those changes that were to make the numismatics of the following century so eventful, The economy of the country was in a period of slow but steady change. After the recoinage of the silver early in the reign, which did so much to stabilize the English economy, there was the steady influx of precious metals from America. The increasing output of the gold coinage, and the fall in the price of bullion that followed, had led, by the end of the reign, to the first of the series of crises that resulted from the use of a bimetallic standard. It was during this reign also that the new "crown" gold standard finally established itself, bringing with it the denominations of the pound of twenty shillings and its fractions, in succession to the old "fine" gold denominations based on the ryal or noble of fifteen shillings. Likewise, the medieval groat was finally superseded by the shilling and sixpence, and the first suggestions were made advocating a copper coinage. As well as the abandonment of the medieval denominations, this period saw the last coins struck bearing the "Lombardic" lettering. Machinery was first used for coin manufacture, although soon abandoned, but experiments were resumed before the end of the reign and were continued until the hammer method was finally abandoned in 1662.

The numismatic studies of this period have been very one-sided. Owing to the abundant documentary evidence available for this reign, most authors have tended to ignore the coins. Yet there are a number of interesting aspects of the history of the reign for which the coins are likely to prove useful sources. Before these can be studied, an accurate and complete description of the ordinary coinage of the reign is necessary. Part of this paper will be devoted to providing a beginning for such an account of the hammered silver.

Amongst the problems which a study of the coins is likely to help solve are those of the economics of the time. A study of hoards, for example, can tell much about the periods of activity at the Mint, and about the state of the currency and its geographical and social distribution. The fourth section of this paper is devoted to a preliminary

survey of such hoard evidence. Other problems concern the development of machinery for coin manufacture, the extent of currency of trade tokens, and the experiments for a copper coinage. These are problems for which documentary evidence is scant, and they provide ample scope for numismatic research.

DISCUSSION OF THE HAMMERED SILVER COINAGE

The most urgent need at the moment is for an accurate list of the many dates and varieties of hammered silver coin which were struck during this reign. The hammered gold coinage has been so listed by C. A. Whitton, but the companion article on the hammered silver coinage by H. A. Parsons² omits to mention the location of the rarer coins and, indeed, does not indicate which are the rare and which the common pieces. In Table VI (Appendix I) I have provided such a list. Each privy-mark and date which I have seen has been recorded and, by means of footnotes, a large number of the principal varieties has been included. Also included in parentheses are the varieties which I have not yet managed to trace but which are recorded by Hawkins³ or Parsons.² While it seems likely that some of these do exist, others probably do not, and even if they do they must necessarily be rare. Most Elizabethan coins are plentiful but are often in poor condition, and many of the dates and privy-marks are difficult to decipher. A number of coins with strange and ingenious attributions can be shown, by a study of punches, to be quite normal varieties. With the larger denominations (shilling, sixpence, and groat) an attempt has been made to give the relative frequencies with which the different types occur. The figures given next to the date in Table VI indicate the approximate issue in millions of coins and are probably correct to within 25 per cent. A discussion of the value of this evidence, which is derived from a statistical survey of twenty-one large hoards, is given in a later section of this paper.

A perusal of the documentary and numismatic evidence allows some general comments to be made about this coinage. Privy-marks Martlet and Cross Crosslet were the only two marks used concurrently on the English hammered silver during this reign.4 That only one privy-mark was otherwise in use at a time can be asserted on the ground that only one mint was in operation. This assertion is supported by documentary evidence where this is available, 5 even though the dated coins might seem to suggest otherwise. It was, however, the privy-mark and not the date which was used for accounting purposes in the Mint, and in dating these coins it is, therefore, the privymark which is important. An attempt has been made in Table VI to

Numismatic Circular, 1948, col. 535; 1949, col. 57.
 The Hammered Silver Coins of Elizabeth, Spink & Sons, 1947, originally published in the Numismatic Circular, 1947, col. 387, &c.
³ Silver Coinage of England, 3rd ed., 1887, p. 300.

⁴ H. Symonds, Num. Chron. 1916, p. 98.

⁵ e.g. H. Symonds, Num. Chron. 1916, pp. 101-2 for the years 1572-82.

fix a date for the beginning and end of each privy-mark period. In some cases the Mint records give the actual dates between which any given privy-mark was in use, in other cases a knowledge of the date of the pyx trial² fixes the latest date for the end of the period, although in a number of cases a considerable interval elapsed between the closing of the pyx and the date of the trial.³ Generally speaking I have assumed, in the absence of any definite information, that the date of the pyx trial marks the day on which the privy-mark was changed, unless there is internal evidence for an earlier date. Where neither of these methods is applicable it is only possible to guess the date, which may consequently be as much as six months in error. These guesses have been made having due regard for the dates on the coins and the relative abundance of coins of different dates and privy-marks. In some cases it has been necessary to assume that the rate of coinage was maintained reasonably steady, which is, of course, not a valid

assumption.

Bearing in mind that it is the privy-marks which officially date the coins rather than the year stamped on the dies, it is apparent that, although the dies were often brought up to date by overstamping the last figure of the year, coins were frequently issued bearing dates one or even two years old. A study of the incidence of overmarking of the dates or privy-marks with a later date or privy-mark suggests the way in which the dies were prepared and used at this period. During the years when Sir Richard Martin was both master and warden (1582-99) it seems likely that the dies were prepared with both the date and privy-marks stamped on them. When the privy-mark was changed (and we may assume that, since the periods between pyxes were so irregular, little warning of the change was normally given), the Mint had to stamp the new privy-mark over the old one on all the dies in stock at the time. The stock usually consisted of a supply of these dies sufficient for about a month's coining, and this would account for the frequency with which overmarked coins occur during this period.⁵ It is unlikely that the authorities were as scrupulous about changing the year on the dies as they were in changing the privy-mark.6 This accounts for the overlap in dates which occurs for example between the privy-marks Bell and A, both of which possess coins dated 1582 and 1583. At times when the Mint was more careful

¹ e.g. H. Symonds, Num. Chron. 1916, pp. 101-2 for the years 1572-82.
² Quoted by H. Symonds, Num. Chron. 1916, pp. 99-105. It is interesting to note that of the 17 dates of pyx trials mentioned: 4 occur on the day after the end of the Hilary Term (13 Feb.); 4 occur on the day after the end of the Easter Term; 1 occurs on the day after the end of the Trinity Term; 1 occurs on the day after the end of the Michaelmas Term (29 Nov.); and 7 do not appear to be related to any specific event.

3 e.g. the privy-marks Broad Arrow Head, Rose, and Portcullis were pyxed on the

⁴ e.g. the three-halfpence of privy-mark Acorn dated 1572 was not struck until Novem-

⁵ About 4 per cent. of all the coins issued between 1582 and 1599 are overmarked. ⁶ For example, a coin of privy-mark A is dated 1582 although the earliest date at which this coin could have been struck was midsummer 1583 and it was probably not struck until December 1583.

about correcting the dates, this overlap is absent, but on the other

hand overmarking of the dates occurs.¹

With the appointment of Thomas Knyvett as warden in 1599, Martin complains of his habit of scrapping serviceable dies² rather than overstamping them. He appears to have reintroduced the system whereby the privy-mark and the last figure of the date were left absent when the die was first sunk and were only added when the die was put into use. It is noticeable that after 1599 all overmarking ceases except in one curious and interesting case, as has been pointed out by Mr. R. Carlyon-Britton.³ Even though the last figure of the date was left absent when the die was sunk, the change from the year 1500 to 1600 required that the last three digits of the date should be left absent. That this was not done is apparent from the occurrence of coins dated 1600 and 1601 with the 6 over 5 and the first o over 9 but the last digit not overstamped.

In the earlier part of the reign, the privy-mark was always omitted when the die was first sunk, only being added when the die was brought into use.4 The absence of overstruck privy-marks in this period (with two notable exceptions) is most marked. Where they do occur (apart from these two exceptions) they are rare and can probably be explained by assuming that only the dies actually in use at the time of the change had to be overstruck. The two exceptions are the marks Cross over Eglantine and Castle over Crown. The special circumstances which apply in the case of the former will be mentioned shortly. In general the practice at this time seems to have been to date the dies fully at the time of sinking. The dates occasionally appear to be overstruck, more frequently the dies were allowed to remain out of date. However, a sudden contraction in work in 15638 resulted in a large number of 1562 dies still being unused as late as 1564, and, whilst these were overstamped for use, the sinkers became more cautious in the preparation of new dies, reverting to the practice (possibly used in the time of Philip and Mary) of omitting

4 One die at least (threepence 1574) was used without ever having the privy-mark

⁶ I have not yet found two coins from the same die struck before and after the change

8 Stow's Chronicle, p. 656, quoted by Ruding, Annals of the Coinage, 1st ed. 1817, ol. ii, p. 158.

9 Seaby's Bulletin, 1953, p. 325. vol. ii, p. 158.

e.g. when the Hand mark was introduced early in 1590, all existing dies (which bore privy-mark Crescent and date 1589) were overstamped Hand 1590.

² Sir John Craig, *The Mint*, p. 129.
³ Seaby's *Bulletin*, 1950, p. 60. Of the four coins mentioned by him in the British Museum, only the second (privy-mark Anchor) is in sufficiently good condition to show this effect well. The one of privy-mark Hand is probably the normal variety with 1590 over 1589. However, a good selection of 1600 and 1601 varieties exists in the Ashmolean Museum.

⁵ Of all the coins struck between 1561 and 1582 about 1 per cent. have the mark Cross over Eglantine, less than I per cent. have Castle over Crown, whilst all the other overmarked coins together amount to less than o'r per cent.

⁷ e.g. 1563 and 1564 are often over 1562. 1568 occurs over 1567, and during the Eglantine period there was frequent overstriking. On the other hand between 1569 and 1574 many out-of-date dies were used, such as Castle 1569, Acorn 1572, and Eglantine 1573.

the last figure of the date. Although there can be no such striking confirmation of this at this period as occurs at 1600, since the third figure of the date remained unchanged, the absence of coins from overstruck or out-of-date dies¹ seems to bear out the theory. The presence in this period of two completely undated coins² may suggest that, in fact, the whole date was omitted when the dies were made, and only added when they came into use. The sixpences of 1568 with the 8 over 7 show that by 1567 all four figures of the date were again placed on the die when it was first sunk.

The same phenomenon occurs again after the contraction of the coinage in 1577. The large number of unused serviceable dies dated 1577 with privy-mark Eglantine indicates that a large coinage was expected to be begun as soon as the outstanding problems of the Mint had been settled.³ These were not, however, settled until well into 1578. A new mark was then introduced and very heavy overstamping of both the date and privy-mark occurs. Again the sinkers had been caught, and again they reverted to the practice of omitting the last figure of the date. This is shown by the usual features: lack of overstamped dates, or coins from out-of-date dies, 4 and, more particularly, the presence of coins of 1580, 1581 (Pl. XXXII, 13-14) and 1582 with the 8 only overstamped.⁵ The practice during this period is best illustrated by the three-halfpenny piece. Until 1572 this coin was not struck in any great quantity, but between 1572 and 1582 it became more common. A large number of reverse dies were sunk in 1572 and bore the date of that year. Most of them were used to strike Ermine coins (19.4.1572-30.10.1573) (Pl. XXXII, 15-16) but a number of dies were still unused by the end of the Ermine period. At least one die⁶ (P1. XXXII, 17) dated 1572 had the mark Acorn (30.10.1573-25.5.1574) stamped into the empty space left for the privy-mark on the reverse, and another was stamped with an Eglantine (29.5.1574-30.7.1578) (P1. XXXII, 18) or an Eglantine over Ermine (P1. XXXII, 19) although by this time it was seen fit to change the date to 1574. The second batch of dies was produced in 1573, and these used a different set of punches for the lys and lions on the arms of England. These were mostly used with privy-mark Acorn (Pl. XXXII, 20), some showing the date changed to 1574 (P1. XXXII, 21). A few were used with privy-mark Eglantine (Pl. XXXII, 22). Most of these have the date changed to 1574 (P1. XXXII, 23) but only a few of these show the privy-mark changed from Acorn (P1. XXXII, 24). Dies made in 1574 and 1575 occur only with privy-mark Eglantine (P1. XXXII, 25, 26). No new dies were made after 1575 but existing ones, dated 1575, were altered to 1576 and 1577 (P1. XXXII, 27, 28).

¹ e.g. Rose coins are all dated 1565, Portcullis ones 1566.

² See Table I.

³ Sir John Craig, The Mint, pp. 125-6.

⁴ Privy-mark Cross occurs only with dates 1578, 1579; Long Cross only with dates 1580, 1581; and Sword only with the date 1582.

⁵ All threepences.6 For details of the provenance of these coins see Appendix I.

Many of the 1575 dies remained unused at the introduction of privymark Cross (1.10.1578) and were, of course, still without privy-mark. These had the privy-mark Cross added and the date altered to 1578 (Pl. XXXII, 29). When these had been used new dies were prepared, probably with the last figure of the date left vacant for a 9 to be added (Pl. XXXII, 30). Production must have stopped in 1579 with all the dies used up, for the next batch of dies was dated 158- and these were used to strike coin dated 1581 (Long Cross) (Pl. XXXII, 31) and 1582 (Sword) (Pl. XXXII, 32). It is interesting to note that on the 1581 coin the two figures 1 are from different punches.

The more general features of this coinage having been dealt with, a number of smaller problems remain to be mentioned. The halfpenny without privy-mark belongs to the period of privy-mark Bell. No other halfpennies of this period are known, although they were ordered and pyxed.^I This attribution is nicely confirmed by the development of a flaw on the portcullis punch (see P1. XXXII, 9-12). In the coins without privy-marks the punch is flawless, a small flaw occurs in privy-mark A and becomes steadily worse until privy-mark Cypher. On coins of privy-mark I and later the punch has been repaired, but in repairing it the bolt on the cross-bar has been omitted. It is, however, clearly visible on the halfpence without privy-mark.

A number of freak dates occur. The sixpence of privy-mark Broad Arrow Head dated 1566 is probably a 1561 coin with the date 1566 tooled on in more recent times. The one dated 1565 with the final 5 over 6 is a contemporary correction of a die-sinker's error. A number of coins occur without the Rose or date where one would be expected. Apart from coins where these features have been removed by forgers in order to pass the coin for the next higher denomination, these pieces are rare, usually only coming from one die. Such omissions may be due to experiment or to die-sinker's errors. A list of these coins

Table I

A List of Coins which Omit the Rose or Date in Error

Denomination	Date	Privy-mark	Remarks	Location			
Sixpence	1561	Broad Arrow Head	No Rose	Lockett IV lot 2012d Plate 82			
	(1567) (1567)	Lion Crown	No date No date	BM, RCB BM			
Threepence	1568	Crown	No Rose	BM			

(For abbreviations, see Appendix I)

which I have seen is given in Table I. In the indenture of 1572 it is specifically ordered that roses be placed on all coins of alternate denominations. Certainly after this date these omissions do not occur.

In the indenture of 1582 it is stated that each denomination is to be clearly marked. The addition of the two dots behind the bust on

¹ Symonds, Num. Chron. 1916, pp. 84, 103.

the half-groats was in conformity with this order. The few Bell halfgroats without these dots or with some other feature are probably early trials. A number of other curious features occur which may have some significance, although it is difficult to say what. Some of the sixpences and other coins of 1568 and 1572 show the last figure of the date inverted. These are by no means uncommon. At least three dies are known of 157z and a further two apparently have this corrected by being overstamped with a 2 the right way up. Another feature is the legends of some shillings of privy-mark Scallop which read ELIZB instead of ELIZAB. As the legends are normally remarkably consistent during this reign² it is curious to find an error of this sort which occurs on several dies.

The shilling with privy-mark Martlet, attributed in the supplement of Brooke³ to the milled series, appears to have more in common with the hammered series. Although it is well struck on a round flan and is without the inner border of dots common to the hammered series at this time, the flan has been hand-cut rather than machine-cut. The die axes, which on milled coins are at about o° or 180°, are at about 210° on some specimens of this piece. Finally, the punches used in preparing the dies for this coin have all been used on other hammered coins. In no other case are hammered punches used on milled coins. This coin dates from the first quarter of 1560/I and is probably a hammered pattern.

THE PERIOD 1558-61

Although the succession of privy-marks from 1561 to 1603 has long been known, the chronology of coins of the first period (1558–61) has hitherto received little attention.⁵ It is proposed to consider this in rather more detail. Work on the coinage of Queen Elizabeth began on I January 1558/9 as the result of an indenture between the queen and Sir Thomas Peckham, the under-treasurer, signed the previous day. 6 The coinage in silver was similar to that ordered by Mary and included the shilling, sixpence (which was not struck), the groat, half-groat, and penny. The designs were also based on those of Mary. The bust was surrounded by a thin "wire line" circle which separated it from the queen's titles, while the reverse bore the royal arms and the legend POSVI DEVM ADIVTOREM MEVM7 exactly as Mary's8 had done. The bust, however, in contrast to Mary's, showed the

¹ Such as the "Lys" half-groat in the British Museum.

Brooke, English Coins, 3rd ed. (1950), Pl. LXVIII, No. 1.
The two specimens in the British Museum show 210° die axes. The Lockett specimen (Lockett IV, lot 2044) and that in the Ashmolean show a 180° die axis.

⁵ The only account of the coins of this period is "The Dress of Queen Elizabeth on her Early Silver Coins" by Col. Morrieson, *Brit. Num. Journ.*, 1925–6, p. 121.

⁶ Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage*, 1st ed. 1817, vol. ii, p. 133.

⁷ The legends on the penny were E.D.G.ROSA.SINE.SPINA and CIVITAS LONDON.

8 Mary's larger coins after her marriage had, however, the plural form of the legend POSVIMVS DEVM ADIVTOREM NOSTRVM.

² A number of coins show misplaced or absent letters in the legend, but as these occur only on one die they are probably die-sinkers' errors.

queen wearing a high-necked bodice and ruff. On this early portrait the bodice is plain on all denominations except the shilling, where the two busts used (PI. XXXII, 1-2) were both decorated with vertical rows of beads. The larger of the two busts (No. 1) was discontinued after a few months when the shillings and groats, which at first had the queen's name spelt ELIZABET, had the final H added. The unfamiliarity of the die-sinkers with the length of the new legends on the three larger pieces was no doubt the cause of the leniency allowed in the abbreviation of REGINA and in the abbreviation and spacing of the reverse legend. On the rare penny the only experimenting consisted in the placing of the date 1558 at the end of the obverse legend. The privy-mark used for this coinage was the Fleur de lys.

At some time during the next twelve months the thin continuous "wire line" circle inside the legend was replaced by a circle of dots, such as was used for the rest of the reign. This coincided on the shilling with a change of bust to one (No. 3) (P1. XXXII, 3) which no longer had the rows of beads. This in turn was shortly superseded by two new busts (Nos. 4 and 5) (P1. XXXII, 4-5) showing the bodice more elaborately decorated. The groats of the second Lys period frequently bore the bust which was normally used on the half-groat. On both the shilling and groat the same variations in the legends occurred with this issue as with the wire-line issue. The coinage of half-groats and pennies seems to have ended before the introduction of the circle of dots since none are known of privy-mark Lys showing this feature. This type continued until the late autumn of 1560.

During the summer of 1560 plans were made, largely through the efforts of Sir Thomas Gresham,² for the recoinage of the base money still in circulation. This was initiated on 27 September 1560³ when the queen called down all the base silver in circulation to a value which

would allow it to be recoined without loss to the Crown.

In the various proclamations⁴ published during September and October concerning the withdrawal of base coinage, it is stated that the Mint was already engaged on the recoinage. This was, however, scarcely true, for so anxious was the queen to keep secret the date of the call-down⁵ that the Mint was not prepared for the increased work, and it was two months before the necessary arrangements had been made. Various correspondence passed on the subject during October and November.⁶ It was proposed to raise the standard of the silver from II oz. to II oz. 2 dwt., its ancient value. Sir John Yorke, lately under-treasurer of the Southwark and Tower mints, suggested that a second mint should be started, and, in the midst of the confusion, the queen decided that the portrait which was then in use was not to her

¹ This coin, in the British Museum, is believed to be unique.

J. W. Burgeon, Num. Chron., vol. ii (1841), p. 12; also The Life of Sir Thomas Gresham, vol. i, p. 354 by the same author.

Ruding, Annals of the Coinage, 1st ed. 1817, vol. ii, pp. 135 ff. Ruding, Annals of the Coinage, 1st ed., vol. ii, pp. 135-54. Ruding, Annals of the Coinage, 1st ed., vol. ii, p. 137.

⁶ Symonds, Num. Chron. 1916, pp. 62 ff.

liking. However, by 8 November 1560 a new indenture was signed with Thomas Stanley, as under-treasurer, for a coinage of shillings, groats, half-groats, and pennies in II oz. 2 dwt. fine silver, as well as the usual coinage in gold. A month later, following Sir John Yorke's suggestion, Thomas Fleetwood was commissioned to start a second mint in the Tower to assist in recoining silver only. Both mints were to share certain services, including the die-cutting shop. Stanley's new coinage began immediately on the signing of his indenture. To distinguish the coins struck under the new commission, which were nominally of a higher standard,2 he changed the privy-mark to Cross Crosslet. In view of the queen's objection to her portrait on the shillings, the graver was set to work to produce a new punch and, until this was ready, busts I and 2 were again put back into service. Some dies were also prepared at this time for Thomas Fleetwood's mint (known as the Upper Houses to distinguish it from the Nether mint of Thomas Stanley). These dies show bust 2, but since the necessary equipment for any large-scale coining was not installed in the Upper Houses until after Christmas, only a few shillings of this type were struck. All the coins from Thomas Fleetwood's mint bear the privymark Martlet.3

The first attack on the base money was directed towards withdrawing the larger and baser coins. In order to convert the greatest weight of metal into new coin as quickly as possible, work was concentrated on making shillings during the first six months of the privy-marks Cross Crosslet and Martlet. The die-cutting shop was producing dies by the dozen.4 The consequent wear on the punches resulted in a short life for most of them, and it is possible to date the shillings of this period to the nearest month by the state of the punches used. Three new busts of the queen were ready by the New Year (Pl. XXXII, 6-8) and one of them (no. 6) was put into regular service. The others were used for a short while, but were then discontinued.5 During the period of the recoinage, the legends became more or less fixed with the exception of the abbreviations ANG, FRA, and HIB which were at times changed to AN, FR, and HI or HIBE,6 almost all the various combinations of these being used at one time or another. Occasionally, also, the MEVM on the reverse was not abbreviated.

Silver was coined at the rate of about £500 a day during the first three months of 1560/1, so that by the beginning of April it was possible to demonetize the base testoons. Besides these larger pieces,

¹ Symonds, Num. Chron. 1916, p. 66. Ruding gives an incorrect version of this indenture. ² The raising of the standard was likely to have occurred on paper only, as the trial plate

in use was already of the higher standard: Craig, The Mint, p. 117. ³ This attribution is shown by Symonds, Num. Chron. 1916, p. 98.

⁴ The Nether mint account for 1560/1 has an item for 192 dozen piles and trussels for

silver coins: Symonds, Num. Chron. 1916, p. 67.
5 However, bust 8 was reintroduced again in 1582 when the shilling coinage was resumed after a break of twenty years!

<sup>The reason, if any, for this is not clear.
Ruding, Annals of the Coinage, 1st ed. 1817, vol. ii, p. 150.</sup>

which were then circulating for $4\frac{1}{2}d$., an amount of smaller coin had also been withdrawn and minted into shillings. This resulted in a severe shortage of small change. Consequently, the coinage of shillings ceased at the end of April or beginning of May, and work was concentrated on making smaller pieces. Early in July the queen paid a state visit to the Mint¹ to inspect the progress of the recoinage and herself struck a number of pieces in gold. Ten days later the base groats and half-groats were demonetized² and two months later the recoinage terms expired. The whole operation was completed within the twelvemonth.

In April, at the height of the recoinage, a small issue of fine shillings and groats was made for Ireland. The bust used on these shillings is the same as that used on the English shillings of the recoinage period, and shows the same degree of wear that it does on the latest English shillings of the privy-marks Cross Crosslet and Martlet.³ This provides an accurate dating for the end of the English shilling coinage.⁴ This same bust is used on the half-pound in gold, but on nearly half these coins this punch is in a state of further decay, from which it can be inferred that the gold coinage was continued throughout the summer.

As a result of a proclamation in November 1561, sixpences, three-pences, three-halfpences, and three-farthings appear in both the milled and hammer series. In view of the proclamation in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, I believe that these denominations were introduced primarily with a view to their being called down at a later date to the values of a groat, half-groat, penny, and halfpenny respectively, in spite of the official reason given, that they were introduced to supply the want of small change. The effect of the proclamation calling down the value of the coins would have been to restore the weights of the coins to those in use in Henry VII's day. The reason for the abandonment of the plan has been given by Sir Charles Oman.⁵

Some Finds of Elizabethan Coin

Coin hoards can provide some interesting numismatic evidence for this reign. Listed in Appendix II are all the finds of coins of Elizabeth I that I have been able to trace. Since these finds (most of them being hoards) when taken together form a large sample of Elizabethan coin, it is possible to perform a statistical analysis on them. The finds were probably all deposited between 1561 and 1696 and show that

¹ Symonds, Num. Chron. 1916, p. 67; Hawkins, Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland, 1885, vol. i, p. 101; Nichols, Progresses of Queen Elizabeth, 1823, vol. i, p. 91.

² Ruding, Annals of the Coinage, 1st ed. 1817, vol. ii, p. 151.

The state of the punch can be seen from the number of jewels on the arch of the crown.

⁴ The Irish pieces were struck during April 1561: Symonds, *Num. Chron.* 1916, p. 99. ⁵ Sir Charles Oman, *Num. Chron.* 1932, p. 1.

⁶ In addition, in order to provide as complete a list of finds for this period as possible, a few finds have been included which do not, in fact, contain any coin of Elizabeth.

the fine silver of Edward VI and succeeding monarchs circulated throughout this period. Hardly any of the base money issued before this date appears in the English finds although it is often found in the early Irish finds. The bulk of the finds deposited during this

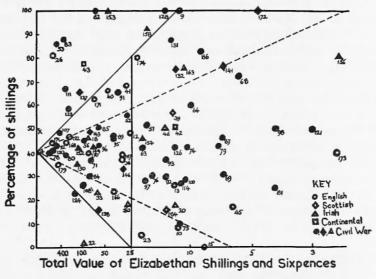


Fig. 1

140 years date from the Civil War (1642-8) (Finds nos. 49-164). In addition to these there is a series of Irish hoards dating from the troubled period at the end of Elizabeth's reign. These consist chiefly of English silver, mostly sixpences. The absence of base Irish coin does not necessarily mean that it did not circulate. Gresham's law would suggest that so long as there was any good money in circulation, base money would occur only occasionally in the hoards. A number of English coins are also found in the European finds which were de-

posited between 1610 and 1625.

Reports of the finds vary much in the detail they give. About a third of them include details of the numbers of coins found of each date and privy-mark. Another sixth give only the number of coins in the find of each denomination of each reign, whilst the remainder only describe the find in general terms. The worn condition of Elizabeth's coins in all but the earliest finds makes identification somewhat uncertain. A number of the freak coins mentioned in these reports may well be forgeries or worn coins wrongly identified. Since these pieces form a very small fraction of the total, it is reasonable to neglect them in a quantitative survey and to hope that these and other errors in identification will cancel each other out.

One hundred and seven of the reports contain details of the numbers of coins of each denomination of the reign (see Appendix II, Table VII). The bulk of the finds is composed of shillings and sixpences but all the silver denominations, except the crown and halfpenny, are represented by at least one coin. Fig. 1 shows the relative

proportions of shillings and sixpences in eighty-four finds. Along the horizontal axis is plotted the value of Elizabethan shillings and sixpences in the find, expressed in shillings. This is plotted so that the larger finds occur on the left, the smaller on the right. The proportion of shillings present, which is plotted up the vertical axis, is expressed as the percentage by value of shillings occurring among the Elizabethan shillings and sixpences. It is to be expected that the larger the find, the more nearly this percentage will represent a true picture of the state of the currency at the time the find was deposited. It will be seen from Fig. 1 that most of the finds suggest that this was about 40 per cent. but some of the large ones show a much higher percentage than this. This is no doubt due to a greater preference for hoarding larger pieces. If these are included in the calculation of the normal percentage of shillings in circulation, it leads to a figure of 47.8 per cent. which seems unlikely, judging by the majority of finds. All the finds, therefore, which do not occur between the two continuous lines (Fig. 1) have been arbitrarily discounted. All the finds within the continuous lines containing more than twenty-five shillings worth of Elizabethan shillings and sixpences give a mean of 41.5 per cent. The continuous lines then indicate the maximum likely error in a random sample. It will be seen that 76 finds lie within these two lines, II show a significantly high proportion, and 2 show a significantly low proportion of shillings. For convenience, finds from England, Scotland, Ireland, and the Continent are shown differently and each is numbered to correspond with the numbering in Table VII (Appendix II). Those deposited during the Civil War are shown by filled-in figures. The only series which shows a tendency different from the general one is the early Irish series, suggesting that the shilling did not circulate as freely in that country as in England during the sixteenth century. It is worth noting also that by the time of the Civil War English coins appear plentifully in the Scottish hoards.

In spite of the preference for larger coins in some hoards, only one Elizabethan half-crown and no crowns of this reign appear in any of these finds. As most of the larger finds contain half-crowns of other reigns, this would point to the extreme rarity of these two coins in circulation. Only six finds have a large enough number of groats to be useful in deciding the relative numbers issued, and only three have any number of threepences. The Houghton find (15) is the only one which contains three-halfpenny and three-farthing pieces but, since this find is in many other ways non-typical, too much weight should not be placed on evidence from it. The absence of the smaller coin in most finds makes it difficult to assess the relative numbers of these pieces issued. However, an attempt to do this has been made in Table II, but too much reliance should not be placed on it. Milled sixpences occur in a number of finds, to the extent of about $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. of all Elizabethan sixpences, representing an issue of a few hundred thousand pieces. Unfortunately, the total issue is not known, although probably about 120 pairs of dies were used in their manufacture. Although some milled sixpences certainly did circulate, there is strong evidence that many others were kept for gaming purposes.¹

Table II

Estimate of Quantity of Silver Coin of Various Denominations

Struck 1558–1603

Denomina	tion		Amount issued lb.	Remarks
Hammered shilling			600,000	Accurate to 10 per cent.
Hammered sixpence			850,000	freedrate to to per cent.
Milled sixpence .			5,000	1
Hammered groat			30,000	
Hammered threepend	ce		25,000	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
Half-groat.			15,000	Accurate to within 5,000 lb.
Three-halfpence.			6,000	
Penny			15,000	
Total			1,546,000	Combined to the control of

Other denominations probably amount to a negligible total weight.

Gold coin of Elizabeth is not well represented. There was little of it left in circulation by the time of the Civil War. Only a handful of finds contain any gold coin of the reign and these contain very little,

mostly half-pound pieces.

The number of occasions on which two coins struck from the same die appear in a find provides a means of estimating the number of dies used.² Unfortunately it has only been possible to examine one hoard in sufficient detail and the results are therefore liable to be very inaccurate. They do, however, agree with what might be expected from other considerations and point to a figure of about 1,000 to 10,000 coins being struck from each pair of dies.

Sixty-four finds have been analysed by date and privy-mark, but only twenty-three of these are large enough to be of much use in a quantitative study (see Appendix II, Table VIII). These hoards contain together over 2,000 shillings and 6,000 sixpences, and from these it is possible to draw up a table of relative frequencies for the various privy-marks and dates (Appendix I, Table VI).³ What is

¹ Sir John Evans, Num. Chron. 1905, p. 307; Allen and Dunstan, Brit. Num. Journ. 1938/41, p. 287. See also the report of the Peshawar Find (193).

² It can be shown that if x dies were used in preparing a coinage, in a sample of y coins, z pairs of coins would be expected to be struck from the same die, where $x = \frac{(y-1)y}{2z}$

providing that z is small compared with y. For example in a sample of 100 coins, three pairs of coins were found from the same obverse die.

Therefore, no. of dies = $x = \frac{99 \times 100}{2 \times 3} = 1,650$.

³ In preparing this table allowance has been made for the fact that some sixpences can be identified by date alone (e.g. a coin of 1576 must bear privy-mark Eglantine) or by privy-mark alone, whilst others have to be identified by both marks. These latter will therefore appear slightly less frequently than expected if there are many worn coins present.

remarkable about these twenty-three finds is that all but two of them agree on the relative frequencies with which the privy-marks and dates occur, to within the limits of random error. One of those two (Cheadle (26)) can be explained if it is assumed that it was collected over the two periods 1561–2 and 1595–1602. In the other (Welshback (191)) about half the coins could not be identified and these might well account for the discrepancy. A check that these frequencies are in fact correct can be made by comparison with the minting figures. These are shown in Table III. The agreement is good except for the period 1592–1600 where significantly too few coins appear in the hoards. Since the shillings and sixpences were not always issued in the same ratios throughout the reign, this agreement also provides additional confirmation of the correctness of the figures quoted in Table II.

TABLE III

Comparison of the Number of Coins found in Hoards with the Mint Issues

P	eriod		Issues (1,000 lb.) Mint records	Issues as predicted from hoards	Denominations issued			
1558–60 Lis			17	18± 6	Shilling			
1560-1 Cros			126	121 ± 12	Shilling			
1560–1 Mar	tlet		122	116±12	Shilling			
1561-72			286	303±30	Sixpence			
1572-82			282	285±28	Sixpence			
1582-92		•	302	300±30	Shilling Sixpence			
1592–1600	•	٠	341	261±26	Shilling Sixpence			
1601–1603			82	80±10	Shilling Sixpence			

Notes: The figures in column 2 have been derived from figures quoted by Craig, *The Mint*, pp. 414–15 and Symonds, *Num. Chron*. 1916, pp. 65–67, 88–89. In some cases these have been adapted in order to correspond to the privy-mark periods. The discrepancy for the period 1592–1600 is not explained.

Another feature of interest is that the English coins found in Ireland, Scotland, and the Continent show the same distribution amongst

privy-marks as do those found in England.

The total weight of silver in the finds listed in Appendix II is about 300 lb., representing about 0.02 per cent. of the total issue. It is unlikely that more than 0.1 per cent. of the total coin in the country remained unclaimed after the Civil War, but what percentage of it was originally buried is a matter for conjecture; it might well have been large enough to have affected the economics of the country to a considerable extent.

¹ It has been assumed that the random error in a figure x is not likely to exceed $2\sqrt{x}$. See Aitken, Statistical Mathematics (University Mathematical Texts), 7th ed., p. 50, where he gives $\sigma = \sqrt{(npq)}$ for a binomial distribution. In our case q is nearly 1 and np = x. The random error will be less than 2σ in 95 per cent. of the cases.

In conclusion I wish to express my thanks to Mr. R. Carlyon-Britton and Mr. W. Forster who have allowed me to examine their collections. Also I wish to thank Mr. J. D. A. Thompson for drawing my attention to a number of the hoards mentioned in Appendix II and especially to Dr. J. P. C. Kent and other members of the staff of the British Museum for their help and encouragement.

APPENDIX I

A List of the Principal Varieties of Hammered Silver Coin of Elizabeth I

A description of the coins is given in Table V and a list of the dates and privy-marks which occur is given in Table VI. This is supplemented by footnotes which give any varieties of interest or special significance. Amongst these are some of the bust variations on the larger coins, and any variations of legend which occur on more than one die. Legend varieties which are probably only due to carelessness on the part of the

Table IV

A Summary of the Seven Coinages of Elizabeth I

	Date of order	Denominations ordered	Officers	Remarks
I	31.12.1558	1/-, 6d., 4d., 2d., 1d.	Sir Edward Peck- ham	II oz. fine
2a	8.11.1560	1/-, 4d., 2d., 1d.	Thomas Stanley	11 oz. 2 dwt.
2b	9.12.1560	1/-, 4d., 2d., 1d.	Thomas Fleetwood	Recoinage mint
3	1561	$6d., 4d., 3d., 2d., 1\frac{1}{2}d., 1d., \frac{3}{4}d.$	Thomas Stanley	Indenture lost
	18.4.1572	$6d., 3d., 1\frac{1}{2}d., \frac{3}{4}d.$	/ John Lonison	
4	2.4.1574	1d.	Richard Martin	
5	27.7.1578	$6d., 3d., 1\frac{1}{2}d., 1d., \frac{3}{4}d.$	John Lonison Richard Martin	Reduced weight and fineness
6	30.1.1582/3	1/-, 6d., 2d., 1d., \frac{1}{2}d.	Richard Martin Richard Martin	Standards re- stored
			succeeded in	
			1599 as War-	
			den by Thomas	
			Knyvett	
7	29.7.1601	$5/-$, $2/6$, $1/-$, $6d.$, $2d.$, $1d.$, $\frac{1}{2}d.$	Richard Martin Thomas Knyvett	Reduced weight

die-sinker are not noted. The occurrence of overmarked dates and privy-marks, and several other features, has also been included. All the coins noted are in the British Museum unless otherwise stated. Varieties noted by Hawkins or Parsons which I have not yet seen have been included in parentheses. The figures given in parentheses after the shillings, sixpences, and groats represent the number of millions of coins issued for that particular denomination and date or privy-mark. These numbers are based on the analysis of hoards, as mentioned above, and have been scaled to give the correct total issues for the reign. They are accurate to about 25 per cent.

Reference is made in the footnotes to Table VI to the following collections:

British Museum (indicated by initials BM). Ashmolean Museum (indicated by initials AM). The author's collection (indicated by initials IDB).

The collection of Mr. R. Carlyon-Britton (indicated by initials RCB).

The collection of Mr. W. Forster (indicated by initials WF).

The collection of the late Mr. R. C. Lockett. References to this collection quote the lot number in the sale catalogue, part IV, followed by a letter to indicate the particular piece as it occurs on the British Numismatic Society's photographs of this collection. Also quoted is the number of the photograph.

A certain amount of documentary evidence has been incorporated in Table VI to give completeness. This is to be found in Ruding, Symonds and Craig. Each new indenture or order for the coinage has been described as initiating a new coinage although the differences, apart from the privy-mark, are sometimes not apparent on the coins. During the first three coinages, the Mint had an under-treasurer responsible for its management. After 1572 it reverted to the traditional organization with a master and a warden. The seven coinages are summarized in Table IV.

TABLE V

A Description of the Hammered Silver Coins of Elizabeth I

Unless otherwise stated, all coins bear on the obverse the crowned bust of the queen, and on the reverse the royal arms quartered by a cross which divides the legend as indicated.

Denomination

Description

Crown

Obv. ELIZABETH:D'G'ANG'FRA'ET:HIBER'REGINA

The queen carries a sceptre

Rev. POSVI/DEVM:AD/IVTORE/M:MEVM

The shield is garnished

Half-crown

As Crown.

Shilling

1st coinage 1558-60

Obv. ELIZABETH:D'G'ANG'FRA'Z.HIB'REGINA

Rev. POSVI/DEV'AD/IVTORE/M.MEV'

2nd coinage 1560-61

As 1st coinage but reads ET instead of Z.

6th-7th coinage 1582-1603

Obv. ELIZAB D'Ğ'ANG FR'ET: HIB'REGI' Rev. POSVI/DEV'AD/IVTORE/M.MEV'

Sixpence

3rd-5th coinage 1561-82

Obv. ELIZABETH:D:G:ANG:FR:ET:HI:REGINA

Rose behind bust.

Rev. POSVI/DEV'AD/IVTORE/M.MEV'

Date above shield.

6th-7th coinage 1582-1603

Obv. ELIZABIDIG!ANG!FR!ET:HIB!REG!!

Rose behind bust.

Rev. POSVI/DEV: AD/IVTORE/M.MEV:

Date above shield.

Groat

1st and 2nd coinages as shilling.

Threepence

3rd-5th coinages as sixpence.

Half-groat

ıst coinage 1558-бо

Obv. ELIZABETH:D'G'ANG'FRA'Z:HIB'REGINA

Rev. POSVI/DEV'AD/IVTORE/M.MEV'

2nd-3rd coinages 1560-72

As 1st coinage but reads ET instead of Z.

¹ Ruding, Annals of the Coinage, 1st ed. (1817), vol. ii, pp. 133-90; Symonds, Num. Chron. 1916, pp. 61-105; Craig, The Mint, pp. 117-32.

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Denomination

Description

Half-groat

6th-7th coinage 1582-1603

Obv. E.D.G.ROSA.SINE.ŠPINA. Two pellets behind bust.

Rev. CIVI/TAS/LON/DON

Three-halfpence

3rd-5th coinage 1561-82

Obv. E.D.G.ROSA.SINE.SPINA

Rose behind bust.

Rev. CIVI/TAS/LON/DON Date above shield.

Penny

Obv. E.D.G.ROSA.SINE.SPINA.

Rev. CIVI/TAS/LON/DON

Three-farthings

As three-halfpence.

Halfpenny

Obv. Portcullis and privy-mark, no legend.

Rev. Cross and pellets, no legend.

NOTES TO TABLE VI

1. Occurs with busts 1 (AM, not in B.M.) and 2. Variations occur in the spacing of the reverse legend.

Bust 2 only. Variations occur in the abbreviation of obverse and reverse legend. 3. Variations occur in the abbreviation of REGINA and in the reverse legend.

4. Mentioned by Hawkins but almost certainly does not exist.

5. A unique variety has the date 1558 in the obverse legend.

6. Occurs with busts 3, 4, and 5. Variations occur in the abbreviations of REGINA and MEVM.

Variety has the half-groat bust. Variations occur in the abbreviation of REGINA.

8. Although the sixpence was ordered it does not appear to have been struck.

 Occurs with busts 1, 6, 7, and 8. Variations occur in the abbreviations of ANG, FRA, HIB, and MEVM.

10. Variations occur in the abbreviations of ANG, FRA, and HIB.

11. Occurs with three different busts. Variations occur in the punctuation of the obverse

legend, the colon being a later form than the full stop.

 Occurs with busts 2, 6, and 8 (Lockett IV, lot 2006e, pl. 81, not in B.M.). Variations occur in the abbreviations of ANG, FRA, HIB, and MEVM. These shillings can always be distinguished from Cross Crosslet shillings by the absence of a "wire line" inside the inner circle of dots. For a discussion of the so-called milled martlet shillings, see text. Parsons notes a shilling of this mark without privy-mark on the reverse; it is not in B.M.

13. Variations occur in the abbreviations of ANG, FRA, HIB, and REGINA.

14. Variations occur in the abbreviations of ANG and HIB. A pattern or trial piece occurs without inner circle (Lockett IV. 2027 illustrated, not in B.M.).

15. Occurs only with the two earlier busts and full stops in the obverse legend (see note 11). 16. Variety shows a different bust from the normal one. Another has no rose (Lockett IV, lot 2012d, pl. 82, not in B.M.). Variations occur in the abbreviations of ANG, FRA, HIB, and MEVM, and in the size of the shield and flan (the larger sizes being earlier).

17. Date often over 1561. Legend varieties as in 1561 (note 16). 18. Variations occur in the abbreviations of ANG, FRA, and HIB. 19. Date usually over 1562. Legend varieties as in 1561 (note 16).

20. Date often over 1562. Variety has large bust. Legend varieties as 1561 (note 16).

21. Variety has large bust, and another has date over 1566 (Lockett IV, lot 2012m, pl. 82, not in B.M.). Legend varieties as in 1562 (note 18).

22. This coin (Lockett IV, lot 2012n, pl. 82) belongs to 1561 and has probably had the date altered in recent times.

23. Variations occur in the abbreviations of ANG, FRA, and HIB.

24. Date occurs only over 1561. Legend variations as in 1561 (note 23).

25. Date usually over 1562. Legend variations as in 1561 (note 23).

26. Variety of 1 d. apparently has no rose or date (Parsons, Num. Chron. 1945, p. 145). This piece in fact has had the rose and date erased (RCB, not in B.M.).

27. Mentioned by Parsons, not in B.M.

28. J. Kenny mentions a $\frac{8}{4}d$, with privy-mark Cross Crosslet (B.N.J. 1934/7, p. 314). Not in B.M. and probably does not exist.

Privy-mark, &c.	1/-	6d.	4d.	2.4	2d.	I ½d.	1 -1	1 37	1 ,,
ıst Coinage, 1.1.1558/9-30.11.1560				3 <i>d</i> .	- Zu.	150.	1 <i>d</i> .	$\frac{\frac{3}{4}d}{}$	$\frac{\frac{1}{2}d}{d}$.
Fineness = 916, shilling weighs 96 gr. Lys 1st period, wire line circle, ELIZABET	+1)	6d.8	+3		2d.		1d.		
ELIZABETH	$+2$ $+6$ $(1\cdot1)$		+3 (0·8) +2		+3		}+5		
2nd Coinage, 1.12.1560– c . 10.1561 Fineness = 925, shilling weighs 96 gr.	1/-		4 <i>d</i> .		2d.		1 <i>d</i> .		
Cross Crosslet 1.12.1560-c. 10.1561 Nether Mint	+9 (7·1) +12 (6·8)	::	+13 (4·3) +10 (1·7)		+ 14 + 10	::	+11	(+)28	(+)4
3rd Coinage, c. 10.1561-18.4.1572 Fineness = 925, shilling weighs 96 gr.		6d.		3 <i>d</i> .	2d.	$1\frac{1}{2}d$.	ıd.		
Broad Arrow Head c. 10.1561-c. 8.1565		1561 ¹⁶ (4·8) 1562 ¹⁷ (1·2) 1562 ¹⁸ 1563 ¹⁹ (0·4) 1564 ²⁰ (1·4) 1565 ²¹ (1·2)		1561 ²³ 1562 ²⁴ 1562 ²³ 1563 ²⁵ 1564 ²³	(+)26	1561 ²⁶ 1562 ²⁹ 1562 1564 (1565) ²⁷		1561 156z ²⁹ 1562	
Rose c. 8.1565-c. 3.1565/6	:::	[1566] ²² 1565 ³⁰ (1·2) 1566 (3·0) 1566 (0·7) 1567 ³⁵ (0·9) + ³⁶ (0·0)	::	1565 ³² 1566 ³⁴ 1566 ³⁷ 1567 ³⁸	+39 +39	1565 ³¹ 1566 (1567) ⁴⁰	+33 +33 +		
CROWN c. 5.1567-c. 7.1570		[1566] ⁴¹ + ⁴² (0·0) 1567 (4·1) 1568 ⁴³ (4·5) 1569 ⁴¹ (6·6) 1570 ⁴⁴ (1·3)		1567 1568 ⁴⁵ 1569 1570	+46	1567 1568 1569	+	(1567) ⁴⁷ 1568	
CASTLE c. 7.1570-18.4.1572		1569 ⁴⁸ (0·0) 1570 ⁴⁸ (1·2) 1571 (2·9) (1572) ⁴⁹		1570 1571	+ 39	1570	+		
4th Coinage, 18.4.1572-27.9.1578 Fineness = 925, shilling weighs 96 gr.		6d.		3 <i>d</i> .	1	$1\frac{1}{2}d$.	(1d.)62	$\frac{3}{4}d$.	
ERMINE 19.4.1572-30.10.1573 ("Powdred Armyne")		(1571) ⁵⁰ 1572 ⁵¹ (4·6)		157253	(+)54	I 572 ⁵⁷	(+)55	157256	
Acorn 1.11.1573-25.5.1574		1573 ⁵² (3·0) 1573 ⁵⁸ (2·5)		1573 1573 ⁵⁹		1572 ⁶¹ 1573	(+)62	(1573) ⁴⁷	
EGLANTINE 29.5.1574-30.7.1578 (but work ceased in 1577)		1574 (0·9) 1573 (0·0) 1574 ⁶³ (3·9) 1575 ⁶⁴ (4·1) 1576 (0·9) 1577 ⁶⁵ (0·4)		1574 1573 ⁵⁹ 1574 ⁶⁶ 1575 ⁶⁷ 1576 ⁶⁸ 1577 ⁶⁹		1574 ⁶⁰ 1573 ⁷⁰ 1574 ⁷¹ 1575 1576 ⁷² 1577 ⁷³	+76	1573 1574 1575 (1576) ⁷⁴ 1577 ⁷⁵	
5th Coinage, 27.9.1578-30.1.1582/3 Fineness = 921, shilling weighs 95.6 gr.		6d.		3d.		$-\frac{1}{2}d$.	ıd.	₹d.	
Cross (Plain) 1.10.1578-17.5.1580		(1577) ⁷⁷ 157 ⁸⁷⁸ (4·1)		1578	(+)79	157880	+	157881	
Long Cross 1.6.1580-31.12.1581		1579 (1·4) 1580 ⁸³ (3·6) 1581 (1·4)		1579 1580 ⁸⁴ 1581 ⁸⁵		1579 1581 ⁸⁶	+	(1579) ⁸² 1581 ⁸⁷	
Sword 31.12.1581-30.1.1582/3		1582 (2.7)		158288		1582	+	158289	
6th Coinage, 30.1.1582/3-29.7.1601 Fineness = 925, shilling weighs 96 gr.	1/-	6d.			2d.		īd.		$\frac{1}{2}d$.
BELL 30.1.1582/3-29.11.1583	+ (1.8)	1582° (0.9) 1583 (1.6)			+92		+		+93
A 29.II.I583-I3.2.I584/5	+94 (3.4)	(1584) ⁷⁷ 1582 ⁹¹ (0·0) 1583 ⁹⁶ (1·2)			+95		+97		+
Scallop 13.2.1584/5-30.5.1587	+98 (2.9)	1584 ¹⁰⁷ (1·4) 1584 ⁹⁹ (0·9) 1585 (1·8)			+		+- 100		+
Crescent 30.5.1587-c. 1.1589/90	+102 (1.4)	1586 ¹⁰¹ (0·7) 1587 ¹⁰³ (0·9) 1588 ¹⁰⁴ (0·2)			+		+		<u>+</u> 106
HAND c. 1.1589/90-31.1.1591/2	+110 (1.5)	1589 ¹⁰⁵ (0·7) 1590 ¹⁰⁸ (1·1) 1591 ¹⁰⁹ (1·2)			+		+		+
Tun 31.1.1591/2-c. 7.1594 (?)	+110 (4.2)	1592 (0·4) 1592 (1·2) 1593 (2·5) 1594 (0·4)			+				+
Woolpack c. 7.1594 (?)-13.2.1595/6	+112 (4.0)	1595 (0·0) 1594 ¹¹³ (2·2) 1595 ¹¹⁴ (0·9)			+		+		÷
Key 13.2.1595/6-c. 2.1597/8	+116 (1.7)	(1596) ¹¹⁵ 1595 ¹¹⁷ (0·4) 1596 (0·9) 1597 (0·0)			+		+119		, <u>, , 121</u>
Anchor c. 2.1597/8-30.4.1600	+120 (0.2)	1598 ¹¹⁸ (0·0) (1597) ¹²² 1598 (0·0) 1599 ¹²³ (0·0)			+		+ I25		+
Сурнек 30.4.1600-20.5.1601	+ (0.3)	1600 ¹²⁴ (0·0) 1600 ¹²⁶ (0·0)			+		+ I27		·
7th Coinage, 29.7.1601-7.6.1603 Fineness = 925, shilling weighs 93 gr. 5/- 2/6	1/-	6d.			2d.		ıd.		₹d.
ONE 29.7.1601–14.5.1602 + +	+ (1.3)	1601 ¹²⁸ (0·7) 1602 (0·4)			+		+		+
Two 14.5.1602-7.6.1603	+ (2.0)	1602 (1.6)			÷		+		+

29. Variety has date over 1561 (WF, not in B.M.).

30. Varieties have privy-marks on either side over Broad Arrow Head (Lockett IV, lot 2013a, pl. 82 and IDB, not in B.M.). Others show variations in abbreviation of ANG, FRA, and HIB.

31. IDB, not in B.M.

32. Variations occur in the abbreviations of ANG and FRA. Varieties have obverse privymark over Rose.

33. A mule Rose-Portcullis over Rose occurs (RCB, not in B.M.).

34. Variations occur in the abbreviations of ANG and FRA.

35. Variety may have date over 1566.

36. Variety has no date (one die).

37. Variety has obverse privy-mark over Portcullis.

38. Variety has obverse privy-mark over Rose or Portcullis.

39. The obverse dies were often used for the gold half-crown and these half-groats occasionally appear gilt.

40. Mentioned by Parsons, not in B.M.

41. Owing to a flaw on the punches used for the figures 6 and 9, worn coins of 1569 sometimes appear to be dated 1566.

42. The sixpence without date (one die) belongs to the period 1567.

- 43. Varieties have the figure 8 inverted, or the figure 8 (inverted or the correct way up) over 7.
- 44. Variety has crescent-shaped stops on the reverse (Lockett IV, lot 2013l, pl. 82, not in B.M.).
- 45. Varieties have 8 (inverted) over 7, or no rose on obverse, or variations in abbreviation of HI.
- 46. Most pieces have crescent-shaped stops. See also note 39.

47. Mentioned by Parsons, not in B.M.

48. Varieties have privy-mark on either side over Crown.

49. Mentioned in the reports of the Bingley (56) and Constable Burton (71) treasure troves. Not in B.M. Probably an error.

50. Mentioned by Hawkins and Parsons, not in B.M.

51. Varieties have the figure 2 inverted and 2 (correct) over 2 (inverted). Parsons mentions this date over 1571, not in B.M.

52. A new bust was introduced during this privy-mark period.

53. Variety has 2 (correct) over 2 (inverted).

54. Mentioned by Parsons, not in B.M. Probably does not exist as it is not mentioned in the indenture for this period.

55. Mentioned by Hawkins and Parsons, not in B.M. Probably does not exist as it was not mentioned in the indenture for this period.

- 56. Variety has the figure 2 (correct) over 2 inverted (WF, not in B.M.). 57. Variety has the figure 2 (correct) over 2 inverted (IDB, not in B.M.).
- 58. Parsons mentions variety with privy-mark over Ermine. Not in B.M. 59. A mule has obverse: Eglantine over Acorn, reverse: Acorn (RCB, not in B.M).

60. Occurs only with date over 1573.

61. AM, not in B.M.

62. The penny was specifically ordered by the queen on 2 April 1574 for her personal use, presumably on Maundy Thursday, 8 April 1574. As the Acorn mark was in use until 25 May 1574, it might be expected that some 2,500 pieces were struck for the Maundy service bearing this mark. These coins (if they exist) and those of privy mark Eglantine, must be amongst the earliest coins struck specially for the Maundy service. Unfortunately, although Parsons mentions privy-mark Acorn, I have been unable to trace this piece. It does not appear in the B.M.

63. Variety has privy-mark on reverse over Acorn (IDB, not in B.M.).

64. Variety has date over 1574.

- 65. Date is over 1576. Parsons mentions this coin with date not over 1576 but it is not in B.M.
- 66. Varieties have date over 1573 (WF, not in B.M.) or no privy-mark on reverse (Lockett IV, lot 2024p, pl. 84, not in B.M.).

67. Variety has date over 1574 (Lockett IV, lot 2024n, pl. 84, not in B.M.). 68. Variety has date over 1575.

69. Occurs only with date over 1575 or 1576.

70. RCB, but a piece in B.M. may also have this date.

71. Varieties have date over 1572, or date over 1572 and reverse privy-mark over Ermine (RCB, not in B.M.), or date over 1573 (RCB, not in B.M.), or date over 1573 and privymark on either side over Acorn (WF, and Lockett IV, lot 2031d, pl. 85, not in B.M.). Parsons mentions a mule Eglantine-Acorn, not in B.M.

72. Occurs only with date over 1575.

73. Occurs only with date over 1575 (Lockett IV, lot 2031f, pl. 85, not in B.M.).

74. Mentioned by Parsons, not in B.M.

- 75. Possibly occurs only over 1576; the two specimens in the B.M. are indistinct. Parsons mentions this coin without overmarked date.
- This coin is scarce and was probably only struck for Royal charities (see Symonds, Num. Chron. 1916, p. 78).

77. Mentioned by Hawkins and Parsons, not in B.M.

78. A common variety has date over 1577 and privy-mark over Eglantine. It also occurs with the date but not the privy-mark overstamped. Another variety has the date over 1577 over 1576 (Lockett IV, lot 2015a, pl. 83, not in B.M.).

79. Mentioned by Hawkins, not in B.M. and probably does not exist as it was not mentioned

in the indenture for this period.

80. Occurs only with date over 1575. Parsons mentions date over 1577, not in B.M.

81. Variety has date over 1575.

82. Mentioned by Parsons, not in B.M.

- 83. Varieties have obverse privy-mark over Cross or date over 1579 and reverse privymark over Cross.
- 84. Variety has the figure 8 in the date over 7 but the figure o not overstamped (WF, not in B.M.), another has date over 1579 with reverse privy-mark possibly over Cross (RCB, not in B.M.).

85. Variety has the figure 8 in the date over 7 but the figure 1 not overstamped (WF,

not in B.M.).

86. Lockett IV, lot 20311, pl. 85, not in B.M.

87. The specimen in the B.M. may have date over 1580.

88. Variety may have reverse privy-mark over Long Cross. Another variety has the figure 8 over 7 but the figure 2 not overstamped (RCB, not in B.M.).

89. Lockett IV, lot 2035c, pl. 85, not in B.M.

90. Occurs with the old form of legend (ELIZABETH, &c.) and with the new form (ELIZAB!, &c.), the former being the more common. Variety has Bell over Sword on reverse (RCB, not in B.M).

91. This coin may be unique.

92. Varieties occur without the two dots, or with a Lys behind the bust, or with the two dots over LL (IDB, not in B.M.). These are probably trial pieces. 93. The halfpennies belonging to the privy-mark Bell have no privy-mark. See text

94. Varieties often show privy-mark on both sides over Bell. Parsons mentions a mule

Bell-A, not in B.M. 95. Variety has obverse privy-mark over Bell (WF, not in B.M.).

96. Variety has reverse privy-mark over Bell.

97. Variety has reverse privy-mark over Bell (Lockett IV, lot 2033n, pl. 85, not in B.M.).

98. Varieties have privy-mark on either side over A, or have obverse legend reading ELIZB, or have one of two variant busts (one RCB, another IDB, not in B.M.).

99. Varieties have privy-mark on either side over A.

100. Variety has privy-mark on both sides over A (RCB, not in B.M.).

101. Date usually over 1585, but does occur not overstamped (Lockett IV, lot 2015s, pl. 83, not in B.M.). Another variety has obverse privy-mark over A (AM, not in B.M.).

102. Variety has privy-mark on either side over Scallop. Three busts are used during this period.

103. Varieties have obverse privy-mark over Scallop, or reverse privy-mark over Scallop with date over 1586 or over 1586 over 1585.

104. Parsons mentions variety with date over 1587, not in B.M.

105. Variety has date over 1588.
106. Variety has privy-mark over Scallop (Lockett IV, lot 2036c, pl. 85, not in B.M.).

107. Variety has obverse privy-mark over Bell (Lockett IV, lot 2015n, pl. 83, not in B.M.). 108. Variety has reverse privy-mark over Crescent and date over 1589.

109. A common variety has date over 1590. IIO. A mule has Tun (over Hand?)-Hand.

111. Variety has obverse privy-mark over Hand.
112. Variety has reverse privy-mark over Tun (IDB, not in B.M.). A large number of mules has been reported for this period, but owing to the extensive overmarking which occurred, and the worn state of many of the coins, many of these can be discounted.

- 113. Varieties have privy-mark on either side over Tun and date over 1593. See note 112 concerning mules.
- 114. Variety may have date over 1594 (AM, not in B.M.). 115. Mentioned by Hawkins and Parsons. Not in B.M.
- 116. Varieties have privy-mark on either side over Woolpack. A fine series of pattern shillings occur bearing the privy-mark Key (inverted). These are quite distinct from the normal shillings, having a completely different set of dies and punches. In style they resemble the gold coin of this period. They are probably contemporary with the normal Key shillings.
- 117. Varieties have privy-mark on either side over Woolpack.
- 118. Variety has date over 1596 (AM, not in B.M.).
- 119. Privy mark normally occurs on obverse only but variety has the privy-mark on both sides (Lockett IV, lot 2033v, pl. 85, not in B.M.).
- 120. Variety has privy-mark on both sides over Key (RCB, not in B.M.).
- 121. Variety has privy-mark over Woolpack (RCB, not in B.M.).
- 122. Mentioned by Hawkins and Parsons, not in B.M.
- 123. Varieties have date over 1598, or over 1598 over 1594 (Lockett IV, lot 20160, pl. 84, not in B.M.), or over 1596 (IDB, not in B.M).
- 124. Occurs only with 6 over 5 and first o only over 9, but Parsons mentions a variety not overmarked, not in B.M.
- 125. Occurs with or without privy-mark on the reverse.
- 126. Probably only occurs with the 6 of the date over 5 and the first o only over 9 (AM, the pieces in the B.M. are not distinct enough to distinguish all the overstamping).
- 127. No reverse privy-mark.
- 128. Variety has 6 of date over 5 and 0 over 9 (AM, not in B.M.).

APPENDIX II

A List of Finds Containing Coins of Elizabeth I

In Table IX are listed all the coin finds that were deposited in England, Wales, and Ireland between 1558 and 1697 that I have managed to trace. In addition, finds from Scotland and elsewhere are included where these contain English coin of the period 1558 to 1660. They are numbered and arranged according to their date of deposit, except during the Civil War, when they are listed alphabetically, the Scottish and Irish Civil War deposits being listed separately. Besides the date of deposit and the name, the following information is also supplied: the date of discovery, the size and contents (where known), the present location and principal references. The references have been classified according to the information they contain as follows:

- (a) general description only;(b) coins listed by reigns only;
- (c) coins listed by reigns and denominations;
- (d) coins listed by privy-marks and dates;
- (e) discussion of the find only. No new descriptive material.

The following abbreviations are used for the various sources to which reference is made:

BNJ	British Numismatic Journal.
CI	Coinage of Ireland (Lindsay).
CS	Coinage of Scotland (Lindsay)
011	C 17 1 35

GM Gentleman's Magazine.

JAAI Journal of the Archaeological Association of Ireland.

NC Numismatic Chronicle. NCirc Numismatic Circular. NJ Numismatic Journal. NM Numismatic Magazine.

ProcNS Proceedings of the Numismatic Society.

PSAL Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London.
PSAS Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

RBN Revue Belge de Numismatique.

RNF Revue de Numismatique Française.

SB Seaby's Bulletin. VCH Victoria County

VCH Victoria County History.

Series numbers are given in parentheses (), volume numbers are in small roman numerals, other figures refer to the date and page numbers.

In Table VII the Elizabethan coins are analysed according to denomination for all the finds for which this information is available. Those marked with an asterisk * were used to fix the ratio of shillings to sixpences in circulation.

Table VIII shows the total number of coins of each privy-mark and date in twenty-one of the larger typical hoards and, for comparison, the same numbers for the two large untypical hoards (Cheadle (26) and Welshback (191), see text). These figures were used in determining the frequencies quoted in Table VI.

TABLE VII
Elizabethan Coin in Finds Analysed by Denomination

No.	Name	2/6	1/-	6d.	Mill 6d.	4d.	3 <i>d</i> .	2d.	$1\frac{1}{2}d$.	ıd.	$\frac{3}{4}d$.	$\frac{1}{2}d$.
4 9 10 11 12 13 15 16 17 18 19 20 22 23 26	Islay		38 38 2 1	24 20 2 28 17 16 4 1 90 1 20 180 37 291		2 1 3 2 20 3 7 1	1 25 1 2	10	II I	33	I	2
30 33	*Cuileenoolagh . *Knockaboul	::	5 14	47 92	I		5					
38 39 40 41 42 43 45 46	*Wistow	::	11 7 29 19 6 70 1	38 11 29 18 12 43 10			11 1 2	5 1				
51 52 53	Allington . *Ashampstead Green Ashbrook .		10 16 137	18 25 44	4.							
56 57 62 63 64 65	*Bingley Binney's Brand End Farm Bridgnorth Buckfastleigh Bury St. Edmonds	::	42 1 72 9 6	107 1 24 8 3		2						
66 68 69 71	Canterbury Chesterfield Chesterfield *Constable Burton .	:::	3 2 28	 3 9 99					2.7	2		
73 74 76	Denby . Derbyshire . Douglas .	::	1 4 9	20 9 14	1	I	I					

			1									
No.	Name	2/6	1/-	6 d .	Mill 6d.	4d.	3 <i>d</i> .	2d.	$1\frac{1}{2}d$.	ıd.	$\frac{3}{4}d$.	$\frac{1}{2}d$.
77	Earith			2							- ,	
78	*East Worlington .	1	578	1,647	2		4.1					
79	Egton		3	8								
80 81	*Elland Emborough		11 5 1	364 6	2							
82	Emborough Enderby	::	4	19		I						
									141 mg			
83	Farmborough .	I	215	85								
84	*Flawborough .		23	107			2					
85	*Foscote		31	63								
86	Glympton		7	3								
87	Godsfield Row .		3	7		I		2				
89	*Griggleston		18	42			, I					
91	*Hadleigh		23	24								
92	*Hartwell	::	281	790								
93	Headington		5	17								
95	*Idsworth		18	43								
96	*Itchen Abbas .		24	63								
97	Kettering		5	26								
98	Kidlington		2	4								
	_					١.						
100	Leicester		3	15		I					,	
107	*Orston		197	425		20	1					
108_	*Oswestry	1	27	153		10	19					
IIO	Painswick		184	1 182	2	2						ŀ
III	Prestatyn	1	104	102								
114	Salford		3	16								
120	*Thorpe Hall Trehafod		373	1,091	4	I						
121	Irenaiod											
123	Wellington	١	122	176		I						
124	West Country .		34	247		16	2					*
126	Whitchurch		5	14								
128	Winterslow		14									
129	Wolvercote			I								-
131	Yorkshire		11	3								
,												
132	Bankhead		9	6								
136	Duns		85	I		ĺ					-	
137 138	Grangemouth *Irvine	1::	10	94 114		25	8					
141	Kippendavie .	::	5									C
143	*Musselburgh		40	83		-						
146	*Rannoch		10	40								
	*411 1 1-			84	I							
149	*Abbeylands		31	191	I							
150 152	*Abbeylands *Ballinasloe	::	52 57	161								
153	Camolin		44									
154	Carrigtwohill .		10	23			2					
156	Deramfield		2	I								
158	Drumenagh		18	3								
162	Gortnahilta		8	1 5								
163 164	Rannyhual Templetuohy .	1::	o I	3	-							
- 04	. Completed only											
166	*Gloucester		10	63	· · ·	2	3					- 11,11
168	*Long Crendon .	1	118	305	1 1	'	•					

No.	Name			2/6	1/-	6d.	Mill 6d.	4d.	3 <i>d</i> .	2d.	$1\frac{1}{2}d$.	1 <i>d</i> .	$\frac{3}{4}d$.	$\frac{1}{2}d$.
170	*Steadham				34	02								
171	*Upwey				45	54								
172	Kilmarnock				5									
173	Old Monklan	d			I	3								
174	Staple .				18	9								
175	Dundonald					3								
176	Georgemass 1	Hill				I								
178	Banbridge					I								
179	*Crediton				166	616	1							
184	Glenbeg		•		2	23		4	2					
187	*Ashton				12	51								
191	*Welshback				527	1,372								
192	*Yearby		•		114	266		I						
193	Peshawur						30							
	Totals .			I	4,904	10,755	49	138	87	20	12	36	I	2
	Totals *				3,147	8,887								

Table VIII

Total Numbers of Coins for each Date and Privy-mark in
Twenty-one Finds

Privy-mark	Date	Total in 21 finds	(26)	(19I)	Remarks
SHILLINGS					
Lis		61	27	2	
Cross Crosslet		411	227	30	
Martlet		391	137	36	
Bell		104	12		
A		195	45	4 8	
Scallop		171	29	14	
Crescent		93	13	5	(168) contains 13 which is non- typical. Corrected to 5.
Hand		85	17	9	31
Tun		254	35	20	
Woolpack		227	18	17	
Key		95	7	10	
Anchor		9	I	2	
Cypher		13		I	
One		75	I	12	
Two		120		9	
Total		2,304	569	179	
Uncertain		85		348	
Grand Total		2,389	569	527	
Sixpences					
Broad Arrow Head	1561	310	2	32	
Dioad Milow Head	1562	78	5	21	Often date over 1561
	1563	22	2	14	
	1564	90	8	21	Date often 1563. (107) has one with Zeeland Countermark.
	1565	59	2	9	200ma Commontanti.
Rose	1565	84	4	15	

Privy-mark	Date	Total in 21 finds	(26)	(191)	Remarks
SIXPENCES (cont.)					
Portcullis	1566	199	15		(168) gives date as 1565.
Lion	1566	31	2	26	
	1567	56	5	. 8	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,
	None				(12) contains one specimen.
Crown	None 1567	213	6	28	(78), (166), and (192) contain pieces dated 1566.
	1568	289	10	45	Date often with 8 inverted, or with date over 1567.
	1569	343	16	23	
	1570	73	I	9	(-0) (0-) ()1 ()
Castle	1569	4 60	6		(78), (80), (120), and (192). Often with Castle over Crown.
	1570	188	10	17	(56), (71) contain 4 dated 1572.
Ermine	1572	304	14	49	Often 2 inverted, or 2 over 2 inverted. (78) contains one dated 1571. (107) contains one with Zeeland Countermark.
	1573	158	6	7	
Acorn	1573	133	4	15	(78) contains one dated 1571.
E-l-ntine	1574	41	3	12	(179) contains 7 which is non-typi-
Eglantine	1573	14		2	cal. Corrected to 1.
	1574	200	7	26	our. corrected to 1.
	1575	267	17	44	
	1576	58	5	13	
	1577	22		10	Most with date over 1576.
Cross	1578	263	17	34	(41) has 2 dated 1574. (78), (108), (143), (191) contain specimens dated 1577. Often occurs with date over 1577 and privy-mark over Eglantine.
r 0	1579	97	6	17	Data assure aver tops (%a) has
Long Cross	1580	229	10	34 13	Date occurs over 1579. (83) has 2 attributed to Cross.
Sword	1582	95 175	12	14	(83) has 2 attributed to Long Cross.
Bell	1582	50	3	7	(-3,
	1583	88	6	7	(56) has 4 dated 1584.
A	1582	I		2	(124)
	1583	57	4	II	Often with privy mark over Bell.
Coallan	1584	67	4	11 2	Often with privy-mark over Bell. Often with privy-mark over A.
Scallop	1584	41	5	14	Often with privy-mark over A.
	1586	36	3	4	Often date over 1585. (78) has one dated 1587 over 1586.
Crescent	1587	48	I	7	
	1588	13		1	10.11
TY 1	1589	38	2	10	(83) has 2 dated 1590.
Hand	1590	75	2	7	Often 1591 over 1590.
	1591	77	5	21	O1001 1591 0vet 1590.
Tun	1592 1592	98	13	4 21	Occurs with privy-mark over Hand.
	1592	158	11	29	party management.
	1594	23		3	Occurs with date over 1593.
	1595	2		3	(107) and (124).
Woolpack	1594	115	3	12	Occurs with date over 1593 and privy- mark over Tun. (168) has 12 which is non-typical. Corrected to 6.

Privy-mark	Date	Total in 21 finds	(26)	(191)	Remarks
SIXPENCES (cont.)					
Woolpack	1595	48	5	4	Occurs with privy-mark over Tun. (191) has one dated 1596.
Key	1595	19		3	
	1596	63	I	II	
	1597	4 6		1	(107), (123), (168), and (192).
	1598			I	
Anchor	1598	3 6	I		(78), (108), and (120).
	1599	6		I	
and the second of the	1600	2			(120) and (179).
Cypher	1600	5		2	
One	1601	39	2	22	
	1602	18	I		
Two	1602	97		26	
Total		5,588	272	816	
Uncertain	75746	477		540	
Grand Total		6,065	272	1,356	

Privy-mark	Total in 25 finds	Remarks
GROATS		
Lis Cross Crosslet Martlet	6 31 12	In addition to the 21 finds listed below, the following four finds have been used in preparing these totals:
Total Uncertain	49 28	io. Whaplode 15. Houghton 17. New Barnet
Grand Total	77	87. Godsfield Row

Privy-mark	Date	Total in 23 finds	Number of reverse dies in B.M.	Remarks
MILL SIXPENCES		11 (11)		48
Star	1561 1562 1563 1564	1 9 	2 19 2 3	(166) \ In addition to the finds listed below, the following two finds were used in preparing these
Lis	1566 1567 1568 1570	2 I	3 2 2 I I	(78), (80) 10. Whaplode (120) 26. Cheadle
Castle	1571	I	I	(179)
Total		14	33)

Note: Figures in parentheses refer to find numbers. Where fewer than 5 coins appear in the 21 finds, an indication is given as to which finds they appear in.

The following were the twenty-one finds used in compiling this table: 41 Barrow, 56 Bingley, 62 Brand End Farm, 71 Constable Burton, 78 East Worlington, 80 Elland, 83 Farmborough, 84 Flawborough, 85 Foscote, 107 Orston, 108 Oswestry, 120 Thorpe Hall, 123 Wellington, 124 West Country, 143 Musselburgh, 166 Gloucester, 168 Long Crendon, 171 Upwey, 179 Crediton, 187 Ashton, 192 Yearby.

TABLE IX

A List of Coin Finds Deposited between 1558 and 1696

	De-		
No.	posit	Name and Description	References
I.	}	SOUTH SHIELDS (Newcastle), Co. Durham. A and A "Henries" to Elizabeth. Found in ballast from the Thames.	1778 (a) John Sykes, Local Records, i. 313.
2.	}	WORMWOOD SCRUBS, Middlesex. R Henry VIII-Elizabeth.	1840 (a) The Times 31 Aug. 1840. (a) GM 1840, i. 415.
3.	1561	Colligen (Dungarvan), Co. Waterford. c. 100 Æ Henry VIII-Elizabeth. Many in collection of Edward Hoare.	1841 (a) NC 1841, iv. 208. (e) BNJ 1911, viii. 200.
4.	1561	ISLAY (Ballynaughton Cist), Argyll. 74 R Henry IV-Elizabeth and Scottish.	1902 (c) PSAS 1902, xxxvi. 113.
5.	1561	St. Albans, Herts. 29 N Henry VIII-Elizabeth. In collection of Lord Verulam.	1872 (d) NC 1872, 186.
6.	1564	THAMES (Blackfriars Bridge), London. A and c. 200 A Edward VI-Elizabeth and associated finds.	1840 (a) GM 1840, i. 415.
7.	1565	BISHAM (Maidenhead), Berks. 318 N Henry VIII—Elizabeth.	1878 (d) NC 1878, 304.
8.	1566	TALMONT (Vendee), France. 149 A and 6 R including 9 A Henry VIII— Elizabeth.	1893 (c) RNF 1884, 271.
9.	1569	MIDDLESBOROUGH, Yorks. 27 Æ Mary-Elizabeth.	1935 Unpublished
10.	1570	Whaplode, Lincs. 29 R Edward VI–Elizabeth. Many in B.M.	1890 (d) NC 1891, 202.
II.	1573	LIMERICK (St. John's Hospital), Co. Limerick. 22 Æ Henry VIII-Elizabeth. Limerick Museum.	1921 (d) Antiquaries Journal, ii, 1922, 56.
12.	1573	LITTLE BROAD OAK (Kingsley, Stoke), Staffs. 48 R Philip and Mary-Elizabeth.	1941 (d) BNJ 1949/52, 91. (c) NC 1943, 107.
13.	1578	Thornton Abbey, Lincs. 23 R Mary-Elizabeth.	1952 Unpublished.
14.	1579	Wycombe Marsh, Bucks. Ж Mary-Elizabeth.	1902 (a) Records of Bucks. ix. 213.
15.	1580	HOUGHTON-CUM-WYTON (St. Ives), Hunts. 25 A and 288 A Edward IV, Henry VII- Elizabeth. Some pieces are in the B.M.	1876 (d) NC 1877, 163.
		Most of the N and some R in private possession. About 120 R in the Norris Museum, St. Ives.	
16.	1586	Alciston (Lewes), Sussex. 12 R Elizabeth.	1925 (d) BNJ 1955/7, 659.
17.	1587	New Barnet, Herts. 21 Æ Mary-Elizabeth. In New Barnet Museum.	1946 (d) NC 1946, 72.
18.	1590	Tullamore, King's Co. 140 R Edward VI-Elizabeth, Spanish.	1922 (c) Antiquaries Journal, ii, 1922, 264. (c) JAAI (6) xiii, 1922, 86.

0)1		O J	
No.	De- posit	Name and Description	References
19.	1591	Kapelle (S. Beveland), Zeeland. 114 N and R including 5 N and 1 R of England, Edward IV-Elizabeth.	1882 (c) RBN 1884, 211.
20.	1592	Creggs, Co. Roscommon. 22 R Elizabeth.	1895 (c) JAAI (5) 1895, 230.
21.	1594	Dervock, Co. Antrim. R Edward VI-Elizabeth.	1877 (a) BNJ 1911, 363.
22.	1595	Castletown (Portglenone), Co. Antrim. 181 Æ Elizabeth. 29 in Carrickfergus Castle Museum.	1937 (d) BNJ 1938/41, 285.
23.	1595	MICKLE TRAFFORD, Cheshire. 38 AR Elizabeth. In Grosvenor Museum, Chester.	1895 (d) BNJ 1952/4, 93.
24.	1600	ESTAIRE, Nord, France. A including Elizabeth.	1924 (a) RNF xxix, 1926, 110.
25.	1601	Co. Mayo. 50 R Edward II–Elizabeth.	1896 (c) JAAI (5) vii, 1896, 80.
26.	1602	CHEADLE, Staffs. 894 & Edward VI-Elizabeth. 50 in B.M., selection in Stoke-on-Trent Museum. Probably two deposits: 1561 and 1602.	1934 (d) BNJ 1938/41, 286.
27.	,	BLACKHEATH, Kent. 253 Æ mostly Elizabeth.	1807 (a) GM 1807, 581.
28.	,	CATTON GROVE (Norwich), Norfolk. Large. Mostly Elizabeth.	1743 (a) GM 1743, 493.
29.	,	Сокк. R Philip and Mary–Elizabeth, mostly base.	1837 (a) CI 134.
30.	j	Cuilleenoolagh, Co. Roscommon. 55 Æ Philip and Mary-Elizabeth. In National Museum of Ireland.	1943 (c) BNJ 1952/4, 214.
31.	?	Glanmire, Co. Cork. Æ of Elizabeth.	1847 (a) JAAI iii, 1854, 62.
32.	?	Harristown (St. Margaret's), Co. Dublin. c. 100 Æ Edward VI–Elizabeth.	c. 1923 (a) BNJ 1923/4, 364.
33.	?	Knockaboul, Co. Limerick. 117 Æ Philip and Mary–Elizabeth, Irish and Spanish. In National Museum of Ireland	1943 (c) BNJ 1952/4, 214.
34.	?	KILLEAGH (Middleton), Co. Cork. Numerous \mathcal{R} of Elizabeth's time.	? (a) CI 134. (a) Lewis, Topographical Divisionary.
35.	?	LEITH HILL (Wotton), Surrey. 30 A Henry VIII-Elizabeth. Were preserved at Wotton House.	1837 (a) VCH Surrey, iii. 154.
36.	1605	Doneraile, Co. Cork. 42 oz. & Elizabeth-James I and Spanish. Sold to goldsmith.	1853 (a) NC 1854, 96.
37.	1605	PONTYPRIDD, Glam. c. 300 Æ Elizabeth–James I.	188 ₄ (a) Antiquary, x, 188 ₄ , 132.
38.	1605	Wistow (Selby), Yorks. 119 Æ Mary–James I, Irish and Scottish	1943 (c) NC 1943, 107.
39.	1605	Woodend (Snizort), Skye. 53 R Mary-James I, Scottish and French. Returned to finder.	1884 (a) Antiquary, x, 1884, 32. (c) PSAS xviii, 1884, 379.

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Ma	De-	Name and Description	References
No.	posit 1606	Sheffield.	
40.	1000	3 N, 100 R Henry VHI-James I, Irish and foreign.	1913 (c) NC 1927, 280.
4 I.	1613	Barrow, Leics. 57 AR Edward VI-James I.	1861 (d) NC 1861, 246.
42.	1619	HAYNCK, North Brabant. Large A and A including English Henry VI– Elizabeth.	(d) J. Schulman, Catalogue, Mai 1912.
43.	1621	LAUTERBACH, Hessen. 14 A, 1373 AR including 141 AR English Elizabeth-James I. Some in H. A. Parsons Collection.	1928 (d) BNJ 1929/30, 305.
44.	1626	NEERITTER, Limburg, Holland. Large A including English Henry V- James I.	1908 (a) RNF 1908, 567. (a) Schulman, Sale Catalogue, Mar. 1908.
45.	?	Denby (Barnsley), Yorks. 36 A Mary-James I.	1888 (c) NC 1888, 366.
46.	,	Ellistown, Co. Kildare. 30 Æ Elizabeth-James I. In National Museum of Ireland.	1945 (c) BNJ 1952/4, 214.
47.	?	MADELEY WOOD, Salop. Large <i>N</i> Elizabeth–James I.	1839 (a) Salop. Journal, Dec. 1839.
48.	3	STOWBRIDGE (River Ouze), Norfolk. II R, 9Æ Edward VI-James I. Found on body of drowned man.	1825 (b) GM 1825, ii. 261.
FIN		o. 49-131 WERE DEPOSITED IN ENGLAND	AND WALES PROBABLY
	DURIT	NG THE CIVIL WAR. THEY ARE ARRANG	GED ALPHABETICALLY
49.	?	NG THE CIVIL WAR. THEY ARE ARRANG ABERNANT, Caermarthenshire. c. 60 Æ Elizabeth-Charles I.	c. 1823 (a) Ancient Monuments (Wales), Caermarthenshire, viii, No. 31.
49· 50.		ABERNANT, Caermarthenshire.	c. 1823 (a) Ancient Monuments (Wales), Caermarthenshire,
	?	ABERNANT, Caermarthenshire. c. 60 A Elizabeth-Charles I. ABINGDON, Berks. 2 galls. A Elizabeth-Charles I. Some in Ashmolean Museum. ALLINGTON (Devizes), Wilts. 106 A Elizabeth-Charles I. Some in BM.	c. 1823 (a) Ancient Monuments (Wales), Caermarthenshire, viii, No. 31. c. 1870
50. 51.	? 1641 1644	ABERNANT, Caermarthenshire. c. 60 A Elizabeth-Charles I. ABINGDON, Berks. 2 galls. A Elizabeth-Charles I. Some in Ashmolean Museum. ALLINGTON (Devizes), Wilts. 106 A Elizabeth-Charles I. Some in BM. ALRESFORD, see 87.	c. 1823 (a) Ancient Monuments (Wales), Caermarthenshire, viii, No. 31. c. 1870 Unpublished. 1927 (d) NC 1927, 281.
50.	?	ABERNANT, Caermarthenshire. c. 60 A Elizabeth-Charles I. ABINGDON, Berks. 2 galls. A Elizabeth-Charles I. Some in Ashmolean Museum. ALLINGTON (Devizes), Wilts. 106 A Elizabeth-Charles I. Some in BM.	c. 1823 (a) Ancient Monuments (Wales), Caermarthenshire, viii, No. 31. c. 1870 Unpublished. 1927 (d) NC 1927, 281.
50. 51.	? 1641 1644	ABERNANT, Caermarthenshire. c. 60 A Elizabeth-Charles I. ABINGDON, Berks. 2 galls. A Elizabeth-Charles I. Some in Ashmolean Museum. ALLINGTON (Devizes), Wilts. 106 A Elizabeth-Charles I. Some in BM. ALRESFORD, see 87. ASHAMPSTEAD GREEN (Reading), Berks. 62 A Elizabeth-Charles I. In Reading Museum. ASHBROOK, Glos. 346 A Edward VI-Charles I. 22 in B.M., 16 in Stroud Museum.	c. 1823 (a) Ancient Monuments (Wales), Caermarthenshire, viii, No. 31. c. 1870 Unpublished. 1927 (d) NC 1927, 281. 1935 (c) NC 1939, 183.
50. 51.	? 1641 1644 1640	ABERNANT, Caermarthenshire. c. 60 A Elizabeth-Charles I. ABINGDON, Berks. 2 galls. A Elizabeth-Charles I. Some in Ashmolean Museum. ALLINGTON (Devizes), Wilts. 106 A Elizabeth-Charles I. Some in BM. ALRESFORD, see 87. ASHAMPSTEAD GREEN (Reading), Berks. 62 A Elizabeth-Charles I. In Reading Museum. ASHBROOK, Glos. 346 A Edward VI-Charles I. 22 in B.M.,	c. 1823 (a) Ancient Monuments (Wales), Caermarthenshire, viii, No. 31. c. 1870 Unpublished. 1927 (d) NC 1927, 281. 1935 (c) NC 1939, 183.
50. 51.	? 1641 1644 1640	ABERNANT, Caermarthenshire. c. 60 Æ Elizabeth-Charles I. ABINGDON, Berks. 2 galls. Æ Elizabeth-Charles I. Some in Ashmolean Museum. ALLINGTON (Devizes), Wilts. 106 Æ Elizabeth-Charles I. Some in BM. ALRESFORD, see 87. ASHAMPSTEAD GREEN (Reading), Berks. 62 Æ Elizabeth-Charles I. In Reading Museum. ASHBROOK, Glos. 346 Æ Edward VI-Charles I. 22 in B.M., 16 in Stroud Museum. AYLESBURY, see 92.	c. 1823 (a) Ancient Monuments (Wales), Caermarthenshire, viii, No. 31. c. 1870 Unpublished. 1927 (d) NC 1927, 281. 1935 (c) NC 1939, 183.
50. 51. 52.	? 1641 1644 1640 1646	ABERNANT, Caermarthenshire. c. 60 A Elizabeth-Charles I. ABINGDON, Berks. 2 galls. A Elizabeth-Charles I. Some in Ashmolean Museum. ALLINGTON (Devizes), Wilts. 106 A Elizabeth-Charles I. Some in BM. ALRESFORD, see 87. ASHAMPSTEAD GREEN (Reading), Berks. 62 A Elizabeth-Charles I. In Reading Museum. ASHBROOK, Glos. 346 A Edward VI-Charles I. 22 in B.M., 16 in Stroud Museum. AYLESBURY, see 92. BARNSLEY, see 73. BARTON OLD HALL (Newton Abbot), Devon.	c. 1823 (a) Ancient Monuments (Wales), Caermarthenshire, viii, No. 31. c. 1870 Unpublished. 1927 (d) NC 1927, 281. 1935 (c) NC 1939, 183. 1935 (c) NC 1939, 183.

596		Some Notes on the Coinage of Eliz	abeth I with
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No.	posit	Name and Description	References
56.	1642	BINGLEY, Yorks. 320 & Edward VI-Charles I. 4 in B.M., 316 in Keighley Museum.	1948 (d) NC 1947, 180.
57.	1645	Mr. Binney's Hoard from Kent. 63 R Elizabeth-Charles I, Irish, Spanish, and Dutch.	(d) To be published.
58.	}	Blakeway (Wedmore), Somerset. R Philip and Mary-Charles I. Found in a chest so may not have been deposited in Blakeway.	c. 1891 (a) NM Nov. 1891, 91.
59.	3	Bodfari, Wales. Æ Elizabeth–Charles I.	1927 (a) Archaelogia Cambrensis (7) viii, 1928, 209.
		Boston, see 62.	
60.	1633	BOTLEY (Chesham), Bucks. 200 A Edward IV— Charles I.	1888 (d) NC 1890, 48.
		Bradford Peverel, see 104.	
61.	3	Brampton (Huntingdon), Hunts. 454 Æ Elizabeth-Charles I.	1840 (a) GM 1840, ii. 79.
62.	1646	Brand End Farm (Boston), Lincs. 291 Æ Edward VI-Charles I, Scottish and Irish.	1886 (d) NC 1886, 163.
63.	1644	Bridgnorth, Salop. 144 AR Mary-Charles I, Irish and Scottish.	1908 (d) NC 1908, 319
64.	1644	Buckfastleigh, Devon. 36 Æ Elizabeth-Charles I and Spanish. In Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter.	1932 (d) NC 1932, 70.
65.	3	Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk. 18 Æ Elizabeth-Charles I. In Moyses Hall Museum, Bury.	1957 (c) SB 1957, 153.
66.	1643	Canterbury, Kent. 49 & Elizabeth-Charles I.	1947 (d) NC 1946, 152.
67.	1644	CATFORD, Kent. 110 A James I-Charles I. 12 in B.M.	1937 (c) NC 1939, 183.
69	76	CHESHAM, see 60.	2
68.	1644	CHESTERFIELD (Prestige), Derby. 18 R Elizabeth-Charles I. 1 in B.M.	(c) NC 1939, 183.
69.	1643	CHESTERFIELD (Vicarage Lane), Derby. 40 AR Elizabeth-Charles I. 1 in B.M., 1 in Royal Mint Museum.	1934 (c) NC 1939, 183.

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1909

1869

1887

1879

(d) BNJ 1955/7, 419.

(e) NCirc 1957, 110.

(b) Wilts. Archaeological Maga-

zine, xi, 1869, 119.

(d) Antiquary, iii, 1881, 181.

(e) BNJ 1916/7, proc. 195.

(d) NC 1909, 285.

(c) NC 1887, 340.

CHIPPING NORTON, see 115 and 116.

18 N James I-Charles I. In Grosvenor

CONSTABLE BURTON (Wensleydale), Yorks.

236 Æ Edward VI-Charles I. Some in B.M.

51 A Philip and Mary-Charles I, Scottish

30 R Elizabeth-Charles I and Scottish.

Congleton, Cheshire.

Museum, Chester.

280 AR Elizabeth-Charles I.

DENBY (Barnsley), Yorks.

CROWOOD, Wilts.

and Irish.

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Vo.	De- posit	Name and Description	References
		Devizes, see 51.	
75.	5	Distington, Cumberland. R Elizabeth–Charles I.	1811 (a) Jefferson's Cumberland, 76.
76.	?	Douglas, Isle of Man. 4 N, 75 R Elizabeth-Charles I, Scottish, Irish, and Spanish. In possession of Lord Dunglass.	1880 (c) Journal of the British Archaeological Ass. (1) xxxvi, 1880, 373.
77-	1645	Earith, Hunts. 10 Æ Elizabeth–Charles I.	c. 1956 Unpublished.
78.	1646	EAST WORLINGTON, Devon. 5188 Æ Edward VI-Charles I, Scottish and Irish. Some in B.M.	1897 (d) NC 1897, 143.
79.	1640	EGTON, Yorks. 23 R Elizabeth-Charles I and Scottish.	1928 (c) NC 1928, 335.
80.	1641	ELLAND, Yorks. 1187 Æ Edward VI-Charles I, Scottish and forgeries.	1932 (d) NC 1933, 233.
81.	1645	Emborough, Somerset. 18 R Elizabeth-Charles I.	1930 (<i>d</i>) <i>NC</i> 1932, 69.
82.	1644	ENDERBY, Leics. 88 Æ Henry VIII-Charles I and Irish.	1866 (c) NC 1866, 321.
83.	1640	FARMBOROUGH, Somerset. 3 AV and over 500 AR Edward VI-Charles I, Scottish and Irish.	1953 (d) NC 1953, 150; 1954, 218.
84.	1643	Flawborough, Notts. 327 Æ Elizabeth–Charles I.	1877 (d) NC 1877, 164.
85.	1641	Foscote, Bucks. 199 Æ Elizabeth-Charles I and Scottish. In Aylesbury Museum.	1955 (d) BNJ 1955/7, 416.
86.	1643	GLYMPTON, Oxford. 44 AR Elizabeth-Charles I. 2 in B.M., 42 are being kept at Glympton Hall.	1948 (d) NC 1947, 180.
87.	1640	GODSFIELD Row (Alresford), Hants. 17 Æ Mary-Charles I and Irish. In private possession. GRANTHAM, see 103.	1871 (d) BNJ 1952/4, 316. (a) VCH Hants, iii. 304.
88.	1643	Great Shefford (Newbury), Berks. Æ Elizabeth-Charles I.	1889 (a) Archaeological Review, iii, 1889, 144.
89.	1641	GRIGGLESTON, Yorks. 170 A Mary-Charles I, Irish and Scottish. Some in B.M.	(a) VCH Berks. iv. 238. 1928 (c) NC 1928, 336.
90.	?	Hadleigh, Suffolk. Æ Edward VI-Charles I.	1841 (a) NC iv, 1842, 63. (a) Ipswich Journal, 20.3.1841.
91.	1649	Hadleigh, Suffolk. 97 A Edward VI-Charles I. 1 in B.M., 47 in Ipswich Museum.	1936 (c) NC 1939, 183.
92.	1640	HARTWELL (Aylesbury), Bucks. 2,436 Æ Edward VI-Charles I. 474 in collection of Dr. Lee, 74 presented to Royal Numismatic Society, the remainder presented to B.M., &c.	1835 (c) NC 1863, 147. (a) ProcNS 1842-3, 87. (a) GM 1843, i. 78. (d) NC 1921, 150, describes the selection in the R.N.S. collection.

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No.	De- posit	Name and Description	References
93.	1645	HEADINGTON, Oxford. 65 R Elizabeth-Charles I. 3 in B.M., 62 in Ashmolean Museum.	1937 (d) BNJ 1938/41, 91. (c) NC 1939, 184.
94.	?	Honington, Warwick. 93 oz. Æ Elizabeth-Charles I. 2 pieces in Brown Willis collection.	1741 Unpublished.
		Horndean, see 95. Huntingdon, see 61.	
95.	1644	IDSWORTH (Horndean), Hants. 240 Æ Elizabeth-Charles I, Scottish and Irish.	1861 (c) NC 1861, 247.
96.	?	ITCHEN ABBAS, Hants. 234 R Philip and Mary-Charles I. Some in B.M.	1914 (c) NC 1927, 280.
		Kent, see 57.	
97•	1645	Kettering, Northants. 63 R Elizabeth-Charles I.	1928 (c) NC 1928, 337.
98.	1642	Kidlington, Oxon. 13 or more Æ Elizabeth–Charles I.	c. 1941 Unpublished.
99.	1640	LAMBOURN (Woodland St. Mary), Berks. 60 A James I-Charles I. 23 in Newbury Museum. Some in B.M. and Ashmolean Museum.	1949 (d) NC 1949, 257.
		LEEDS, see 109.	
100.	1645	LEICESTER. 79 Æ Mary-Charles I, Scottish and Spanish. In Leicester Museum.	1937 (c) NC 1939, 184.
101.	?	Leigh House (Bath), Somerset. James I-Charles I.	1831 (a) Bath Herald, May 1831.
102.	1646	Lewisham (Southend), London. 420 A James I-Charles I. All melted down.	1837 (d) NC i, 1839, 30. (a) NJ i. 265, ii. 195. (a) GM 1837, i. 413. (a) GM 1838, i. 303 (inquest). (b) GM 1838, ii. 307.
103.	1641	Long Bennington (Grantham), Lincs. 980 R Edward VI–Charles I and Scottish.	(d) NC 1947, 88 (selection only).
104.	1638	Muckleford (Bradford Peverel), Dorset. 115 N James I-Charles I. 25 in B.M., 10 in Dorchester Museum.	1935 (d) Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society, lvii, 1935, 18. (c) NC 1939, 184.
105.	1641	Newark, Notts. 17 N, 465 R Edward VI-Charles I, Spanish and German.	(d) To be published.
		Newbury, see 88. Newton Abbot, see 54.	
106.	1638	NOTTINGHAM. R Elizabeth-Charles I, Irish and Scottish.	Before 1789. (a) Merry's Remarks on the Coinage of England, 103.
107.	1643	Orston, Notts. 2 N, 1413 A Edward VI-Charles I. Some in B.M.	1952 (d) NC 1952, 118.
108.	1643	OSWESTRY, Salop. 4 N, 401 AR Henry VIII-Charles I and Irish.	1904 (<i>d</i>) <i>NC</i> 1905, 100.

No.	De- posit	Name and Description	References
109.	?	Oulton (Leeds), Yorks. 260 Æ Elizabeth–Charles I	1906 (a) NCirc xiv, 1906, 8913.
		Oxford, see 93, 98, and 129.	
110.	1641	PAINSWICK, Glos. 34 A, 8 A Edward VI-Charles I and Spanish. In Gloucester Museum.	1941 (d) BNJ 1952/4, 219. (d) SB 1954, 420. (a) NC 1943, 107.
		PETHERTON, see 119.	-loung by arg
	-6 -	PONTYPRIDD, see 121.	
111.	1643	PRESTATYN, Flint. 518 & Philip and Mary-Charles I. 113 in B.M. 50 in National Museum of Wales.	1934 (c) NC 1939, 184.
		READING, see 52.	
112.	1641	READING (Yield Hill), Berks. 17 A James I-Charles I. 8 in B.M., 9 in Reading Museum.	1934 (c) NC 1939, 184.
113.	;	ROCHESTER, Kent. 158 Æ Edward VI-Charles I.	1838 (a) GM 1838, ii. 181.
		ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY COLLECTION, see 92.	
114.	1645	Salford, Lancs. 31 Æ Elizabeth–Charles I.	1928 (d) BNJ 1929/30, 363.
115.	š	Sanford (Chipping Norton), Oxon. Probably Civil War. No details.	1786 (a) GM 1793, 83.
116.	3	Sanford (Chipping Norton), Oxon. Large N and A Elizabeth-Charles I.	1793 (a) GM 1793, 83.
		SELBY, see 120.	0
117	}	Shaws Farm Estate (Windsor Park), Berks. 150 & Elizabeth-Charles I. Shefford, see 88.	1859 (a) The Times, 20.4.1859.
118.	3	SHEPTON MALLET, Somerset. 23 R Edward VI-Charles II [sic].	1826 (a) GM 1826, ii. 70.
119.	3	South Petherton, Somerset. 32 & Elizabeth-Charles I.	1889 (a) Antiquary, xix, 1889, 172.
		Southend, see 102.	
120.	1642	THORPE HALL (Thorpe Willoughby, Selby), Yorks. 1 A, 2678 R Edward VI-Charles I and Scot-	1939 (d) BNJ 1949/51, 93.
		tish. 90 in B.M., others in local museums.	
***	2	THORPE WILLOUGHBY, see 120.	
121.	3	TREHAFOD (Pontypridd), Glam. 28 Æ Edward VI-Charles I. In National Museum of Wales.	1943 Unpublished.
122.	1639	WANTAGE, Berks.	1937
		44 N James I-Charles I, and Scottish. 6 in B.M., 3 in Reading Museum.	 (d) Berks Archaeological Journal, xli, 1937, 82. (c) NC 1939, 184.
		Wedmore, see 58.	A CONTRACTOR OF THE REAL PROPERTY.
123.	1643	Wellington, Salop. 522 Æ Philip and Mary-Charles I. Wensleydale, see 71.	1938 (d) BNJ 1949/51, 92.
124.	1646	WEST COUNTRY. 480 AR Mary-Charles I, Irish and Scottish.	? (d) NC 1953, 153.
		WEST SHEELORD See 88	

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No.	De- posit	Name and Description	References
125.	;	WHITBURN, Co. Durham. Large Æ Elizabeth-Charles I.	1777 (a) John Sykes, Local Records i. 311.
126.	1640	WHITCHURCH, Salop. 4 N, 39 A Edward VI-Charles I and Irish. WILDWOOD, see 71.	1945 (d) NC 1945, 124.
127.	?	WIMBOURNE STOKE, Wilts. 301 Æ James I-Charles I. WINDSOR GREAT PARK, see 117.	1797 (a) GM 1797, 791.
128.	1641	WINTERSLOW, Wilts. 50 Æ Edward VI-Charles I. 8 in Royal Mint Museum.	1910 (c) NC 1910, 205.
129.	1646	WOLVERCOTE, Oxford. 9 AR Elizabeth-Charles I. In Ashmolean Museum.	1937 (d) Oxoniensia, ii, 1937, 101.
130.	?	Wooburn, Bucks. 100 N angels.	? (a) Cooke, Topography (Bucks.), 138. (e) BNJ 1915, 115.
		Woodland St. Mary, see 99.	(7 = 3 3 3, 3
131.	1643	Yorkshire. 161 R Elizabeth–Charles I and Spanish.	1850 (c) NC 1851, 42.
FIN	DS NO	. 132-148 WERE DEPOSITED IN SCOTLANI CIVIL WAR. THEY ARE ARRANGED AL	
132.	1640	Bankhead (Newhills), Aberdeen. 32 Æ Elizabeth-Charles I and Spanish. In National Museum of Scotland.	1862 (c) NC 1862, 231.
133.	?	Bridston (Campsie Parish), Sterling. Large Æ Elizabeth-Charles I. CAMPSIE PARISH, see 133.	1788 (a) CS 263.
134.	?	CARLUKE, Lanark. 52 oz. Æ Elizabeth-Charles I.	1782 (a) CS 261.
135.	?	Dunbar, East Lothian. 290 R mostly Elizabeth.	1773 (a) GM 1773, 573. (a) CS 260.
136.	1645	Dunse. 22 A Elizabeth-Charles I. In National Museum of Scotland.	1859 (c) PSAS iv, 1862, 397
137.	1644	GLASGOW, see 144 and 147. GRANGEMOUTH, East Stirling. 1,094 R Elizabeth-Charles I, Scottish, Irish, Spanish, and German. 12 in National Museum of Scotland.	1899 (c) <i>PSAS</i> xxxiv, 1899, 15.
138.	?	IRVINE, Argyll. 351 Æ Edward VI–Charles I, Scottish, Irish, and Spanish.	1923 (c) PSAS lix, 1925, 120.
139.	3	KILMARNOCK, Argyll. 168 oz. Æ Elizabeth–Charles I.	1785 (a) CS 262.
140.	?	KILMARNOCK, Argyll. Large Æ Elizabeth–Charles I.	1788 (a) CS 263.
141.	?	KIPPENDAVIE, Stirling. 50 R Philip and Mary-Charles I, Scottish, German, and Spanish.	1863 (c) NC 1863, 217. (c) PSAS v, 1864, 236.

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No.	De- posit	Name and Description	References		
142.	· 1	Kirkintulloch, Stirling. 16 oz. Æ Elizabeth–Charles I.	1797 (a) CS 264.		
143.	1646	Musselburgh, Midlothian. 318 Æ Philip and Mary-Charles I, Scottish and Spanish. 23 in National Museum of Scotland.	1951 (d) NC 1952, 116.		
		Newhills, see 132.			
144.	5	Partake (Glasgow), Lanark. 30 oz. Æ Elizabeth-Charles I.	1766 (a) CS 260.		
145.	?	Philiphaugh, Selkirk. 9 Æ Elizabeth-Charles I, Scottish and Spanish. 5 in B.M.	1845(a) Archaeologia Scotia, v, donations 54.		
146.	1643	RANNOCH, Perth. 155 R Elizabeth-Charles I, Scottish and Spanish.	1875 (c) NC 1876, 78. (c) PSAS xi, 1876, 548.		
147.	?	SHAWS, Glasgow. 9 oz. Æ Elizabeth-Charles I and Scottish.	1787 (a) CS 262.		
148.	}	STRATHBLANE, Stirling. Large A and A Edward VI-Charles I, Scottish and German.	1793 (a) GM 1793, 1144. Annual Register, xxxv. 58. (a) CS 263.		
F	INDS NO). 149–164 WERE DEPOSITED IN IRELAND CIVIL WAR. THEY ARE ARRANGED AL			
149.	?	ABBEYLANDS, Co. Kildare. 226 AR Edward VI-Charles I, Irish, Scottish, Spanish, and French. In the Royal Irish Academy Collection.	1912 (c) BNJ 1912, 415.		
150.	1645	ABBEYLANDS (Havan), Co. Meath. Over 474 Æ Edward VI-Charles I and Irish. In the Royal Irish Academy collec- tion.	1921 (c) Antiquaries Journal, i, 1921, 341.		
151.	. ?	Co. Armagh. R Elizabeth-Charles I.	c. 1900 (a) BNJ 1911, 364.		
152	. ?	BALLINASLOE, Co. Galway. 321 Æ Edward VI-Charles I, Irish, and Spanish. In National Museum of Ireland.	1942 (c) BNJ 1952/4, 214.		
153	. 1644	CAMOLIN, Co. Wexford. 77 AR Edward VI-Charles I.	1913 (d) BNJ 1913, 315.		
154	. 1639	CARRIGTWOHILL, Co. Cork. 58 A Elizabeth-Charles I, Irish, French, Spanish, and Portuguese.	1955 (d) NC 1955, 247.		
		CORK, see 160.			
155		CRUMLIN, Co. Antrim. 95 & Elizabeth-Charles I.	(a) BNJ 1911, 363.		
156	. ?	DERAMFIELD, Co. Cavan. 14 Æ Philip and Mary-Charles I and Spanish. In National Museum of Ireland.	(c) BNJ 1952/4, 214.		
157	. ?	PERRYVILLE (Portarlington), Co. Offaly. 48 M including Charles I Pistoles. In National Museum of Ireland. 1946 (d) To be published. (a) BNJ 1952/4, 215. (a) SB 1948, 62.			
158	. 1642	Drumenagh, Co. Derry. 132 R Philip and Mary-Charles I, Scottish and Spanish.	1955 (c) SB 1955, 275.		

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602		Some Notes on the Coinage of Eliz	zaoein 1 wiin	
No.	De- posit	Name and Description	References	
159.	?	FETHARD, Co. Tipperary. Few A, several hundred AR, James I—Charles I and Spanish.	1837	
160.	1646	Fountainstown, Cork. Æ siege coins of 1646.	¹⁸ 35 (a) CI 134.	
161.	?	GALWAY COURTHOUSE. 8 Æ Henry VHI-Charles I, Irish, and Spanish. In National Museum of Ireland.	1904 (c) BNJ 1952/4, 215.	
162.	?	GORTNAHILTA, Co. Mayo. 6 AR Elizabeth-Charles I and Spanish. In National Museum of Ireland.	1945 (c) BNJ 1952/4, 215.	
		HAVAN, see 150. PORTARLINGTON, see 157.		
163.	?	RANNYHUAL, Co. Donegal. 34 Æ Philip and Mary-Charles I. In National Museum of Ireland.	? (c) BNJ 1952/4, 214.	
164.	?	TEMPLETUOHY, Tipperary. 5 R Elizabeth-Charles I, and Irish. In National Museum of Ireland.	1944 (c) BNJ 1952/4, 215.	
165.	1650	WITHERIDGE (Chumleigh), Devon. A ''1600–1650''.	c. 1895 (a) NM x, 1895, 52.	
166.	1653	GLOUCESTER. 140 Æ Edward VI-Commonwealth, Scottish, and Irish. In Gloucester Museum.	1945 (d) NC 1952, 122.	
167.	?	Langham, Suffolk. c. 1,000 R Elizabeth-Commonwealth.	1857 (a) Proc. Archaeological Insti- tute of Suffolk, viii. 396.	
168.	?	Long Crendon, Bucks. 210 A, 846 A Henry VIII-Commonwealth, Scottish, Irish, and Spanish.	1885 (d) NC 1885, 333. (e) VCH Bucks. ii. 115.	
169.	?	STEPNEY, London. Large hoard of Commonwealth coin.	1770 (a) GM 1770, 391.	
170.	1662	STEDHAM (Midhurst), Sussex. 414 & Philip and Mary-Charles II.	1926 (d) NC 1927, 283.	
171.	1662	UPWEY, Dorset. 279 Æ Philip and Mary-Charles II. 4 in Dorchester Museum.	1950 (d) NC 1949, 261.	
172.	1671	KILMARNOCK, Argyll. 20 Æ Elizabeth–Charles II.	1920 (c) <i>PSAS</i> lv, 1921, 108.	
173.	1672	OLD MONKLAND, Lanark. 8 R, 88 Æ Elizabeth–Charles II and Scottish.	1877 (c) NC 1877, 308. (c) PSAS xii, 1877, 307.	
174.	1673	STAPLE (Canterbury), Kent. 138 Æ Elizabeth–Charles II.	1942 (c) NC 1943, 107.	
175.	1676	Dundonald, Belfast. 32 Æ Elizabeth-Charles II, Scottish, and Spanish.	1928 (d) NC 1928, 337.	

GEORGEMAS HILL, Caithness. 8 Æ, 139 Æ Elizabeth-Charles II, Scottish, and German.

1676 HIGHAM, Leics.
43 N and some R Edward VI-Charles I.
Also R dated 1676, &c., and Spanish.

176.

177.

1676

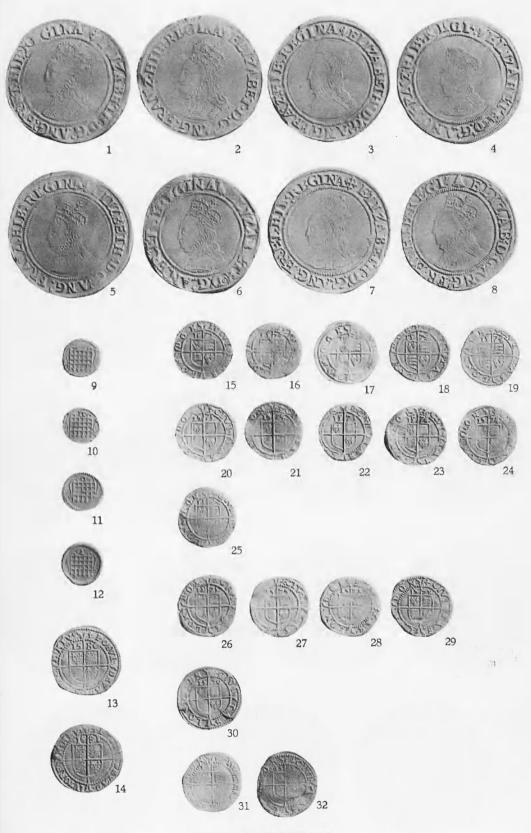
1876

640.

(c) NC 1877, 308. (c) PSAS xii, 1877, 306.

1773
(a) Nicols, Leicestershire, iv.

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No.	posit	Name and Description	References		
178.	1677	BANBRIDGE, Co. Down. 18 Æ Philip and Mary-Charles II, Scottish, French, and Spanish.	1931 (d) NC 1932, 70.		
179.	1683	CREDITON, Devon. 1,884 Æ Edward VI-Charles II, Scottish, and Irish.	1896 (d) NC 1897, 159.		
180.	1683	Lyme Regis, Dorset. A. A. valued at £2,000. Charles I - Charles II.	1786 (a) GM 1786, 435.		
181.	?	Argyllshire. 42 oz. /R Elizabeth-Charles II, Scottish, and foreign.	1804 (a) CS 265.		
182.	3	Cambus (River Devon), Clackmannanshire. Large & Elizabeth-Charles II.	1797 (a) CS 265.		
183.	3	Ingestre, Staffs. Numerous Æ Charles I–Charles II.	1798 (a) GM 1798, 922.		
184.	5	GLENBEG (Elgin), Moray. 64 R, 557 Æ Mary–Charles II and Scottish.	1864 (c) NC 1864, 226.		
185.	3	KILMARNOCK, Argyll. 127 R recovered. James I-Charles II and German.	1863 (c) PSAS v, 1864, 235. (a) NC 1863, 217.		
186.	3	LETCHMORE HEATH (Aldenham), Herts. 16 N, 264 R Edward VI-Charles II.	1882 (a) NC 1882, 354.		
187.	1686	Ashton, Northants. 184 Æ Philip and Mary-James II. In Northampton Museum.	1955 (d) BNJ to be published.		
188.	?	Mr. Hawkin's Find. 50 A' Charles II-James II.	1855 (a) Archaeological Journal, xii 1855, 200.		
189.	?	Pebmarsh, Essex. 269 R Philip and Mary-James II.	1841 Unpublished.		
190.	}	STOCKTON-ON-TEES, Co. Durham. Over 840 R Edward VI-James II.	 1792 (a) John Sykes, Local Records, i. 362. (a) Brewster's Stockton (1829), 		
			423.		
191.	1691	WELSH BACK, Bristol. 5,449 & Henry VIII-James II, Scottish, and French.	1923 (d) NC 1925, 236.		
192.	1696	YEARBY (Redcar), Yorks. 1954 1,197 Æ Edward VI–William III. 5 in B.M. (d) BNJ 1952/4, 294. Some in Middlesbrough Museum.			
193.	?	PESHAWAR (Punjab), India. 1865 30 R mill sixpences of Elizabeth. (c) GM 1865, i. 595. (c) NC 1865 (Proc.), 11,			



SILVER COINS OF ELIZABETH I

THE OXFORD MINT, 1642-6 UNITES AND HALF-UNITES

By R. D. BERESFORD-JONES

THE triple unites of the Oxford mint during the Civil War having been previously classified, it seems natural to make the attempt to arrange the rest of the gold coinage which was issued there between the years 1642 and 1646.

Most of the questions which were raised by a study of the larger coins appear to belong equally to a consideration of the smaller issues, and in fact it will be shown that in all probability the gold coins were dealt with as a whole, and not under their separate denominations.

As it is proposed to follow the arrangement of the gold coins with a paper on the silver, general information as to the output of the mint will be deferred to that paper, because the bulk of the output was silver, and our statistics do not give any separate figures for gold.

The gold coins remaining to be dealt with are called by numismatists the unites and half-unites. This name, like that of Magna Britannia, was invented by King James I as part of his attempt to unite the two kingdoms. But the attempt was a failure, and as far as can be discovered the name "unite" never passed into ordinary every-day speech.

The accounts of the period were kept in pounds, shillings, and pence much as they are today, and therefore they give us no hint of the names used for money. For a purpose of this kind it is necessary to read the memoirs of the period and find mention of money that is only inci-

dental to the story.

Of this kind is the following instance taken from the Life of Sir Henry Blount, who was a royalist, and who was living in London in 1650.

In those days he dined most commonly at the Haycock's ordinary near the Pallgrave road tavern, in the Strand, which was much frequented by parliament men and gallants. One time Colonel Betteridge being there (one of the handsomest men about the town) and bragged how much the women loved him.... Sir Henry Blount did lay a wager, and let them two go together... he only with his handsome person, and Sir Henry with a twenty shilling piece on his bald crown, that the wenches should choose Sir Henry before Betteridge. And Sir Henry won the wager.

This instance about four years after the closing of the Oxford mint gives us one of the names of our coin, the twenty-shilling piece. It also establishes it as a current coin, having no particular propaganda value like that attributed to the triple unite.

The name of "twenty shillings" as a round sum is as old as the reign of Henry VIII, as we can read in the letter of a Calais merchant "but I pray you seek and know where the balances in the case that

I had at Calais be, for I saw them not a great while. I would not give

them for 20 shillings and more money." [Date c. 1542.]

There was, however, another name used for the unite, and for an instance we have to go back a few years to the city of Oxford during the siege. The extract is taken from the memoirs of Lady Fanshawe, who was the young wife of a royalist. She was in lodgings at Oxford, while her husband was serving the king. The extract provides the latest reference that I have been able to find to Sir William Parkhurst, who was Master of the Mint at Oxford. Lady Fanshawe writes: "It was in May 1645, the first time I went out of my chamber after Church, where after service, Sir William Parkhurst a very honest gentleman came to me and said he had a letter from your father and fifty pieces of gold and was coming to bring them to me."²

The two names appear to have been used impartially for the coin, and there is no telling which was the earlier. In fact the coins brought to Lady Fanshawe may not all have been of Charles I's reign, because silver found in hoards buried during the Civil War has been found to

contain coins going back to Elizabeth.

Indeed the following anecdote, which is somewhat scandalous, is based on the assumption that the silver of Edward VI was still to be found in people's pockets. Perhaps it was regarded with something of the interest with which we look at the bun pennies of Queen Victoria today.

This anecdote is taken from the newspaper printed at Oxford and is dated 29 October 1643. It is related of Lady Mildmay, the wife of Sir James Mildmay who was serving the parliament in the office of Master of the King's Jewel House. This made him a target for royalist gibes.

This lady being at Church on a fast day, when there was a collection for the poor ministers in Ireland, saw people give money, and like a true Christian gentlewoman, threw into the bason a piece of gold of twenty shillings. But (good lady) she had so wasted her eyes that day in beholding the face of the preacher, that she took it for a shilling, and as she says meant it for no more, and therefore very ingenuously acknowledged her mistake, and sent to the collectors for her piece of gold. Which when they denying, she peremptorily told them "If they would not restore her gold, she would never give the poor anything, as long as she lived".

The collectors knowing that was the first time of her casting in the bason, were unwilling to discourage a young beginner, and therefore restored her the very gold she asked for, instead whereof she sent them a fair Edward shilling. Whereat Sir Edward was very pleased, telling her ladyship, if he had not kept his majesty's jewels no better

than she did her gold, he had never gotten sixpence by his place.3

Both names are used here for our coin, and if gold and silver were kept in the same purse it was easy to get them mixed up. Only by the colour of the metal or the figures for twelve and twenty could the gold piece be distinguished from the shilling. In the year 1644 a mistake of this kind seems to have occurred at the Oxford mint, for a gold

¹ B. Winchester, Tudor Family Portrait, 1955, p. 210.

3 Mercurius Aulicus, 29 October 1644.

² Memoir of my husband, Sir R. Fanshawe. By Lady Fanshawe. Printed from the original manuscript, 1906.

piece was struck from a shilling die. I am informed that mistakes of a similar kind occurred at the Tower mint during the reign of Charles I.

It is natural to ask what quantity of gold pieces were struck at the Oxford mint, but no figure can be given. All the evidence as to quantity issued refers to both gold and silver added together, the bulk of

course being silver.

An examination of the dies, however, indicates that preparations were made for a large issue, because in the year 1643, which was the peak year, there were cut five obverses and ten reverses. Moreover many of the reverses were simply recuttings of the same stock design, from which it follows that they were probably made to replace dies that had been worn out.

The rarity of the surviving gold pieces need not point to a small issue, because no doubt most of the gold was called in and reminted

after the defeat of the king's party.

There being no documentary evidence available, it now remains to make a careful examination of the gold coins themselves and note any answers they may give, in particular to three questions. Were the coins treated as a whole or by denominations? Were the alterations of style due to visitors from outside Oxford? and, What influence had Briot on the design?

THE UNITES (Plates XXXIII and XXXIV)

The mint was removed from Shrewsbury to Oxford on 3 January 1642/3, and there is no doubt from our information with regard to triple unites that gold coins were being struck by the end of the month. The year ended on 25 March, and in this short period five reverses

were prepared, and four obverses.

The general design of the four obverses is taken not from the Oxford triple unite, as we might expect, but from the Shrewsbury triple unite. From this we can conclude that they were in use even sooner than those of the triple unite, and indeed some authorities have suggested that they were prepared at Shrewsbury. As the tools were brought from Shrewsbury to Oxford, it is not possible to prove this: all that can be done is to class them as Oxford coins because they bear the Oxford plume which has bands and not the Shrewsbury plume which is without bands.

All the images of the king used on these obverses are, however, adaptations of that used on the triple unite of Oxford and of Shrewsbury. They are always much too large for the smaller flan of the unite, and show pretty clearly that there was great haste and no time to cut a die of the right proportions, and so design the coin properly.

It is not easy to distinguish the varieties of the puncheons used for the king's image, because these were made in four separate and apparently interchangeable pieces. The workers at Shrewsbury had evidently found themselves unable to make a single large puncheon for the image of the king, and therefore they used one puncheon for the head and collar, a second for the body, a third for the laurel, and a fourth for the sword. This makes a number of combinations possible,

for there are certainly two heads and three swords.

There is no documentary evidence to determine which of the four obverses of 1642 was the first issued. They are numbered I to IV in the plates and I, II, and III can be easily distinguished by the differences in the readings, but number IV repeats the reading of number I, and is distinguished only by its having the XX mark of value higher up in the field.

The image on number III does coincide with that used on some of the Oxford triple unites, and it has been suggested that this is therefore the first obverse. But it seems probable that the unites were being struck before the triple unites; they were a commoner coin, and this obverse III occurs with a reverse which is undoubtedly later than the others, as well as with an early one. Considering that the duration of the use of the obverses was less than three months, it seems unlikely that the order of issue can be discovered.

On all these obverses the image of the king has a hunched appearance, it is too large for the field and the sword in his right hand is a clumsy weapon. The design is obviously a makeshift and in want of

improvement.

The five reverses numbered I to 5 were used during the months January, February, and March 1642/3. Four of them have the declaration in two lines, a design which follows that of the Shrewsbury triple unite, but which makes the lettering very crowded on the smaller flan of the unite. The fifth has an improved design, the declaration being written on a three-line scroll, which fits the field. This design can be placed last because it corresponds to the first reverse of the following year, 1643/4.

The design of numbers I to 4 is exactly the same, and the only way of distinguishing them is by noting how far round the flan of the coin the legend begins. Only the fourth reverse can be placed: by examining the lettering of this it can be seen that there is a peculiar curly G used, which does not occur on the first three but which occurs on number five. Apparently there were two stocks of type which differed slightly, and as the first alphabet wore out it was replaced with letters

from the second.

We are now in a position to draw a general picture of the situation at the mint at the end of 1642/3. The Shrewsbury triple unite having been rejected as a pattern for triple unites had been handed over as a pattern for the unites instead. It was used for them, while a new design was being made for the larger coin. It meant adapting the larger design to the smaller coin, and the die-engravers did their best, but in the haste to produce a coinage they could not reduce the king's image, and they had to make use of the crowded two-line reverse, the result being a very ill-balanced coin.

This obviously was not satisfactory, and probably led to the introduction of workmen from London. At any rate at the end of March there is not only a modification but a complete redesigning of the

reverse. In the place of the two lines, there is not even a copy of the triple unite, but a completely new three-line long wavy scroll. This scroll design was applied to all three denominations, triple unites, unites, and half-unites.

Now it seems reasonable to suppose that a designer who was resident in Oxford would have taken each denomination in turn and improved it step by step, while it is characteristic of a visitor from outside that the whole coinage should be reviewed at once, and drastic alterations made to all three values at the same time. The evidence therefore seems in favour of my original contention that a team was

sent down from London to put the Oxford coinage in order.

Such a visit must have taken place about the middle of March, but the head of the team must have gone back within a week, because while the reverses of the gold coins were all altered for the late issues of 1642/3, the obverses which were just as unsatisfactory were left completely unaltered to do duty for the beginning of the new year which began on 25 March. The arrangement of a new obverse depended of course on the cutting of a new image for the king, and it is likely that owing to lack of tools this work could be done only after a visit to the Tower mint, where there would be facilities for making the large puncheons required.

The year 1643 was for this coinage a full twelve months, and the bulk of the gold unites must have been issued during it, as there is a

large number of varieties.

There are five obverses which are numbered V to IX and their order of issue is established. Number V simply follows the design of the previous obverse, but is distinguished by the word HIBER instead of HIB or HI in the legend. The image of the king is made of the same four puncheons, and the sword has been shortened. In spite of all the work on the reverses of the coinage nothing has been done for the obverse, just as nothing has been done for the obverse of the I643 triple unite.

The lettering of this first obverse shows several points of interest. It includes a broken c, a flat-topped A which is called the Briot A, and a peculiar R, all of which link it to the dies of 1642. But, of greater importance for our purpose, all these particular links occur only on one other obverse of 1643, which is accordingly placed as

number VI.

This next obverse is easily distinguished by its having a much larger XX mark of value than any of the others, and by the way in

which the king's crown breaks through the top of the circle.

This second obverse is a great improvement on the previous one, and is generally considered to be the most beautiful obverse produced, corresponding in this to the scarf bust on the triple unites. Its most notable feature is the large XX for twenty shillings, which is a mark that certainly connects the design with Briot, as the Tower unite with the prostrate anchor mint mark, which was designed by Briot, also bears the large XX mark of value.

However, the new obverse was replaced very soon; for some reason it did not last. That which replaces it (number VII) shows different lettering, and the broken A and peculiar R have both been replaced. The design of the king's image is quite different: instead of the crown breaking through the circle, the king's hand and arm come right down to the bottom of the coin. This design corresponds to none of the triple unites, but it was reproduced on the half-unite.

The most interesting thing about this obverse is that the idea of bringing the hand and arm to the edge of the coin was taken from the Scottish half-unite designed by Briot in 1637. The portrait of the king is different, the execution is much clumsier, but the basic idea is the

same and gives us another connecting link with Briot.

Although this design was retained on the half-unite for the rest of 1643 and for 1644, it was replaced on the larger unite. Apparently this was for aesthetic reasons, as it was used on the smaller coins of the Scottish issue, but never for the unite itself. This question of scale is one of the most delicate and searching tests of a designer's ability.

The next obverse, number VIII, was a completely new design. It was better than the previous one, and an enlargement of it was used for the triple unite, where it was equally successful. But we note an instance of artistic tact; it was never used for the half-unite, where it would have been crushed in. The king's image is a good portrait, it fits neatly into the circle, and makes a balanced pyramid, the sword is well managed and there is a bold legend. The plumes appear on the obverse as well as on the reverse of the coin and there is a sufficiently distinct mark of value. This design was also very successful technically, for the die lasted as obverse without recutting for seven out of the ten reverses used in 1643.

It was only at the very end of the year that this obverse had to be replaced by number IX. It was used with the last reverse of 1643 and also with the first reverse of 1644. The design follows that of the previous obverse but it is reduced in size because the coin has a smaller module. The same reduction in module takes place in the triple unites and half-unites as well as in the unites. A different fount of lettering now appears on the coin, the pointed A is replaced by an A of the flat-topped variety, and the type generally is thicker and rather squat; it also has a peculiar R, and the stops used are lozenges instead of pellets.

The reverses of the 1643 unites are the most complicated part of the series. There are ten of them, and only a detailed examination of the letter punches makes it possible to place them in any sort of order. Unlike the triple unites of this year they reveal no trace of any system of secret marking, and therefore no systematic tabulation can be made, but the evidence of each reverse has to be given separate examination to find the clues which indicate its relationship to the others in the series.

The first reverse of the year, which is number 6, bears the declaration on a three-line scroll which is copied from number 5 with virtually no change except the alteration of 1642 to 1643. It uses the

same type including the peculiar curly c which occurs on the late

reverses of 1642.

This reverse, number 6, occurs with obverses V and VII, a fact accounted for by there being two officinae, as the evidence of the triple unites shows. We also know that supplies of silver were irregular and so no doubt were supplies of gold, and therefore it is probable that the metals were worked as they came to hand and not in any regular system. Hence we do not expect to find the dies always used in the

same pairs.

From now on it is necessary to observe that separate sets of type are frequently used for the legend running round the coin and for the declaration in the middle of it, and that consequently remarks made about one set of letters do not always apply to the other. For while the legend of the next reverse, number 7, corresponds to number 6 in lettering, having the Briot A, the broken C, and peculiar R, the declaration is different. It is of a scroll pattern but the scroll is much bolder and more wavy. For this declaration a new alphabet is used without the curly G of the previous reverses. This reverse is used with obverse VI.

The next reverse is number 8. The legend still uses the alphabet of the previous coin but the broken letters C and R have been replaced by new ones, while the Briot A remains. The scroll is wavy and similar to the previous one, but larger lettering is used on it, which necessitates the use of a wider scroll, and this fills up the field of the coin and makes it uncomfortably crowded in places. It is used with obverse VII.

These three reverses and the three obverses form an early group on their own, which comes to an abrupt end. There is no apparent link between them and the large group which follows: it is as though a

fresh start had to be made.

We are left therefore with obverse VIII which must come next, but without any apparent means of determining which of the following

reverses goes with it.

Of the following group of reverses there is one only which has a completely different scroll design: it has the scroll made in three parts instead of being continuous. This gives a reason for placing it at either the beginning or the end of the series. A careful examination of the lettering of this reverse, number 9, reveals that the lettering used in the legend is unique in its correspondence with that used in the legend of obverse VIII: the peculiar wavy X, the short I and the E without any turning up of the lower limb are to be noted. It is to be assumed that, with the termination of the early series, these two dies were made as a pair: they were certainly first used together.

Having found the first of the series, we can now place the last die, which is used with the last obverse. And there remains the group of five reverses which are all used with obverse VIII, and are all very like one another. They are all simple repetitions of the continuous scroll design, and seem to have been made one after another by an engraver to replace the previous model as it wore out, and the copies

were therefore as close as possible. They correspond in design to the large group of triple-unite reverses which were being made during the same year and in similar conditions, and like them show no system of secret marks. The only method of dealing with them is by close examination of the letter punches. Such an examination shows that the same set of letters was used for the legend of all five reverses, and another set for the five declarations.

These letters have unfortunately no link with the reverses which precede and follow the group, but a careful examination does reveal the replacement of worn letters and enables certain dies to be linked together. The principal letters to be studied are G, N, R, and C.

An examination of the style, stops, and general lettering of the reverses enables us to divide them into two pairs and an odd one, that is to say 10 and 11 are closely linked and so are 12 and 13, whereas 14 having the small CI in INIMICI and a peculiar C and R is probably the beginning or the end of the series.

Two of the Gs in reverse 14 appear to be Cs, and there is no large C in the legend: this is most likely to occur when the alphabet was run-

ning out, and therefore this is placed as the last of the five.

If attention is now concentrated on the letter G we find that numbers II and I2 are linked and linked also to number I3, while numbers I0 and I4 have each a G which is peculiar to themselves. If I4 is the last die, then it would seem that number I0 should be placed first, leaving II, I2, and I3 in the middle places. Of these number II is already linked by its general style to I0 and therefore will be placed second. Numbers I2 and I3 then take third and fourth places: neither appears to have a link which determines its place next to I4.

These reverses are all very much alike and are used with the same one obverse, and therefore their order is not perhaps a matter of great importance, but their correspondence to the similar group of triple

unites makes them worth study.

The final reverse of 1643 is number 15: it is used with obverse IX, and is easily placed because obverse IX continued in use in 1644. This reverse shows a complete revision of the design: there is a new alphabet of lettering larger than the old, the scroll is based on a different sort of curve, and for the first time dotted lines are used for the edges of the scroll and of the field, which correspond to the dotted lines used on number IX obverse.

The treatment of the unites for 1643 shows general correspondence to that given to the triple unites. There is first the same carry-over of the design from 1642; this lasts a short time and is followed by a period of experimental designs, some very beautiful, altering both obverse and reverse. Eventually for both denominations an obverse is designed which lasts for the rest of the year, while there is in both cases a period in which a series of reverses is produced which are copied as closely as can be from one another. But finally at the end of the year the design is changed again, and a completely new one is introduced; in the case of the triple unite the same obverse carries on, but

in the case of the unite it was scrapped and a new one was made, prob-

ably because it had worn out.

To sum up, the coinage of 1643 gives us the following picture of activity. There is a short period when the designs for the previous year were used; this is followed by a period when new designs both for obverse and reverse were produced both numerous and differing considerably, a period of experiment and activity. All these designs were rejected. Then a final design was produced which lasted for a long time, as we know from the number of times that the reverse was recut, and only at the end of the year were a new obverse and reverse made of different design.

This picture is remarkably similar to that of the development of the

triple unite (and the half-unite) during the same year.

In the year 1644 there was a considerable reduction in the output of gold and consequently there are fewer types to be considered. Indeed by the end of this year the issue of both triple unites and half-unites had ceased and the unites remained the only gold denomination.

The unites for 1644 were struck from two obverses and three reverses. The first obverse is number IX which had already been in use at the end of 1643. The bust of the king follows the usual type but there are diamond or lozenge stops, much favoured by Briot, and the whole coin is of neater workmanship and smaller module. It is used with the first two reverses, numbers 16 and 17, the latter of which was struck from a shilling die.

In the second obverse, number X, the bust of the king is remodelled, and his head is reduced in size so that there is more room for his shoulder and arm. This may be an improvement from the point of naturalism, but the balance of the coin is affected adversely by the alteration. The stopping returns from diamond to pellet. This obverse

occurs with reverse 18.

While reverse 16 follows the general design of reverse 15, the last of 1643, there are considerable differences in detail. Diamond or lozenge stops are introduced in both legend and declaration. Smaller plumes are used above the declaration and smaller figures for the date below it, and the letters ox are introduced below the date. The abbreviations in the declaration are altered, PRO for PROT and LIB for LIBER, while the dotted lines of the 1643 reverse give way to plain lines in 1644.

The next reverse of 1644 is number 17. It raises a number of problems, as it is peculiar in character. The reverse has been struck from an ordinary shilling die, not one of the numerous proof shillings of that year. There are only two specimens known: both are in beautiful condition and the question arises why these coins were struck, as

they do not show signs of having been in circulation.

There is absolutely no direct evidence to help towards a solution of the problem and it remains a matter for speculation, but there are certain likely alternatives.

In the first place, the year 1644 was a year during which a great deal

of experimental work was done on the shilling. A very large number of shilling reverses were cut: Morrieson's list gives twelve, and several of these were patterns. It seems therefore a possibility that these coins were struck as patterns for the shilling, before the obverse die had been cut, as the unite obverse has been used. I cannot help feeling, however, that this explanation is far-fetched, especially since at this date it is unknown for patterns to have been struck "out of metal". And it seems unlikely that they could have been struck for presentation as medals when there was the triple unite already there to serve such a purpose.

On the other hand, the gold unites of the Oxford mint had been extensively issued for about two years and were becoming well known, and it seems unlikely and imprudent for a deliberate attempt to be made to circulate a coin which had the wrong reverse and might cause considerable confusion. However, errors of this description did occur at the mint at the Tower during the reign of Charles I, and are explained by numismatists on the ground that not much attention was paid to the reverse when the coins circulated. It is quite plain, however, from our story quoted earlier that a mistake of a unite for a shilling was by no means unlikely to occur, even when they were correctly struck.

Personally I am inclined to favour the explanation that they were struck in error, or owing to a shortage of the requisite die, at some time when there was confusion at the mint in Oxford. There were, no doubt, such times in 1644 when dies might get mislaid, especially if, as we have assumed in a former paper, the workman kept his reverse die and handed the obverse in as a check to the Master, which was the

usual practice.

The special occasion when there must have been great confusion at the mint was in October 1644, when the great fire occurred at Oxford. I have already referred to this fire in my previous paper, and pointed out that previous numismatic writers on the subject have dated it in the wrong year, namely 1643. The fire raged close to the mint and, although it did not destroy it, other buildings were destroyed near by. It seems more than likely therefore that the lighter tools and dies had to be removed to a place of greater safety, probably in a hurry, and it seems certain that the work of the mint was interrupted.

On the basis of this theory I have dated the reverse to October 1644, or half-way through the year. It seems to fall into place, giving the series, pre-fire obverse and reverse, shilling reverse used with old obverse, and new obverse and reverse used in the later part of the

year.

This brings us to reverse 18, the third of 1644. It was made as a pair with the second obverse, with which it always occurs. Both dies show a return from diamond to pellet stops. And similarly there is a return to the 1643 abbreviations of PROT and PAR in the declaration. The smaller figures are retained for the date, however, and so the letters OX occur underneath it.

From this classification of the coins it seems that for the first half of the year the coinage followed the lines of 1643 and that it was not until after the fire at Oxford that a visit was made to the mint. When this visit was made, however, there was a new pair of dies cut. There is the question of course of whether a visit had to be made early in 1644 as well as late in 1643 for the remodelling of the lozenge stops reverse. As the half-unite reverse was remodelled with its obverse, there was probably a visit early in the year as well.

There was, no doubt, a further reduction in the output of gold in the year 1645 owing to the decline in the royalist position. Nevertheless there are three obverse designs for this year, which are most easily distinguished by the abbreviations used for Britannia and Hibernia. The general design of the king's image is similar, but there are small

differences in the position of the hands and the sword.

Obverse number XI has the same bust as the previous obverse of 1644, but the legend reads BRIT and HI. It is found with reverse 19.

Obverse number XII is very similar, but the legend reads BRI FRAN HIB, and the hand of the king breaks the inner circle. It is found with reverse 20.

Obverse number XIII has a legend reading BRIT and HIB and a rosette, Briot's mark. The king's crown breaks the circle as well as his hand, and the sword is not perpendicular. It is found with reverse 20.

The two reverses, 19 and 20, are completely different in design. It seems as though during 1645, probably during the first half of the year, an opportunity was taken to remodel the reverse of the unite. The design which had carried three plumes above the declaration ever since the beginning of 1643 was now abandoned and a new design, with only a single plume and a rearrangement of the scroll, was substituted for it. This design was an improvement on the other which had always overcrowded the field of the reverse, and it also shows an improvement in execution over the early reverse of 1645.

Reverse number 19 copies the design of 1644. It has the three plumes and a rather wavy scroll and the lettering is somewhat clumsy. The large numerals are used, like those of 1643, and in consequence the letters OX have had to be left out under the date. It is

used with obverse XII.

Reverse number 20 has only a single plume above the declaration, and it is so placed as to divide the legend, coming between INIMICI and EXURGAT; this gives a new balance to the design. The scroll is shortened in consequence and the lettering tends to get crowded. Smaller numerals are used for the date, and so the letters OX can be replaced under it. This design was an improvement on the old one and was retained for 1646.

No doubt owing to the declining fortunes of the royalist cause, the output of the mint was much reduced in 1646. For this year there is only a single obverse and a single reverse. On obverse XIV the rosette mint-mark disappears, the legend is BRI and HIB. The image of the king remains the same, but the left arm as well as the right now

breaks through the circle, the sword is upright once more, and the crown does not break the circle.

The reverse, number 21, follows pretty closely that of 1645, number 20, the plume is rather better placed, the date 1646 is again in small numerals with **OX** underneath.

This ends the series of unites issued at Oxford, as the city fell into the hands of Parliament in 1646.

HALF-UNITES (Plate XXXIV)

The series of half-unites is struck from much fewer dies, as the issue of half-unites seems to have been smaller, but as far as they go the alterations in the design correspond fairly closely to the unites and triple unites.

In the year 1642 the Oxford half-unites were struck from two

obverses and three reverses.

Obverse I was modelled on the design for the sixpence. The only notable difference is that it has an X behind the king's head for ten shillings. The crown breaks through the circle. It is used with reverses I and 2.

Obverse II is similar except that the crown is kept within the circle.

It is found with reverse 3.

Reverse I has a mint-mark of two pellets, the declaration is in three straight lines, and it is in fact the reverse used for the sixpence struck in 1642. It does not seem to be particularly uncommon, and therefore was apparently an ordinary half-unite and not a freak coin. At this early date it may well be that it was found imperative to use a silver die for the gold.

Reverse 2 is very similar to the first, and it also was used as the reverse die of a 1642 sixpence. It is to be distinguished only by having seven pellets at the beginning of the legend instead of two. It is found

with obverse I, like its predecessor.

Reverse 3 is altered to follow the transitional type which we have already noted in the unite and triple unite. Instead of three lines we have a wavy scroll with the declaration written on it. The lettering of the declaration is the same as that used on the unites, and there is a great improvement in the design and in the neatness of execution.

For the year 1643 there are only two obverses and two reverses.

The output must have been smaller than that of the unites.

The first obverse, number II, is the same die as that used in 1642, corresponding in this way with the practice of the other gold coins.

It is used with reverse 4.

The second obverse, number III, is of a new design. It has an elaborate and beautifully executed image of the king, which comes right down to the lower edge of the coin. This design is an adaptation of the half-unite struck in Scotland in 1637 and designed by Briot. It is true that it corresponds to obverse VII of the 1643 unite. But unlike the unite it was retained, not merely for the rest of the year, but

for the new die cut for 1644. In this it shows again the taste of Briot, who never put the bust reaching the lower edge on the Scottish unite. It is used with reverse number 5 only.

Reverse number 4 reproduces the scroll design of 1642 with a change of date, in the same way as do the corresponding reverses of the unite

and triple unite.

Reverse number 5 is of smaller module, as is obverse III which is used with it. This makes it necessary to lay the scroll closer in the field, which tends to crowd it, but otherwise the same design was

used, and was retained for the rest of the year.

In the year 1644 the half-unites were struck from only one obverse and one reverse. These dies follow the same general design as that used in 1643, but they were completely recut, and several major alterations were made. They are of smaller module, just as the triple unites are; they are of finer workmanship, in fact it is noticeably fine and neat, and there is a change in stops which corresponds with the other gold coinage of the year.

Obverse IV has the image of the king extending to the lower edge of the coin, the lettering is smaller and neater than that previously used, and the abbreviation MAG for MAGNA is used instead of

simply M.

Reverse 6 has smaller lettering corresponding to the obverse, it has a less wavy scroll and smaller plumes, the lettering is fitted neatly, and the abbreviation PRO is used instead of PROT. The figures are smaller in the date, and in consequence the letters OX can be placed underneath. The mint-mark is a diamond and four pellets, a mark which is also used on the triple unite of corresponding date, number S. 10 in my paper on the triple unites.

There are no further half-unites known, and it is therefore to be assumed that the issue terminated in 1644 since, as far as can be judged, it was never as useful a coin as the unite. It only remains therefore to summarize the information which has been deduced from

this examination of the gold coins.

First of all it is sufficiently obvious that the gold coinage was treated as a whole. When one value was redesigned corresponding alterations were made in the other values, which came in for equal attention.

In the second place it is clear that the alteration was not a continuous process, nor did it depend on waiting until a particular die was worn out, but it was due to a series of visits, which can be given

approximate dates.

The first visit was in March and April 1642/3, the old year, our dating March and April 1643. At this time the Shrewsbury reverses were scrapped, and the flowing scroll design was introduced. The next was in the following May, when the scarf bust for triple unites, and the "Scottish" bust for the unites and half-unites, were introduced. It is to be noted that both these designs are connected with Briot, the unite being from his Scottish issue, and the scarf bust being an enlargement of the figure on horseback in his Tower half-crown of mint-mark

triangle 1640. The third visit must have been a little later, when the final bust for the unites and triple unites was made. It is not possible to tell how long the scarf and "Scottish" busts were current.

At the end of 1643 there was undoubtedly a fourth visit, when Briot's daisy stop was introduced on the reverse of the triple unites, and at the same time the dotted-line reverse of the unites was introduced. In both cases this followed a long period of non-interference, when the same design was repeated with almost mechanical regularity.

Shortly after this there is either another visit, or the maturing of the work done on the previous visit, for all three values were completely

remodelled for 1644.

There is the possibility of a fifth visit about half-way through 1644, when a new obverse bust for the unites was introduced, and a new obverse and reverse for the triple unites. And there is the probability of a visit in 1645, when the reverse of the unite was given a completely new and original design.

Unfortunately there is no documentary evidence which confirms the dates of these visits, but the claims of Briot's widow at the time of the Restoration definitely assert that Briot made such visits to

various mints.

The question arises of course as to whether the silver coinage was remodelled at the same time. It is a question that can be answered only after the silver coinage has been thoroughly examined. But it seems likely that the two metals would be taken in hand together, although it is probable that the actual minting of both metals was alternate and somewhat spasmodic, owing to the irregularity of the supply of both gold and silver. I do not think that there were separate workshops at Oxford for the separate metals, but that the dies were drawn as it was deemed expedient to coin one or other metal. It would be of service, however, if we could find someone to make a search into what was the practice at the Tower at this time, for Oxford imitated regular practice as far as it could.

With regard to the alteration of the silver, however, it may be noted that Col. Morrieson's paper divides the silver for 1643 into three periods, which appear to correspond with the three main alterations in the gold coinage of this year. This classification completely breaks down when he treats the shillings, but I have reason to suppose that this was due to the fact of one class of shilling being unknown at the

time when he wrote his paper.

The next question is who made the visits, and all the evidence seems to be in favour of Briot. We have Briot's Scottish bust on the half-unite, Briot's horseman on the scarf bust of the triple unite, Briot's lettering quite frequently, and his daisy stops and his diamond stops on the reverses of triple unites and unites. There is even the use of the large XX on the 1643 obverse, which is taken from a Tower design of Briot.

It is true that Briot's pupil Rawlins has been suggested for some of the work on the gold, but gifted as he was he was a very young man at this time, and unlikely to have the necessary experience and authority to make changes in the coinage. Moreover we have two undoubted pieces of Rawlins's work in the silver, a pound piece and a half-crown. And the execution of both of these shows a refinement and elaboration which is not suitable to the striking of coinage, but rather to the more limited issue of medals. While the designs of the gold pieces are always practical, such refinement seems to have been deliberately avoided by Briot, who had behind him years of experience at both London and Edinburgh.

TABLE OF UNITES AND HALF-UNITES

Issued at Oxford 1642-6

UNITES OBVERSES

		OBVERSES				
1642	mm.	Legend	XX	Circle broken by		
I.	pellet	BRIT FRAN HI	at shoulder	cross on crown		
II.	pellet	BR FR HI	at collar	cross		
III.	2 pellets	BRIT FR HIB	at neck	crown		
IV.	none	BRIT FRAN HI	at collar	cross		
1643						
V.	none	BR FR HIBER	at shoulder	cross		
VI.	pellet	BRIT. FR. HI	large XX	crown		
VII.	none	BR FR HI	at hair	body		
VIII.	plume	BR FR HIBER	at hair	unbroken		
1643/4						
IX.	plume	BR FR HI		unbroken		
	diamond					
1644						
Χ.	plume pellet	BRI FR HIB	and a <u>ma</u> of a	unbroken		
1644/5						
XI.	plume pellet	BRIT FR HI	<u> </u>	sword		
1645						
XII.	plume pellet	BRI FRAN HIB		hand		
XIII.	rosette	BRIT FRAN HIB		hand and crown		
11111	pellet			nana ana oromi		
1646						
XIV.	pellet	BRI FRAN HIB		both hands		
77T	Police	SIN FINANCIIID		Dom Hands		
REVERSES						

1642	2 pellets opposite	Declaration	Letters in declaration
I.	ANG	2-line	ANG plain G
2.	lower line	2-line	ANG plain G
3⋅	RELIG	2-line	ANG plain G
4.	middle line	2-line	ANG G curly type
	Legend letters		
5.	Briot A broken C	scroll	ANGL . G curly type
1643			
6.	Briot A broken C	scroll	ANG . G curly type

-6.40	Tagand lattan	Declaration	I ottavo in declaration			
1643	Legend letters Briot A broken		Letters in declaration			
7· 8.	Briot A whole		ANG plain G ANGL: plain G			
9.	Normal A C	LEG:	ANG plain G			
10.	,,	LEG	ANG RELIGT upright			
II.	,,	LEG	ANG :RELIG T falling			
12.	,,	:LEG	ANG: RELIG			
13.	.11 . (1)(1)(4)	: LEG	ANG: RELIG			
14.	small ci INIMIO dotted lines	CI LEG LEG	ANC :RELIG ANG: PROT:			
15.	dotted lines	LEU	ANG: PROT:			
1644						
16.	diamond stops	OX	PRO PAR			
17.	diamond stops	OX LEG OX LEG:	ANGL PR PA :•ANG PROT PAR			
18.	pellet stops	OX LEG.	-ANG PROT PAR			
1645	11 /	1.50	AND BROT BAR			
19.	pellet stops	LEG: OX LEG	∴ANG PROT PAR ANG PRO PAR			
20.	single plume	OX LEG	ANG PRO PAR			
1646						
21.	single plume	OX LEG	ANG PRO PAR			
		HALF- $UNITES$				
		OBVERSES				
1642	mm.	Bust	Legend			
I.	pellet	crown breaks circle	MAG. BR			
II.	plume	circle unbroken	MAG. BR			
1643						
II.	pellet	circle unbroken	MAG. BR			
III.	none	bust breaks circle	M. BR			
1644						
IV.	none	bust breaks circle	MAG. BR			
1.	Hone	bust breaks circle	TINGS BIL			
REVERSES						
1642	mm.	Declaration	Stops			
I.	two pellets	3-line	ANG colon			
2.	seven pellets	3-line	ANG colon			
3.	none	continuous scroll	ANG colon			
1643						
4.	none	continuous scroll	ANG colon			
5.	pellet	continuous scroll	ANGL pellet			
,						

1644 6.

four pellets and diamond

continuous scroll

ANG

diamond

NOTES ON SOME ISSUERS OF COUNTERMARKED SPANISH DOLLARS

By s. A. H. WHETMORE

This paper is an attempt to comply with the wishes of Presidents of the Society, expressed more than once, that more attention should be given to modern coins. It deals with some of the issuers in Great Britain, at the time of the Industrial Revolution, of Spanish pieces of eight reales—so-called Spanish dollars—suitably countermarked for the issuers' purposes. Information regarding the issuers is uneven in quantity. Further investigation would, no doubt, produce more knowledge, but perhaps the time has come to record what has been found.

I have followed the territorial classification of W. J. Davis, except where it has been convenient to group some of the Scottish cotton mills together, as their development was due to the enterprise of a few persons. The descriptions of the countermarks given by Davis, when he knew them, are quoted, with such comment as seems necessary; and references are made to the catalogues of the more important collections of this century, viz. J. G. Murdoch (1904), T. Bliss (1916), W. J. Davis (1924), A. Thellusson (1931), H. E. G. Paget (1944), F. Cokayne (1946), and H. M. Lingford (1950). Information from these and other catalogues of dates of dollars, and dates of first appearance of countermarks, is of interest. It is sometimes stated in the narrative that coins known in the early part of the century have not been noted since. Perhaps they passed into the possession of Mr. Cokayne and were permanently lost when his first collection was stolen.

Turning now to the subject-matter:

DERBYSHIRE

Davis records:

- 23. CROMFORD DERBYSHIRE. in a circle; and, in the centre, 5.
- 24. The same, but with a *small* "c" countermarked on bust. CROMFORD. DERBYSHIRE. 4/9.
- 25. The same, but no value expressed.

No. 23 is well known, but always with a small "s" over the figure "5". Bliss had a specimen of No. 23 also countermarked with a small "c". Davis quoted No. 24 from Boyne.² I have no note of any specimen, but coins, countermarked for 4/9, without the small c are well known (Pl. XXXV, 1). I have no note of No. 25. The value 5/- is known on dollars dated 1789, 1793, 1795, and 1798; and the value 4/9 is known on dollars of the eighteenth century and also of 1801-4 and 1806, suggesting it was a later countermarking. Lingford had a dollar dated 1793, value 5/- from a punch from which 4/9 had been obliterated.

W. J. Davis, Nineteenth Century Token Coinage, 1904.
W. Boyne, Silver Tokens of Great Britain and Ireland, 1866.

Davis stated that the tokens were "issued by Arkwright & Co., mill owners and bankers".

Richard Arkwright was born in Preston in 1732, of poor parentage, was apprenticed to a barber and, after having acquired the necessary art, he set up in business for himself. He lived in the midst of textile workers, observed the manual methods in use and his natural mechanical genius prompted him to experiment with mechanical means for spinning cotton. He finally succeeded in making a satisfactory machine but, having no money himself and failing to find adequate financial support in Lancashire, he moved to Nottingham, with Mr. Smalley from Preston, and a spinning-frame was erected with power provided by a horse. This proved too expensive, so in 1771 Arkwright, in partnership with Mr. Jedediah Strutt of Derby and Mr. Reed of Nottingham, owners of patents for stocking-making machinery, erected a mill at Cromford driven by water-power. The production of excellent yarn was very successful but cloth weavers, from prejudice, would not buy it. The partners therefore wove the yarn themselves into calico in a mill built at Belper. The material was the first cloth made in England entirely from cotton and was so soft in comparison with that made by the older methods that it sold easily and Arkwright. became a wealthy man. In 1782 the partnership was dissolved and Arkwright became the sole owner and, extending his interests to the Masson mill in Matlock and others in Bakewell and Wirksworth,

made himself one of the most important manufacturers in the country.

It was at Cromford that Archibald Buchanan, to be mentioned

later, learnt the use of cotton machinery.

Arkwright, then Sir Richard Arkwright, died in 1792 and was succeeded by his son Richard, who had been given the mill at Bakewell in his father's lifetime. He was a very able business man, extended the enterprise, and became one of the richest commoners in the country. He was particularly interested in the health of his workpeople and much improved the heating and ventilating of his works.

Although during Sir Richard's time and after there had been a movement from Cromford to the Masson mill at Matlock for reasons of water-power, the original frames were still in existence in Cromford in 1836, and the owners of the mill are recorded as Arkwright & Co.

as late as 1886.

Richard junior died in 1843 but the business continued as a family concern, the name being changed to Sir Richard Arkwright & Co. and concentrated in the Masson Mill. In 1897 the enterprise was amalgamated, with other big cotton manufacturers, in the English Sewing Cotton Co. Ltd., but the Masson mill is still operated under the old name.

The Cromford mill, when no longer used as a cotton factory, was for some years in the possession of a brewery and is now used for the

manufacture of colours by the Cromford Colour Company.²

Dictionary of National Biography.

² Murray's Handbook for Derby, &c., 1868–1892; Black's Tourist's Guide to Derbyshire, 1874, various directories; information kindly furnished by the manager of Masson Mill.

When Davis wrote his book in 1904 he was aware of the following countermark on a George III halfpenny but he did not publish it on a Spanish dollar until 1907.1

Obv. CARK COTTON WORKS 1787 in four lines.

Rev. FOUR SHILLINGS AND SIX PENCE in four lines.

In the June 1907 issue of the Numismatic Circular Dr. Philip Nelson wrote:

I have discovered the following facts in reference to the unpublished coin, countermarked at the CARK COTTON WORKS, an illustration of which appeared in the Numis-

matic Circular for April and which coin I rescued from oblivion.

The Cark Cotton Works, situated in the village of Cark in Cartmel, Lancashire, were opened in the year 1782 by one William Hall. The mill still exists, contains the original water wheel and driving machinery though at the present time it is used for grinding corn and is today in the possession of David Hall Esq., a descendant of the original owner. I could obtain no information in the locality, which I recently visited, concerning the issue of the coins at their mill and, save for the example which I discovered, no other specimen is at present known to exist.

The dollar recorded by Davis in 1907 was dated 1764 and the countermark has since appeared on dollars dated 1776, 1785-7, and 1792 (Pl. XXXV, 2).

I have, so far, not identified William Hall. A Mr. James Stockwell, an elderly man long resident in Cark, published a book in 1872 with a

preface dated 1870.2 In it he wrote:

About the year 1782 my grandfather and others built the large cotton mill (now a corn mill belonging to Mr. Hall) and a number of cottages, workshops, engine houses, tail and other races and no fewer than nine bridges and archways, destroying entirely the rural appearance of the village and leaving it little better in appearance than it is at the present day.

It is possible that William Hall was one of the "others".

James Stockwell, the grandfather, was born in 1724 and in the middle of the eighteenth century was a ship-builder, constructing small vessels for the Baltic trade. He was associated with Boulton & Watt in mining in Cornwall and Wales and with John Wilkinson, the builder of the first iron ship. By 1756 he was the chief worker of haematite ore in Furness and extracted the iron by charcoal smelting. He sent iron to James Watt in Greenock, who was engaged in perfecting his steam-engine, one of the first of which was installed in the Cark cotton mill, having been constructed by Wilkinson under the superintendence of Watt.

The writer of 1872 records:

When the cotton mill had been fully completed (being one of the first erected in England) it was thought to be a handsome building and, in order to prevent the smoke of the "fire engine" from blackening the mill, it was conducted in an archway underground as far as the most easterly of the cottages in the High Row.

This "fire engine" was James Watt's steam-engine for pumping.

¹ Numismatic Circular, April 1907.

² James Stockwell, Annales Caermoelenses or Annals of Cartmel, 1872

The cotton mill, as such, did not have a very long life, for Edward Baines¹ wrote of Cartmel in 1824 "There is very little trade and no staple manufacture" and he also recorded Edward Hall as a miller in Cark. The phrase of Baines "no staple manufacture" is pessimistic, since a paper mill, founded in Cark in 1617, was still in operation for a few years after 1825.2 Edward Hall is to be found as a miller and maltster in 1834. By 1855 the business was in the possession of John Hall and in 1861 in the possession of John A. Hall, perhaps the same person. He seems to have retired by 1885 and another Edward Hall was in possession, having added the merchanting of corn and flour to the business. John A. Hall must have had a long life, for he was living in the New House, Cark, as late as 1901. Edward was still in business in 1895 but by 1901 he is described as a yeoman, and Dickenson Bros. were the millers and maltsters in Cark. Dr. Nelson's David Hall appears in 1905, living in the New House, and acting as the chief of the fire brigade at Flookborough, some two miles from Cark. Dickenson Bros. were still the millers. In view of Dr. Nelson's statement it may be assumed that the Hall family retained the ownership of the mill but leased it for use to others.

About twenty years ago the mill was gutted by fire and, for safety, sections were demolished and the remainder roofed over to make a storehouse.

Northumberland

Davis was not aware of the following countermark:

PERCY MAIN COLLIERY within a toothed border around 5/- within a circle of small leaves.

The first note I have of this countermark is in a pierced dollar at a sale in 1929, marked "unpublished". I have no further note of it. There was a specimen on a Mexican dollar, dated 1790, in the Thellusson collection: another on a Lima dollar of 1808 owned by Paget, and another on a Mexico dollar, dated 1787, by Cokayne. There is also a specimen on a Guatemala dollar, dated 1802 (P1. XXXV, 3).

The owner was the Duke of Northumberland and the mine was between Wallsend and North Shields, about one and a half miles from the latter place. The lessees were Joseph Lamb, George Waldie, John Waller, Jacob Maude, and one Hetherington. They were also the lessees of a neighbouring colliery in Flatworth. The "viewer" was John Buddle. A viewer was a manager, overseer or superintendent of a mine and Buddle was the leading mining engineer of his day.

a mine and Buddle was the leading mining engineer of his day.

Joseph Lamb was a coal "fitter", that is a broker who sold and loaded coal, carrying on his business in Newcastle upon Tyne, serving several collieries. John Waller may have been the wholesale and retail linen and woollen draper, silk mercer and hosier in business in Grey Street, Newcastle. I have not identified the other investors.

¹ Edward Baines, History, Directory and Gazetteer of the County Palatine of Lancaster,

<sup>1824.
&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> "John o' Gaunt", Your Lancashire, published by Provincial Newspapers Ltd., in 1952.

The sinking of the shaft began in 1796 and at 30 fathoms a stratum of water-bearing sand was encountered which gave considerable trouble, but Buddle overcame it by a new contrivance. At 120 fathoms the High Main seam was encountered and in 1799, at 160 fathoms, the Bensham seam, at which depth the mine was the deepest in the country at the time. Water was always a difficulty and the power of the pumps had to be very much increased.

Coal began to be delivered at the turn of the century. In 1807 there was an underground fire and water was poured into the mine until it stood as high as 30 fathoms in the shaft. When the fire subsided, great difficulties were encountered from intermittent escapes of gas

as the water was pumped out.

Joseph Lamb & Co. had a fitting business for several collieries, not including Percy Main, at 25 Quayside, Newcastle, and Humble Lamb & Co. had an office at 30 Quayside, with George Veatch as agent, which dealt with coal from Percy Main and several other mines including Bewick Main. It will be remembered that the latter mine

issued a shilling token in silver, dated 1811.¹

In 1834 Humble Lamb & Co. are still given as the owners; George Irwin, superintendent and agent; John Oliver as viewer; and John Robinson as engineer, but Buddle must have been consulted in 1838 for he signed a letter "For the owners of the Percy Main Colliery", addressed to the owners of neighbouring mines, inviting them to a meeting and their viewers to an inspection because of water troubles in the mine, troubles which caused the mine to be finally abandoned in 1851. The name is still remembered in Percy Main Station on the Newcastle to Tynemouth railway.

In 1836 and 1837 about 52,000 tons of coal were sent by sea to London, under various names, including "Bewick & Crasters Wallsend" and "Percy Wallsend". The price at shipping point was

10/6 per ton and in London 21/6 per ton.

In the Library of the North of England Institute of Mining and Mechanical Engineers many original documents of the Percy Main Colliery are preserved, beginning from 1799, but they contain no reference to the token. On the other hand, I understand that Bewick Main did advertise in January 1812 that they were paying their workers with tokens of the value of a shilling in silver and a penny in copper, but I have not seen the advertisement. There was an acute shortage of metallic money on Tyneside in the winter of 1811-12, and the Percy Main token may have been issued at the same time.²

Nottinghamshire

Davis records:

41. EAST RETFORD An ampersand and a crown. No value expressed.

Dalton's Silver Token Coinage, Northumberland, Nos. 4 and 5.
 T. V. Simpson, Old Mining Records and Plans (Trans. of Inst. of Mining Engineers, vol. lxxxi); T. H. Hair, A Series of Views of the Collieries in the Counties of Northumberland and Durham; &c.

He notes the specimen in the British Museum and quotes from Boyne: "In the MS. catalogue it is said to have been issued from the Revolution Mill, East Retford."

This is a very unusual countermark.

The late Mr. J. B. Caldecott exhibited a specimen on a dollar dated 1778, at the meeting of the Society held on 13 April 1904, and attributed the countermark to Essequibo and Demarara, on the grounds that the ampersand looked like an "E" with an extra stroke or as the "and" sign or as a "D" according to the angle of vision. This seems rather far fetched and any such coinage was unknown to Chalmers,2 who records the very rare cut Spanish dollars used in the Colony. It was also unknown to Howland Wood.3

The document in the British Museum mentioned by Boyne is the manuscript catalogue of the collection of Miss Sarah Banks, written by herself, before she died in 1818. The entry is "Spanish dollar stamped for circulation at the Revolution Mill East Retford Notts (1794)". The year in brackets seems to have been the year in which Miss Banks obtained the coin and she is unlikely to have been mistaken in her attribution for, as will be seen, the founder of the mill, John Cartwright, was a notorious character.

The dollar in the British Museum is dated 1791 and is from the Mexico mint. Cokayne had a specimen on a Lima dollar of 1785 (Pl. XXXV, 4); Paget on a Potosi dollar of 1777, and Mr. D. S. Napier on a Potosi dollar of 1784. I have no trace of the coin exhibited by

Mr. Caldecott.

To take the mill first, John Cartwright was the brother of Edmund Cartwright, the reputed inventor of the power loom, and with some associates, probably including his brother-in-law, he built a worsted mill on the north side of Spital Hill, Retford. It was completed in 1788, the centenary of the events of 1688, hence, presumably, the name of the mill. On completion Cartwright gave the builder's workmen 100 shillings bearing the head of William III with which to regale themselves. The mill cost £25,000 to build and equip and employed over 600 workpeople but, owing to rash speculation, was in financial difficulties by 1790. The company was reconstructed and carried on business until 1798 when the mill was closed. It took time to clear up the affair and the mill was not sold until 1805. Eventually it was broken up and the site cleared. Some of the houses built for the workpeople are still standing but are due for demolition this year (1957).

The mill included a dyeing department, the manager of which, when the works were closed in 1798, started in business on his own account near to or actually in part of the mill. His great-great-grandson is today the managing director of a large dyeworks in Retford.

John Cartwright was born in 1740, entered the Royal Navy when 18 years of age, and by 1766 was the First Lieutenant in the Guernsey

British Numismatic Journal, vol. i, p. 410.
 R. Chalmers, A History of Currency in the British Colonies, 1893.
 Howland Wood, The Coinage of the West Indies, 1915.

on the Newfoundland station. He returned home in 1770 for reasons of health and took an interest in politics. In 1775 he began to express his opinions publicly, beginning with his sympathy with the American colonists, which sympathy prevented him in 1777 from joining Lord Howe's command in North America. In 1775 he had received a major's commission in the Nottinghamshire Militia. He wrote on Parliamentary reform and advocated annual Parliaments, universal suffrage, and the secret ballot, earning for himself the title "Father of Reform". He lost his military commission for attending a public meeting to celebrate the taking of the Bastille and in 1820 at the age of 80 he was fined £100 for sedition, possibly unjustly.

In 1805 he moved to London, living finally at 37 Burton Crescent in the Parish of St. Pancras where he died in 1824. There was a meeting of his admirers to consider a permanent monument and sufficient money was raised for a bronze statue to be placed in the garden opposite the houses in the Crescent. It is still there. As a final honour, the name Burton Crescent was changed to Cartwright

Gardens in 1908.1

ARGYLLSHIRE

The following countermark was not noted by Davis in his book but it appeared at a sale of his collection in 1924:

DUG^D M^C LACHLAN MERCHT+TOBERMORY in a circle around 5/- on a striated background in a circle.

The countermark seems to have been first published in 1923 on a dollar of 1810 described as "cast". Davis had a dollar of 1810, the countermark being described as "faint". Cokayne had a silver-plated dollar of 1810 and also had the countermark applied twice to a genuine dollar dated 1792. The catalogue stated that the coins were the only known specimens; thus it would seem that there is only one coin dated 1810. The doubly countermarked coin reappeared in the Lingford catalogue where it was stated that only three specimens were known. There is a genuine dollar of 1794, bearing the countermark once only (P1. XXXV, 5).

There is little to be learnt. Dougald McLaughlan was a general

merchant who resided in Tobermory.

It seems that Tobermory was created by the "British Society for extending the Fisheries and improving the Sea Coast of the Kingdom", work being started in 1788, when there were only two houses. In 1837 there was a sea port with a population of about 1,500, owned by the Society and Mr. Frederick Caldwell of Mishnish.² The inhabitants had an adequate number of professional men and tradesmen to serve them including four general dealers. McLaughlan was one of the first feuers in the township where he died in 1829.

¹ D.N.B.; The Life and Correspondence of Major Cartwright, edited by his niece F. O. Cartwright, 1826; information kindly furnished by Mr. A. C. Clark, managing director of Clark's Dyeworks Ltd., Retford.

² New Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. vii.

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AYRSHIRE

Davis records:

58. GALSTON SOC-y. No. above; the value 5s. countermarked on a Spanish dollar.

I have no note of this countermark on a Spanish dollar but it exists on a crown of Charles II, dated 1673, as GALSTON SOCY in a circle around 5s. No. 12 in two lines. There was such a coin in the Murdoch (1904) collection but the date was not given nor was it illustrated. At the T. W. Barrow sale in 1906, however, there was a fully described specimen marked "ex Murdoch". Thereafter the coin can be traced to Bliss, Brand, Cokayne, and Lingford. It would seem that there is only one known specimen (P1. XXXV, 6).

The No. 12 is an integral part of the punch and was not applied separately as were the numbers on the Catrine coins to be mentioned

later.

Mr. F. Wilson Yeates has recorded¹ that Friendly Societies or Box Clubs, as they were commonly called, existed early in the nineteenth century and he mentions the Galston Society, the Paisley Society, and the Balfron Victualling Society. Paisley was a busy city and the countermark Paisley Dollar Society is known on a Spanish dollar. The Ballindalloch cotton mill was in the Parish of Balfron and the countermark Balfron Victualling Society is known on a George III halfpenny. Galston was a small town in Ayrshire on the River Irvine about 4½ miles from Kilmarnock and had some industry, for it is recorded that the place suffered morally therefrom.² There was a Galston Friendly Society in the late eighteenth century, also a Galston Farmers' Society, and probably a Weavers' Society.

There is a statement in the *Gentleman's Magazine*³ that Lady Inglis patronized a Dollar Society which was formed on I January 1812. The object was to furnish temporary relief to persons of good character in want, without distinction of race or religion, and membership of the Society was open to all who would subscribe the dollar, thus giving an opportunity to persons of limited means. The Galston

Society, perhaps, was something of the same nature.

BUTESHIRE

Davis records:

- 61. ROTHSAY COTTON WORKS in a beaded circle; in a cable circle the value of 4/6 and the date 1820.
- 62. PAYABLE AT ROTHSAY MILLS \times in a circle and in an inner circle the value 2/6 on a segment of a Spanish dollar.
- 63. Similar, but the value expressed on a *rectangle* and a star at the right. In the Murdoch collection.

¹ Numismatic Circular, April 1912.

² New Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. v. ³ Gentleman's Magazine, vol. lxxxiii, 1813.

64. PAYABLE AT ROTHSAY MILLS + in a circle and within an inner

At the sale of the collection of Bruce Cartwright of Hawaii in 1907 there was a dollar of 1789 countermarked PAYABLE AT ROTHSAY COTTON MILLS around a cotton-wool sack on which SS was marked in a sunk rectangle. This probably passed to the Bliss collection. Bliss also had a dollar of 1799 countermarked PAYABLE AT ROTHSAY COTTON MILLS in a sunk circle enclosing a large 5/- in a circular sinking.

circle the value 1/8 on a segment of a Spanish dollar.

I have no note of any reappearance of these two coins.

No. 61 is a well-known countermark and occurs on dollars of 1778, 1812, 1813, 1815, 1819, and 1820 (Pl. XXXV, 7). No. 62 is known on segments of dollars of 1786 and 1794 whilst No. 63 in the Cokayne and Lingford collections was on a segment of a dollar of the eighteenth century. These collectors had also a segment of a dollar of the eighteenth century countermarked PAYABL(e at Rothsay Cott) ON MILLS around a cotton-wool sack and 2/4 in a rectangle. No. 64 is known on a segment dated 1792 but also on segments which did not preserve the date.

The mill was the first cotton-spinning mill in Scotland, it was built by an Englishman, provides the widest range of values in the countermarked series, and is the only case of the use of the West Indian

practice of cutting dollars.

In 1708 a Joseph Kenyon arrived in Sheffield and set up in business with his four sons, one of whom was James. The business prospered and in due course all the sons took out their Freedom in the Cutlers' Company, James doing so in 1742. After the death of the founder and the death in 1779 of a second Joseph, James retained the ownership of part of the business but, leaving the management to his brother John, immediately left for Scotland "where he engaged in other concerns". In fact, he founded the Rothesay cotton mill which, not long after its completion, he sold to David Dale, a person to be described later. He must have been 21 years of age when he took out his Freedom and therefore not less than 58 years of age when he started an entirely different business in another country in a place rather remote at the time. The departure from Sheffield in 1779 seems authentic, and the earliest record gives the same year for the foundation of the Rothesay mill and the founder's name as Kenyon.² On the other hand, a later record³ gives 1778 as the year of establishment of the mill and "an English Company" as the founders. It is probable that Kenyon had partners in the project which was discussed between them before 1779.

What happened to Kenyon after he had sold the mill I do not know. A Bachelor of Divinity, who made a tour of parts of Scotland in 1793 and recorded his impressions, noted that Rothesay was the first place

Anonymous pamphlet dated 1910 in Sheffield Central Library.

3 New Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. v.

² Blain, History of Buteshire, in manuscript in the Buteshire County Library, undated but probably completed about 1818.

in Scotland to have a cotton mill and that "Dancing is the amusement of the younger and newspapers and backgammon of the older inhabitants of Rothsay." Perhaps Keynon stayed to enjoy these

pleasures.

After the purchase of the mill by Dale—he died in 1806—it had changed hands several times by 1818, when it was owned by William Kelly of Glasgow. He was probably the inventor of a new kind of spinning-machinery, was manager of the Lanark Mills for Dale in 1792, and left that post when Robert Owen became their owner about 1800.

A commercial directory for Scotland in 1821–2 records the Rothesay Spinning Company, Rothesay Mills, with Robert Thom as agent. An account of Rothesay written in 1840 records the existence of the mills, which had been greatly enlarged, and the contribution they have made to the prosperity of the town, which had become a fashionable watering place with the opening of steam navigation on the Clyde. In a directory for 1874 there is a record of Doig & Co., cotton-cloth manufacturers, in High Street, Rothesay. The mill was still in operation about 1900 but in more recent years was used as a store and a stable. It was seriously damaged by fire in 1956 and only the walls remain.

CLACKMANNANSHIRE

Davis records:

- 67. PAYABLE AT ALLOA COLLIERY + in a circle; in the centre 5/-incuse.
- 68. Similar but with the *additional* small bust of George III struck at the left of 5/-. In Mr. Bliss's cabinet.

The description of No. 67 appears to relate to a genuine dollar but I have no note of this countermark other than on a false coin. No. 68 was in the Bliss collection but it is clear from the description in the Bliss catalogue that the countermark had been applied to a silver-plated dollar already countermarked with the head of George III in an oval. Murdoch had a false dollar with the oval countermark on the

obverse and the colliery countermark on the reverse.

When the date of a false dollar used for this countermark is given, it is always 1794 except the Bliss coin which is dated 1795 (Pl. XXXV, 8). The false dollars of the THISTLE BANK (to be mentioned later) bear the same date and it is possible they were made in Birmingham. It appears that in the seventeen-nineties large numbers of forged dollars were made in that city for circulation in those parts of the world where genuine Spanish dollars were in use, it being hoped by this device to cause trouble to Spanish trade. Citizens of Birmingham, including Matthew Boulton, protested against the practice but the Government took no action. Fabrication of French money occurred at the same

¹ Gentleman's Magazine, vol. Ixiv, 1794.

time but for that there was a valid reason, so valid that a forger was able to enforce payment in the Court for his work. A Spanish investigator visited this country and collected the facts which he incorporated in a report to the Spanish Ambassador, dated 17 May 1796, but, as Great Britain declared war on Spain on 7 October 1796, little use could have been made of the report.¹

The coal in the neighbourhood of Alloa was the property of the earls of Mar. When extraction began is not known but it was certainly before 1650.2 In 1775 the Alloa Colliers' Fund was created, confined to the Alloa Colliery, but united with another similar fund in 1833. This fund provided payment for schoolmasters, costs for burying the dead and supporting old and sick persons connected with the colliery. The use of forged dollars suggests that they were not used for paying

wages, but in the internal administration of the fund.

John, Earl of Mar, who succeeded to the title in 1689, was a remarkable and progressive man who did much to apply the science of the time to the winning of his coal and to the relief of the strain on the miners. He lost his title and lands for his share in the rebellion of 1715 and went into exile. Restoration was made to his grandson by Act of Parliament in 1824. In the meantime the forfeited estates had been purchased by the earl's brother and entailed to the heirs male of the earl's daughter. In 1774 Alexander Bald was appointed as superintendent, a year before the creation of the fund already mentioned. Bald kept his position until his death in 1823, and shortly after a deed was executed, vesting the active direction of the pits in Robert Bald, the son of Alexander, and Robert Jameson, the Mar estate factor, who on major questions of policy was expected to consult the earl in being. Robert Bald continued his association in this way until about 1835, when he leased various collieries from the earl, whilst the lease of the Alloa Colliery was granted to a number of prominent business men in Alloa. Later Bald's lease passed to this group as well.

The Alloa Coal Company continued to develop, opening pits not only in Clackmannanshire. From time to time a pit was closed but such as remain open are now in the possession of the National Coal

Board.3

LANARKSHIRE

It is convenient to take two countermarks together. Davis records:

76. GLASGOW BANK + in a circle, within an inner circle value 5/-.

79. THISTLE BANK in a circle and, within an inner circle, the value 5/-. On the reverse a thistle in a circle.

80. The same as last but value 4/9.

3 John L. Carvel, One Hundred Years of Coal: The History of the Alloa Coal Company,

¹ M. Paul Bordeaux, "Counterfeit Spanish Piastres issued at Birmingham", Numismatic Circular, Sept.-Oct. 1915.

² New Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. viii.

- 81. The obverse the same as last; but the *thistle* countermark on the reverse *omitted*.
- 82. Similar but 4/6. In the Murdoch collection.

Davis notes that the London agents of the Glasgow Bank were Morland, Ransom & Co., 56 Pall Mall, and that those of the Thistle Bank were Smith, Payne & Co., George Street, Mansion House.

No. 76 is well known and occurs on dollars dated 1796, 1803, 1807, and 1810 (Pl. XXXV, 9). Cokayne had a dollar, dated 1807, which passed to Lingford, countermarked GLASGOW BANK around 4/9 within an inner dividing circle. No. 79 is known on dollars dated 1784, 1803, and 1807. No. 80 is known on dollars of 1781, 1790, 1792, 1794, 1796–8, and 1801 (Pl. XXXV, 10). The dollar of 1794 is false. No. 81 is very rare and, if Murdoch had a specimen of No. 82, it did

not appear at the sale of his collection.

Lord Kinnaird, because of connexions by marriage, was a partner in Morland, Ransom & Co., London bankers, mentioned above. At the beginning of the nineteenth century he and his friends set up a banking business in Dundee which, after some trouble, was so successful that it was decided to create a similar bank in Glasgow. Thus in 1809 Lord Kinnaird and fifteen other partners, including five from London, opened the Glasgow Bank with its office at the corner of Montrose Street and Ingram Street. The capital was £200,000 in forty shares. Henry Monteith, to be mentioned again later, became a partner in 1817. The Glasgow Bank was the last of the Scottish private banks to issue notes.

The Ship Bank had been founded in 1750 and was the first of the Scottish private banks to issue its own notes. In 1836 an agreement was made to amalgamate the two banks and thus the Glasgow & Ship Bank Company was formed. There were now twenty-eight partners and a capital of £600,000 in £100 shares of which 4,910 were paid up. The new bank opened offices at the corner of Virginia Street and Ingram Street "distinguished by its Grecian frontage, the pillars surmounted by statues representing Britannia: Glasgow: Wealth: Justice: Peace and Industry". In 1843 the Glasgow and Ship Bank amalgamated with the Glasgow Union Bank, formed in 1830, which

then moved its head office into the Grecian building.

The Thistle Bank was founded in 1761 by Sir William Maxwell, Bart., and James Ritchie & Co., there being six partners and a capital of £7,000. It seems to have been of an adventurous but successful character. Its efforts to extend its operations far beyond Glasgow caused some annoyance to other local banks. Agents sought the usual banker's business and advances were made in the bank's own notes which reached a wide circulation. This attracted the attention of forgers, who suffered the usual penalty when they were caught. William Herries was hanged in Ayr in 1768 and John Raybould in Edinburgh. The latter at the time of his arrest had put 450 one-pound notes into circulation and had nearly 10,000 in his possession. In

1836 the Thistle Bank was absorbed by the Glasgow Union Bank. It had been "generally regarded as a prosperous and wealthy corporation" but at the time of the amalgamation the surplus of assets over liabilities, excluding £5,000 for goodwill, was only £8,632 which included £5,100 for the Grecian building.

It will be seen that by 1843 the first and the last of the private issuers of notes were absorbed in the Glasgow Union Bank, which in that year changed its name to the Union Bank of Scotland, which in

its turn amalgamated with the Bank of Scotland in 1955.1

These banks were serious institutions and it is reasonable to assume that tokens would not have been issued without a decision by the managing partners, recorded in a minute, but Sir Robert Rait records a very large destruction of old documents in 1878 when the premises of the Union Bank of Scotland in Glasgow were reconstructed.

Davis gives a sentence from the *Statesman* of 18 September 1811: "All the country bankers have received permission to issue silver tokens for small change", but not much use seems to have been made of their authority. Dalton records only six cases of the issue of tokens by banks. The Dorsetshire, Wiltshire, and Shaftesbury Bank issued a number of tokens, one type of which bears the inscription Shaftesbury Bank licensed 14 march 1811, whilst a token from Flintshire has the inscription flintshire bank august 12 1811.²

Davis did not record the following countermark:

T & R ARTHUR GLASGOW around 5/-.

The first appearance of this countermark which I have noted is the specimen in the Lingford catalogue on a Mexico dollar of 1806, the mark having been obliterated by a lattice pattern. The coin was described as unpublished and probably unique but there exists another specimen on a Mexico dollar of 1810 with the countermark also overstruck with a lattice (Pl. XXXV, 11).

Mr. F. Pridmore informed me some years ago that Thomas and Robert Arthur were muslin-manufacturers at II John Street,

Glasgow.

A Thomas and a Robert Arthur, not connected, appear in the Glasgow directory for 1787. They were in partnership, as manufacturers, at the head of Candlerigs in 1799, moving to Brunswick Street in 1801 and to John Street in 1809, where they still were in 1821. They had disappeared in 1830.

Davis did not record the following countermark:

Rev. PAYABLE BY J. INGLIS 32 Trongate Glasgow.

Obv. Arms of GLASGOW.

The countermark seems to be known on only one coin, a dollar

¹ A. W. Kerr, History of Banking in Scotland, 1926; R. S. Rait, History of the Union Bank of Scotland, 1930.
² Dalton's Silver Token Coinage, Dorset 21, Flint 1.

struck in Guadalajara in 1814, which appeared in the Cokayne collection and passed to Lingford (P1. XXXVI, 12). The reverse countermark is largely obliterated by a lattice pattern. The catalogues remark that Mr. Cokayne had possessed an unobliterated specimen but it was stolen. It is very unusual to find the tradesman's mark on the reverse.

There is a record of John Ingles, in business as a linen-draper in 1787, in the "first shop next the laigh Church, Trongate No 24". His address was 24 Trongate in 1790 and southside Trongate in 1799; in business as a haberdasher and silk mercer. By 1805 he had moved to 32 Trongate and his name was spelt Inglis. He was still in the same business at this address in 1821 but had disappeared by 1830. In that year Peter Inglis, perhaps a relation, was a silk mercer, haberdasher, and woollen-draper at 63 Trongate House. In 1811 a Miss Inglis is given as a haberdasher and silk mercer at 28 Trongate but she had disappeared by 1817.

Renfrewshire

Davis records:

IOI. McFIE LINDSAY & COY * GREENOCK in a beaded circle and, in the centre, 4/6.

102. The same but S incuse, under the figure 4.

The date of the coin illustrated by Davis is 1816 and I have no further note of it, indeed, the only dates found in the catalogues are 1808 and 1818 on Mexico dollars, possibly two coins in circulation (Pl. XXXVI, 13). There is, however, a specimen on a dollar of 1800 minted in Lima in Mr. H. D. Gibbs's collections. I have no note of

McFie, Lindsay & Co. were wholesale grocers carrying on their business at 3 William Street, Greenock.

Davis did not record the following countermark:

McG & C. PAISLEY in a circle around 5/- in a circle.

The countermark seems first to have appeared on a dollar of Mexico dated 1797 at an auction sale in Amsterdam in 1949, the coin forming part of a small collection made in the mid-nineteenth century (Pl. XXXVI, 14).

McG & C. stands for McGavin and Clarkson, textile manufacturers in Sneddon Street, Paisley, in the early years of the nineteenth cen-

tury, certainly in 1812-13.1

Davis records:

105. S. D. & CO LEVERN • MILL • in a circle and, in the centre, 5/6.

106. The same, but with an additional countermark $s \cdot D$ in a small beaded circle; a puncheon mark over all to obliterate the value.

¹ Numismatic Circular, July 1949.

107. S. D. & CO LEVERN · MILL; same as No. 105 but the value 5.

I have no note of No. 105 with the value unobliterated. There was a specimen with the value only obliterated by puncheon marks on a Mexico dollar of 1804 in Cokayne which passed to Lingford, but it is not possible to say whether the original value was 5/6 or 5 (P1. XXXVI, 15). The specimen of No. 106 illustrated by Davis is on a dollar of 1808 and the almost total obliteration is a lattice pattern. There was a specimen in the Lingford collection, on a dollar of 1805, where the attempt to obliterate was only partially successful and the value 5/6 is still clear. I have only noted No. 107 on a Mexico dollar of 1801.

In 1780 Stewart Dunlop & Co. built the second cotton-spinning mill in Scotland at Dovecothall, Barrhead, on the banks of the River Levern. It was a three-story building and continued in operation until 1834 when it was much enlarged by the addition of a five-story mill, making together "an immense pile of building". By 1837 ownership was in the hands of James Dunlop & Sons where it certainly remained until 1867. Some change had taken place by 1874 when ownership is to be found in J. & M. Stewart and they are found again in 1907, still cotton manufacturers. The buildings continued in use until they were demolished in 1956.

Davis records:

108. A. GIBSON & CO. LOCHWINNOCH in a circle and, within an inner circle, the value 5/-. The countermark is found on coins of 1789, 1795-7, and 1800 from the Mexico mint (P1. XXXVI, 16).

Andrew Gibson & Co. of Lochwinnoch are variously described as grocers, weavers, millers, and linen manufacturers, and so would seem to have been a substantial firm.

The Scottish cotton mills, convenient to take as a group as already mentioned, are now considered and the countermarks are noted before some account is given of the persons involved in their issue and of the mills they built.

AYRSHIRE

Davis records:

- 55. CATRINE · COTTON · WORKS No. / in a circle; within an inner circle value 5/6.
- 56. CATRINE WORKS · No. / in an oval; in the centre the value 5/-.
- 57. CATRINE · COTTON · WORKS No. 3505 and value 4/9.

The only record I have of Nos. 55 and 56 are the coins in the possession of Mr. Howard D. Gibbs of Pittsburg. No. 55 is numbered 1811 and is on a Mexico dollar of 1799: No. 56 is numbered 471 and is on a Guatemala dollar of 1804. The countermark is circular, not

¹ New Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. vii.

oval. Mr. Gibbs also has a specimen of No. 57 numbered 4826 on a Mexico dollar dated 1791. The coin numbered 3505, mentioned by Davis, was in the Bliss collection on a Mexico dollar dated 1793 and is now in the Royal Scottish Museum. Another specimen numbered 2399 on a Mexico dollar dated 1797, which was in the Thellusson, Paget, and Lingford collections, is now in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland. There is another specimen numbered 2317 on a Mexico dollar dated 1785 (P1. XXXVI, 17). I do not know of any others.

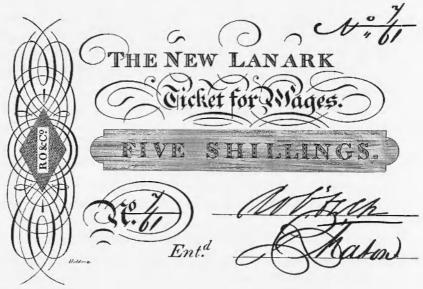
LANARKSHIRE

Davis records:

- 83. PAYABLE AT LANARK MILLS in a circle: and in the centre 5/-incuse.
- 84. Similar, but value 4/9 in large incuse figures.
- 85. PAYABLE AT LANARK MILLS * in a circle; and in the centre 4/6 incuse.
- 86. Similar, but with the additional countermark P on the right.

No. 83 has appeared more frequently than any other countermark and on a wide spread of seventeen dates from 1777 to 1818 inclusive (P1. XXXVI, 18). A variety reading LANAK for LANARK on a Mexico dollar dated 1818 was in the Cokayne and Lingford collections. There was a specimen of No. 84 in the Cokayne and Lingford collections on a Mexico dollar of 1790, and Mr. Gibbs has another dated 1888. I have no note of No. 85 as such, but there was a specimen in the Cokayne and Lingford collections, on a Mexico dollar of 1788, that had an additional countermark stated to be part of the arms of Amsterdam. No. 86 was in the Murdoch collection and I have no further note of it.

Through the kindness of Commander H. E. Semple, the Chairman of the Gourock Ropework Co. Ltd., the present owners of the Lanark Mill, I have learnt of the issue of paper notes. That illustrated shows, in three lines, THE NEW LANARK—Ticket for Wages (in script letters)— FIVE SHILLINGS. The notes were evidently printed for RO & CO. (Robert Owen & Co) in blank and on issue a serial number was added in writing and two signatures, one signature on the note illustrated being that of Robert Owen himself. A workman receiving such a wages ticket could perhaps exchange it for goods in the company's store, and such was not illegal since the first Truck Act was passed in 1831 and Robert Owen finally left New Lanark in 1827. On the other hand, the tickets may have been an authority to a cashier to exchange them for cash, certainly fragments of them were redeemed in cash. Commander Semple has preserved a book, in use in 1821, to the pages of which fragments of notes, showing much sign of wear, are pinned with a note of the amount paid for them, thus half a 5/- ticket was taken in for 2/6 or fragments making up three-quarters of a ticket for 3/9. The tickets would seem to have had something of the nature of a promissory note and therefore some suspicion of illegality, since the issue of promissory notes for amounts less than one pound was illegal after 54 Geo. III c. 4 came into force on 26 November 1813, whilst Robert Owen & Co. was founded in December in that year.



Davis did not record the following countermark:

BLANTYRE WORKS in a circle around 5/- in a circle.

The countermark exists on a dollar of Ferdinand VII, 1814, and is unusual in that the mark is low down over the date, which is nearly obliterated; the coin was struck at Guadalajara (P1. XXXVI, 19). It was exhibited by the late Mr. Duncan S. Napier at the Society's meeting held on 30 November 1929, and was sold with his collection in 1954. I have no note of any other specimen.

PERTHSHIRE

Davis records:

89. ADELPHI COTTON WORK in a circle and in the centre a woolsack, countermarked on a half écu of France.

The countermark is well known and is mentioned, although not on a dollar, as Adelphi Cotton Mill was a name of the Deanston Cotton Mill (Pl. XXXVI, 20).

93. DEANSTON COTTON MILL in a circle and in the centre 5/-.

The countermark is very rare. A specimen on a Mexico dollar dated 1795 passed through the Bliss, Cokayne, and Lingford collections (P1. XXXVI, 21). Lingford also had the mark on a Potosi dollar of 1795 already countermarked with the head of George III in an oval. It came from the Thellusson and Paget collections.

¹ British Numismatic Journal, vol. xx, p. 325.

STIRLINGSHIRE

Davis records, inadvertently under Elginshire:

71. BALLINDALLOCH in an outer circular legend and in an inner circular legend cotton works: in the centre a large 5/-.

The countermark is very rare. The Royal Scottish Museum has a specimen on a Lima dollar of 1799 which may have been in the Bliss collection. There is another specimen of this date on a dollar of the Mexico mint (P1. XXXVI, 22).

Some account of a few persons who were principally concerned with the establishment and development of these mills now follows.

David Dale was born in 1739 at Stewarton in Ayrshire and, after working as a herd boy, he was apprenticed to a Paisley weaver. Later he became a pedlar throughout the countryside, at the same time buying home-made linen from farmers' wives. After some service as a clerk to a silk weaver he set himself up as a draper in Glasgow in conjunction with Mrs. Mary Brown, a lady who had become very prosperous from her interests in cotton. In 1783 he took a step, which much assisted his rapid rise to wealth, by establishing the first works in Scotland, in conjunction with George Mackintosh of waterproof fabric fame and Monsieur Papillon, a Frenchman, for dyeing cotton to a shade known as Turkey Red. Possibly at about this time, he acquired the Rothesay Cotton Works.

In 1783 Richard Arkwright paid a visit from Cromford to Glasgow where he met Dale and James Finlay at a dinner given him by Glasgow notables. A few days afterwards Dale and Arkwright fixed the site for a cotton-spinning mill and the New Lanark Mill was built in 1784. In the following year, in partnership with James Monteith, the construction of a cotton mill at Blantyre Works began. Shortly after manufacture was established at New Lanark, about 1785, Dale went into partnership with Claud Alexander in building a cotton-spinning mill at Catrine.

Dale was a remarkable man, much given to practical philanthropy, deeply religious, founding his own kirk for the teaching of his own doctrine. He was his own minister for thirty-seven years, teaching himself Greek and Hebrew the better to perform his duty. He died in 1806

When in Glasgow in 1783 Arkwright had met Archibald Buchanan, a lad of 14, and was much struck by his appearance. He persuaded Buchanan's widowed mother to send the boy to Cromford to learn how to use the new machinery. The boy set off for Cromford by road driving a herd of cattle to give to Arkwright to pay for his board and lodging.

In an article in the "Inverness Courier" in 1843 or earlier, it was stated ". . . Mr. Archibald Buchanan (now manager of the Catrine Works, Ayrshire) was apprenticed to Sir Richard [Arkwright] and was the only one who had the privilege of living in the house with him.

Sir Richard was an old bachelor and was so intent on his schemes and calculations that young Buchanan and he often sat for weeks together, on opposite sides of the fire, without exchanging a syllable." This must be an exaggeration, since in 1783 Arkwright was not an "old bachelor" but a very vigorous business man, 51 years of age, who had been twice married. He gave very long hours to his affairs and, feeling the defects of early education, he "encroached upon his sleep to gain an hour each day to learn English grammar and another hour to improve his writing and orthography." He may have been tacitum in the evenings. After a year at Cromford Buchanan returned to Scotland to manage the Deanston Works, then owned by his brothers, and in 1798 he joined James Finlay & Co. to manage the mill at Ballindalloch. By 1807 he had become manager of Catrine.

Buchanan was a man of very inventive mind, introducing many improvements in the machinery for treating cotton. The great waterwheels he installed at Catrine developed 200 h.p. and were a wonder before the age of steam. He put gas lighting into the mills before it was used in the streets of London. He was a partner in James Finlay

& Co. from 1805 to 1839 and he died in 1841.

The foundations of the very important Glasgow firm, James Finlay & Co. Ltd., were laid more than 200 years ago by James Finlay. After his death in 1790 his younger son, Kirkman Finlay, born in 1772, played a great part in expanding the enterprise his father had founded. It suffices for the present purpose to note that he purchased Ballindalloch in 1798, Catrine in 1801, and Deanston in 1806. Apart from the application of his vigour to his business, he took part in public life, becoming a Member of Parliament and Lord Provost of

Robert Owen, whose name is well known in the social history of the country, was born in Newtown, Montgomeryshire, in 1771. He started his active life as a shop boy but after some years succeeded in obtaining the position of manager of a cotton mill in Chorlton, Lancashire. In 1794-5 the Chorlton Twist Company was formed in which Owen was a partner. His business took him to Glasgow to buy materials and on one visit he met Dale's eldest daughter, Anne Caroline, and there seems to have been mutual attraction. Hearing that Dale wished to sell New Lanark, Owen sought an interview but was regarded as a kind of youthful interloper. Dale was therefore surprised when Owen returned with his partners; after they had made a thorough examination of the property, a transaction, to be described later, was concluded and Owen entered, as he said, on the "government of New Lanark" in January 1800. As to Anne Caroline, in spite of great differences in religious outlook, Dale consented to a marriage with Owen which took place on 30 September 1799.

More will be heard of the work of these men in the separate accounts

² Dictionary of National Biography.

Glasgow. He died in 1842.

From an undated article in the Inverness Courier quoted in full in the New Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. x, 1844.

of the mills. They saw the Industrial Revolution in the cotton industry from the beginning, the establishment of the factory system, the elimination of the domestic cotton spinner and weaver, the migration from the Highlands to the neighbourhood of the Clyde, the application of mechanical power, the growth of housing around the places of work. They appreciated the human problems the new conditions created and realized the responsibilities placed upon them which each sought to discharge. Their efforts may not seem much, judged by the standards of our time, but they were considerable at the turn of the eighteenth–nineteenth centuries.

Some account of the mills with which these men were associated is

now given.

NEW LANARK

The site chosen by Dale and Arkwright in 1783 was on the Braxfield estate a little below the Corra Linn Falls on the Clyde. The two men entered into a partnership, Dale providing the capital and Arkwright the permission to use his mechanical methods. The mill began to work in 1785, was the largest in the world at the time and was so successful that a second mill was built. But when this was nearing completion in 1788, the first mill was destroyed by fire. Reconstruction started at once and it is an indication of Dale's character that he paid the workpeople, who had lost their employment by the fire, their full wages until the mill had been restored.

One day, after the reconstruction, Arkwright visited the site with Dale and, on his taking exception to the position of the belfry, a quarrel ensued with the result that the partnership was terminated

the same evening.

Dale built houses for his workpeople and took great interest in their welfare. The employment of children in mills was prevalent and Dalebrought 400 into New Lanark from the poor law institutions in Edinburgh and Glasgow. They were housed in a special boarding house, fed, clothed, and educated at Dale's expense, and by the time the mills had been working for six years, ten schoolmasters were employed to teach the children. It was not very successful and Dale himself admitted that not more than 10 per cent. of the children could read and write. It could scarcely have been otherwise with children, trying to learn from 7 to 9 p.m. after working in the mills from 6 a.m. to 7 p.m. with one half-hour for breakfast and one hour for dinner. To relieve poverty in the Hebrides, Dale brought 200 workers from Barra to New Lanark. When the price of corn rose to a great height near the end of the century, Dale chartered his own ships to bring in corn to sell at cost price.

Towards 1800 Dale had reached an age when he found the coach journey from Glasgow to New Lanark rather trying, and he was not satisfied with the management of the mill by his half-brother, James Dale, and William Kelly already mentioned in connexion with the mill in Rothesay. He was thus in a frame of mind to dispose of the

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undertaking although he did not at first, as already stated, take kindly to Robert Owen as a buyer. Owen's partners were Messrs. Borrowdale & Atkinson of London and Messrs. Bartons of Manchester, finally found by Dale to be acceptable, and the property passed to them in 1799. The New Lanark Twist Company was formed to own the property. Owen, after his marriage with Miss Dale, returned to Manchester, but, the new proprietors becoming dissatisfied with the management, Owen returned to be resident manager of New Lanark

from the beginning of 1800. After an examination of the position Owen dismissed the managers, arranged for new machinery, decided no more children should be received, improved the housing of the workpeople and made many changes in their favour. These changes were not, generally speaking, well received, partly because of some interference with individual liberty but also because the workers had a suspicion that what appeared to be good for them was better for Owen, who made no secret of the fact that he wished the capital employed to be adequately remunerated. Owen, however, finally received the confidence of his workpeople in 1806, when the United States, for four months, placed an embargo on the export of raw cotton to the United Kingdom. The mills were closed for the period but Owen paid everyone full wages to maintain the machinery in good order at a cost of £7,000 to his Company. Owen's methods and proposed methods brought him into conflict with his partners and he, declining to change his ideas, offered to sell his interest, or to buy their interest, for £84,000. They accepted to sell and Owen found new partners in Mr. Campbell, a relation of Mrs. Owen, Campbell's sons-in-law, and Mr. Atkinson, one of Owen's old partners. Feeling he was now free to develop his ideas, Owen quickly found himself in conflict with his new partners, who were even more difficult than the old. They ultimately decided to dissolve the partnership and to secure the possession of the mills for themselves by getting rid of Owen. He therefore yet again found new partners, amongst philanthropic people, in Jeremy Bentham, Michael Gibbs, afterwards Lord Mayor of London, and four Quakers, one of whom was John Walker. The properties were put up to auction in December 1813 and bought by Owen's partnership for £114,100. The new partnership, Robert Owen & Co., had a capital of £130,000 in which Owen held £50,000.

Owen paid great attention to the education of the mill children and his methods came in for much criticism, so much so that in 1824 his partners intervened; the teaching of dancing and singing, except the singing of psalms, was suppressed, the wearing of the kilt by any boy over six years of age was prohibited. This was too much for Owen, who resigned from his position as manager and finally left in 1827. The mills had been a financial success as, after paying 5 per cent. on the capital, over £200,000 additional profit had been made. Owen retired with a considerable fortune and left behind him an establishment and an experiment which had attracted so much public atten-

tion that 20,000 persons from home and abroad had visited New

Lanark between 1815 and 1825.

In 1830 the mills were still in possession of the New Lanark Twist Co. with Walker & Co. maintaining a yarn warehouse in Glasgow, but by 1840 the whole business was in the hands of Walker & Co. and so continued until 1880. In 1881 Mr. Henry Birkmyre, a member of the family which controlled, and still controls, the Gourock Ropework Co. Ltd., and Mr. R. G. Somerville, then Provost of Port Glasgow, became part-owners of the Lanark mills. The name Lanark Spinning Company is to be found from 1884 to 1900, and in 1903 the undertaking became a wholly-owned subsidiary of the Gourock Ropework Co. and so it remains.¹

BLANTYRE

In 1785 Dale began his second enterprise, in partnership with James Monteith, on the same lines as New Lanark, viz. the water-power of the Clyde, a village for the workpeople, and a cotton-spinning mill, with the same interest in the welfare of the workers. The site chosen was on the left bank of the river below Lanark, about seven miles from Glasgow. A second mill was added in 1791. In 1792 Dale sold his interest to Monteith and retired from the business. The events on the Continent in 1793 had a disastrous effect on Blantyre and other spinning-mills as cotton yarn became unsaleable and Monteith, fearing utter ruin, appealed to Dale to rescind the contract of sale. Dale absolutely refused. Perhaps he had a strict belief in the sanctity of contract or perhaps he had a shrewder idea of Monteith's character than had Monteith himself. In any case, Monteith had his yarn woven into cloth which he sent to London to be sold by auction and, so advantageous was the market, in five years he made a fortune of £80,000. In 1795 a Turkey-red dyeing plant was added.

Before Dale sold out to Monteith, with his usual interest in men from the north of Scotland he brought in a number in 1792, including the grandfather of David Livingstone, from Ulva in the Hebrides. David was born in the village of Blantyre Works in 1813, went into the mills at the age of 10 as a piecer, and became a spinner when he was 19 and so remained for a few years, until he departed to obtain his training for the life which is known so well. It is recorded of him, "he contrived to read in the factory by placing his book on the spinning jenny, so that he could catch sentences as he passed at his

work.''2

James Monteith died in 1802 and the undertaking passed into the possession of Henry Monteith & Co., Henry being a younger brother of James who has already been noted as a partner in the Glasgow Bank. A weaving factory was added in 1813.

¹ Much information was obtained from Alex Cullen, *Adventures in Socialism, New Lanark Establishment and Orbiston Community*, 1910, and from the Gourock Ropework Co. Ltd.

² Dictionary of National Biography.

There is a record written in 1885, the centenary of the foundation of the mill: "The mills have been a great blessing to the parish, giving the many families, generation after generation, for the last 100 years, comfortable means of subsistence and although all the works are not now in possession of the same firm, Messrs. Monteith & Co. having transferred the weaving factory to others and retaining the dye works to themselves, yet the mills present the same busy scene giving employment to hundreds."

Henry Monteith & Co. are to be found at Blantyre in the directories down to 1850, with a yarn warehouse in Glasgow. By 1860 they are only described as dyers, although their Glasgow premises continued as the warehouse for Blantyre yarn. It is possible that those who took over the mill adopted the name Blantyre Weaving Company which can be found in 1884. Both activities, dyeing and weaving, came to an end at a time I do not know, for it was recorded in 1928 that the village of Low Blantyre was gradually falling into decay.² A guide book of 1949 states that the tenement in which David Livingstone was born and the adjoining houses had been restored as a National Monument.3

ADELPHI/DEANSTON

The information relating to this mill is conflicting but the main events are clear.

In 1785 John Buchanan, one of the Buchanans of Carston and a brother of Archibald, decided to build a cotton-spinning factory in the parish of Kilmadock in Perthshire to take advantage of the waterpower of the River Teith, and Archibald was recalled from Cromford to act as manager. There was great difficulty in maintaining a satisfactory labour force, although the surrounding country was agricultural and the land poor. The workers on the land were attracted by the higher wages obtainable in industry, but confinement in a factory, the noise of machinery, and the discipline necessary for efficient production were foreign to their experience. The enterprise became financially embarrassed and an advertisement appeared in the London Sun of 10 January 1794 announcing the sale of cotton mills in Deanstoun "commonly called Adelphi", "all belonging to the sequestered estate of James and Archibald Buchanan & Co." It would seem that James Buchanan had taken the place of his brother John and that the partnership was in grave difficulties.

A fire at the works is recorded in the European Magazine for December 1794 and the owners are given as Joseph, Samuel, and William Twigg, but I do not know who they were. The evidence seems to show that the purchaser of the works at the advertised sale was Benjamin Flounders, a Quaker from Yorkshire, who struggled with the problems for about twelve years. He gave way to a Mr. Glen, who, after a short spell, retired a poorer man, and in 1806 the works were bought by

¹ Rev. Stewart Wright, Annals of Blantyre, 1888. ² Kelly's Directory for Scotland, 1928.

³ Blue Guide to Scotland, 1949.

Kirkman Finlay, who appointed James Smith, a nephew of Archibald Buchanan, as manager. He was a young man of great mechanical ability, who began the reorganization of the mill, a task which took him until 1820 and included the building of a new village of Deanston. After 1820 expansion started, the Teith was confined by embankment walls, a dam was constructed, and in 1830 there was a ceremonial opening of two great water-wheels, which was attended by Archibald Buchanan who received a great ovation.

After the death of Kirkman Finlay in 1842 an attempt was made in 1844 to dispose of the mills, but, no acceptable offer being received, they have remained in the possession of James Finlay & Co., meeting all the various difficulties of the following one hundred years. In

1949 the foundation stone was laid of an entirely new mill.

Ballindalloch

In 1780 Robert Dunmore, Laird of Ballindalloch, established a calico works on his property but it was not a success. In 1789, in partnership with the Buchanans, he built the Ballindalloch Works at Balfron which were more successful. It is said to have been the first mill in Scotland worked entirely by women. In 1798 the works were purchased by Kirkman Finlay, and Archibald Buchanan left Deanston to become manager and to join James Finlay & Co. Ltd., with whom he passed the rest of his working life.

Like Deanston, the mill was offered for sale in 1844, this time with success although the purchase price was nominal. The buyers were Robert Jeffreys & Sons and the mills continued in operation until 1893, possession passing at some time to H. W. Pottock & Co. The mill building was purchased by Sir Archibald Orr-Ewing in 1898 and

demolished.

CATRINE

Claude Alexander served for years in India and whilst he was there the estate of Ballochmyle in Ayrshire was acquired for him. He returned home in 1786 and, desiring some outlet in industry, he decided to construct a cotton-spinning mill at Catrine, using the water of the River Ayr. David Dale, who had started New Lanark in 1785, became his partner. There was nothing at Catrine except a corn mill and a smithy, and a village had to be built for the workers. A second mill was built in 1790, and in 1793 the village population had reached I,000.

Alexander regarded himself as very much the father of his flock and took great interest in their well-being. Alarmed at the consumption of whisky, he built a brewery and was satisfied to find that the malt liquor he produced largely replaced the beverage he disliked.

In 1801 the enterprise was purchased by Kirkman Finlay and shortly afterwards Archibald Buchanan was brought from Ballindalloch to be resident manager. Here he had full scope for his mechanical genius and his great wheels have already been mentioned.

With the introduction of mechanical weaving there was a revolt by the old hand-loom weavers, working in their own homes, who preferred such life to higher wages and better conditions in a factory. In 1812 military protection for the mill was suggested and at Deanston there was an actual attempt to wreck the machines, but the resistance

passed.

In 1841 Archibald Buchanan died and, as in previous cases, on the death of Kirkman Finlay in 1842 Catrine was offered for sale in 1844 but without result, and the mills have continued in the possession of James Finlay & Co. Ltd. On 8 December 1945 the foundation stone of an entirely new mill was laid, a great day for Catrine, but the following day was one of mixed feelings, for there began the demolition of Archibald Buchanan's great wheels.¹

The following countermark is not strictly within the scope of this paper since it does not appear on a Spanish dollar, but it is included because the issuer had a point of view, much in common with those who developed the cotton industry in Scotland, and also an association with Robert Owen.

LANARKSHIRE

Davis records:

- 73. PAYABLE AT DALZELL FARM * in a circle; in the centre 5/-, countermarked on the reverse of a five-franc piece of the French Republic.
- 74. Similar to last but no value expressed.
- 75. Similar to last but DALZELL FARM only.

A coin, owned by Davis, with a description similar to No. 73, was sold by auction in 1901 but I have no other note of such a specimen. Perhaps it is possible to mistake the "5" in "5 Francs" in the original impression as part of the countermark. I have no note of No. 75. The countermark occurs on 5-franc pieces of the First Republic and

on those of Napoleon I (P1. XXXVI, 23).

Archibald James Hamilton, son and heir of General John Hamilton of Dalzell and Orbiston, was born in 1793 and, when 18 years of age, received a lieutenancy in the 4th Dragoons. He served in Portugal, Spain, and France in 1812–14, returning to Dalzell after the surrender of Paris. In the spring of 1815 he was ordered to Belgium, whence he returned to Dalzell on sick leave in 1816 and retired from the Army. He was rewarded with only half-pay, which was ungenerous treatment for one who had been through the Peninsular War with Wellington and had ridden with the Royal Scots Greys at Waterloo.

Whilst in Belgium he had been impressed by the Belgian system of

¹ The section on the cotton mills owes much to James Finlay & Company Limited, Manufacturers and East India Merchants 1750-1950, published privately in 1951, of which a copy was kindly given to me by Mr. William Marr when he was Chairman of the Company.

farming, which he studied closely, and he applied his new knowledge with success on the estates at Dalzell. He first met Robert Owen at dinner in Dalzell House in 1816, when he was given a long explanation of Owen's views which greatly impressed him. At this time there was much unemployment in the neighbourhood and Hamilton provided work in digging, trenching, and forming embankments along the River Clyde. Hamilton would have had the opportunity to collect French 5-franc pieces during the war and it is possible they were countermarked for use in connexion with this work, men engaged in scattered labour in the open receiving tokens from the foreman which could be exchanged at the farm.

Hamilton also started a cottage system. Pieces of land were let on long leases on which cottages were built with space for raising food-crops and for keeping a cow. The tenants were mainly weavers and the system was not a success, for they possessed neither the physical strength nor the appropriate clothes for outdoor work. With Abram Combe he started a much larger scheme called the Orbiston Community to apply the principles of Owen, as he had applied them at

New Lanark, but it, unfortunately, also failed.

Hamilton, whose health never fully recovered from the stress of campaigning, died young in 1834. He married in 1819 and the Barony of Hamilton of Dalzell was created in favour of his son in 1886 and

the dignity is held by his great-grandson today.¹

Such is the information I have been able to gather about some of the issuers of these interesting tokens. The absence in this paper of a copy of any contemporary reference to any of them is unsatisfactory, but to determine whether such exist requires an examination of the newspapers of the time which I have been unable to make. Perhaps, at some time, someone will follow this line of inquiry, and the question will be what period to cover. It must certainly be longer than the period of the manufactured silver tokens, covered by Dalton, dated mainly 1811 and 1812. The countermarks of CARK and ROTHSAY require that 1787 and 1820 be included, and possibly an examination of the whole of the intermediate period would be profitable. The early established and vigorous Scottish cotton mills would have required metallic money not long after their foundation. New Lanark started in 1785 and by 1791 the village had a population of 2,000 souls, deriving livelihood from works containing 30,000 spindles. The LANARK countermark is found on Spanish dollars dated from 1777 to 1818, mainly between 1792 and 1808, which must mean issues of tokens long before the Dalton period.

I had wondered whether some approximate dating of the application of a countermark could be deduced from a comparison of the value included in the countermark and the price of bullion silver. I have reached no useful conclusion but the data may be worth recording.

In the case of the Dalton type of token the value of the silver in the

¹ Alex Cullen, Adventures in Socialism, New Lanark Establishment and Orbiston Community, 1910.

coin was substantially less than the value, if any, inscribed on the coin, but in the case of the countermarked dollars it may be that there was a desire that the value in the countermark should correspond in some real way with the price of silver. Through the kindness of Mr. G. O. Randle, the Librarian of the Bank of England, I had access to leaflets or sheets, published every Tuesday and Friday by Edward Wetenhall and later by James Wetenhall, stockbrokers, of 8 Capel Court, Bartholomew Lane, London. These leaflets gave bullion prices and for silver, not only in bars but as dollars described as "pieces of eight, Mexico" in earlier years and as "new dollars" in the later. The prices are for the ounce standard. The CARK countermark is for 5/-, the average price of dollars in 1787 was a fraction higher than $5/1\frac{1}{2}$ per ounce. The ROTHSAY countermark is for 4/6and the average price of dollars in 1820 was a fraction less than 4/II per ounce. A good Spanish dollar weighed about 415 grains or 86.5 per cent. of the Troy ounce, hence at the above bullion prices the silver in the dollars was worth 4/5 and 4/3 respectively. The issuer had a few pence per token to cover the loss of interest on the investment in the bullion and the cost of applying the countermark, and there is an indication of a desire to give a reasonable real value to the tokens,

An examination of 50 countermarks on Spanish dollars in the Lingford collection shows that in 13 cases the value was 4/6, in 6 cases 4/9, in 25 cases 5/-, in 3 cases 5/3, and in 3 cases 5/6. These countermarks include those considered in this paper. The corresponding prices, per onuce standard, for dollars in bulk are, respectively, $5/2\frac{1}{2}$, 5/6, $5/9\frac{1}{4}$, $6/0\frac{3}{4}$, and $6/4\frac{1}{4}$. The 13 dollars with the value 4/6 are all dated later than 1800 except 2. The value 4/9 is on dollars dated before 1800 except 1. Of the dollars bearing the value 5/-, 13 are dated before 1800 and 12 from 1800 onwards. One of the 3 bearing the value 5/3 is dated before 1800 and all the dollars bearing the value 5/6 are dated after 1800. I have been unable to find a continuous linkage between these figures and the price of dollars as bullion during the period

I could also find no help in the numbered tokens of CATRINE given below.

Number in countermark	Value in countermark	Date of dollar
471	5/-	1804
1,811	5/6	1799
2,317	4/9	1785
2,399	4/9	1797
3,505	4/9	1793
4,826	4/9	1791

It is clear the issuer did not have one series of numbers for all the tokens since in that case issue would have started at some time after 1800. Catrine went into operation within a year or two of New Lanark and was just as vigorous an establishment. The need for money would have been just as pressing and the eighteenth-century dates on the dollars suggest an issue before 1800. There must have been a series of numbers for each value, and the total issue was measured in thousands of coins of which I have only note of the survivors given above.

The legislation relating to the manufacture and issue of tokens requires some brief mention. The hesitations and delays of the authorities in dealing with the shortage of metallic currency at the time are well known, but at last Parliament intervened. On 24 July 1812 the Royal Assent was given to "An Act to prevent the issuing and circulating of Pieces of Gold and Silver or other metal, usually called Tokens, except such as are issued by the Banks of England and Ireland" (52 Geo. III c. 127). It provided that no new issue of tokens was to take place after the date of the passing of the Act and that tokens already in circulation were to cease to circulate by 25 March 1813 except for presentation to the original issuer for redemption. The penalty for non-compliance with the Act was £5 to £20 per token at the discretion of the justices.

On 23 March 1813, very close to the closing date, Parliament passed an amending Act (53 George III c. 19), extending the circulation time to 5 July 1813 but making it clear that the prohibition on the making and original issue of a new token was maintained. Again there was postponement and, belatedly, the Royal Assent was given on 10 July 1813 to an Act (53 George III c. 114) which extended the circulation time to an indefinite date, viz. "from and after six weeks from the commencement of the next Session of Parliament". The penalties were reduced to £5 to £10 per token at the discretion of the justices. It would seem that some of those who had presented tokens for redemption had found themselves unwelcome, for this Act affirmed the existing law that issuers of tokens, their executors and administrators, were liable to redeem on demand and that the value of a token could be recovered by the holder by action in the courts.

The next session of Parliament began on 4 November 1813 and on the twenty-sixth day of that month the Royal Assent was given to an Act (54 Geo. III c. 4) which again extended the circulation time to six weeks after the beginning of the next session. It repeated the affirmation of the law relating to redemption and, in addition to the previous Acts, prohibited the issue of promissory notes for sums less than twenty shillings. The next session of Parliament began on 8 November 1814 and, no further relevant Act being passed, the circulation

of tokens became finally illegal on 20 December 1814.

From the date of the first Act, viz. 24 July 1812, no token should have been "made or manufactured or originally issued". The original issue, in 1813, for example, of a dollar dated 1799 bearing a countermark already in use would have been difficult to detect, but there are cases of countermarks on dollars minted after 1812: NEW LANARK, for example, so much in the public eye at the time, on a dollar dated 1818 and ROTHSAY with countermark dated 1820 on a dollar of the same year. Was this a gesture of bold defiance from a charming Buteshire resort? Perhaps it can be argued that the legislation did not apply to the countermarked dollars. The preamble of the first

Act applies the Act, it may be not exclusively, to tokens "for nominal sums of money usually expressed thereon much above the real value of the metals of which the same are composed." The values on countermarked dollars did bear some reasonable relationship to the value of the metal content. Further, the dollars were "made or manufactured" in some distant South American mint. Was the simple application of a countermark an act of making or manufacturing? In any case the rarity of the countermarked dollars today must mean that the right of redemption was freely used. The specimens met with the countermark wholly or partly obliterated were, presumably, redeemed and suitably treated to prevent a second redemption.

This paper would never have been written without the kindly help of many people, some of whom are mentioned, and to all of whom I am very grateful. Archivists, librarians, museum curators, and local government officials, in and out of London, did all they could to furnish information. I owe especial thanks to those managing companies who are successors to the businesses of certain issuers mentioned in

the text.

After this paper was completed, set up, and the proofs corrected particulars of another numbered dollar of the CATRINE COTTON WORKS were published. In Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin of June 1958 there is a note:

"Sc. 800 Scottish Countermarked Dollar. *Mexico City* 8 reales of Charles IV of Spain, 1796, countermarked CATRINE · COTTON · WORKS No. 762-419 Davis 57."

It is a further indication that there was not one series of numbers.



COUNTERMARKED SPANISH DOLLARS



COUNTER-MARKED SPANISH DOLLARS, ETC.

MISCELLANEA

A SOUTH ITALIAN IMITATION OF AN ANGLO-SAXON PENNY

Our of the wreckage of the Byzantine and Lombard dominions in Italy arose in the course of the ninth and tenth centuries a group of duchies that were to give rise to opulent city states in the Middle Ages.



FIG. 2

FIG. 3

FIG. 4

Usually these states imitated Byzantine coinage (Figs. 1-2) and it is remarkable to note the few examples of an Italian state copying the design of an Anglo-Saxon penny. 1

The following copper half-follaro of Gaeta² whose derivation from the English series has hitherto remained unrecognized, is known from

two specimens, one in the British Museum (Fig. 3):

MARINO CONS ET DVX. Diademed draped bust to left. IOH(AME)S COMS ET DVX. Cross within quatrefoil.

The head of the state of Gaeta bore the title Consul et Dux from about 960, and Marino and Giovanni his son held this rank together between 978 and 984. The Saxon prototype appears to be the obverse of either the last type of Edgar, or Edward the Martyr (Fig. 4), or the first type of Æthelræd II, i.e. with a maximum date range of c. 973 to c. 979.3 We are already familiar with the conception of the presence of Anglo-Saxon coins in Rome. Clearly their influence—and that almost contemporary with their issue—extended further south and to a date even later than Mr. Blunt has already demonstrated.

J. P. C. KENT

¹ C. E. Blunt, "Four Italian coins imitating Anglo-Saxon types", B.N.J. 1945-8, p. 282. ² G. Sambon, Repertorio generale delle monete coniate in Italia, Paris, 1912, p. 45;

A. Sambon, Recueil des monnaies medievales du Sud de l'Italie, Paris, 1919, pp. 87-89.

3 Dating kindly supplied by my colleague Mr. R. H. M. Dolley, who with Dr. G. Hatz of Hamburg is preparing a study of a group of mid-tenth-century imitations of Anglo-Saxon coins from Switzerland.

THE FIND-SPOT OF THE "WAR AREA" HOARD OF PENCE OF WILLIAM I

In the Inventory of British Coin Hoards Mr. J. D. A. Thompson has included a hoard (no. 323) from Scaldwell in Northamptonshire. The authority cited is a passage in a paper by the late W. C. Wells which appeared in the British Numismatic Journal for 1923-4. Mr. Thompson says that the find consisted of "250 Anglo-Saxon and Norman pennies and cut halfpennies", but no indication is given of the approximate date of discovery. If, however, we refer back to Wells's original account we find that in fact no Anglo-Saxon coins whatever are mentioned and the context is the Northampton mint specifically during the reign of William I and/or II. We are also told that "the major portion of the find consists of about 260 pennies and cut halfpennies, all of which, with one exception, were of one type". Wells also says that 39 mints were represented in the hoard, that the London coins numbered 50 or more, and that the hoard had been found "a few years ago", a phrase which must surely preclude any date substantially earlier than the outbreak of the First World War. Wells adds that "there is very little doubt that this portion of the hoard contained no fewer than 60 coins by the moneyer Sæwine of Hamtun, i.e. Northampton" and says that the hoard also included "a high percentage" of coins of the Stamford mint.

A hoard not mentioned by Thompson is the "War Area" find which was described by Mr. Raymond Carlyon-Britton in the British Numismatic Journal for 1916. Doubtless Thompson was misled into supposing that the "War Area" hoard might have come from Flanders. In fact, however, the composition of the hoard shows that it is an English find, and there can be little doubt but that whoever thought up the ingenious "War Area" label hoped that respect for military security would dissuade the authorities from setting in motion the preliminaries of a treasure-trove inquest. In the event the hope was more than justified, and, while there must have been many numismatists, Brooke included, who suspected an English provenance, nobody appears to have been willing to press for an inquiry at such a time of national crisis.

The suggestion of the present writer is that the Scaldwell and "War Area" hoards are one and the same. On closer examination there are coincidences between the two accounts that drive one remorselessly to this conclusion, and which cannot well be accidental. As we have seen, the Scaldwell hoard, or rather the portion which came to the notice of Wells, consisted of about 260 pence and cut halfpence, while the "War Area" hoard was reported to contain "264 silver pennies", a small number of cut halfpence being included in that total. In both cases "with but one exception" the coins are all of one type, and in both cases 39 mints are represented. That the "War Area" coins are of the "two stars" type of William I is consistent with the context in which Wells mentions the Scaldwell find. Again, the "War Area"

hoard was found in the autumn of 1914 which agrees well with Wells's statement that the Scaldwell find had been made "a few years" before the appearance of his 1922 paper. Finally there is Carlyon-Britton's comment that he had attributed the Hamtun coins "to the Northampton Mint, rather than to the Southampton, upon grounds which I hope to be able to publish at a later date". This seems to suggest that he had some reason to suspect that the coins did not, in fact, come from Flanders, but were possibly from the Midlands. There are, however, three apparent discrepancies, though these present no real difficulty when once one realizes that Carlyon-Britton has described no

more than 168 coins out of an alleged total of 264.

The first seeming discrepancy is contained in Wells's suggestion that originally the "major part" of the hoard contained no fewer than 60 coins of the Northampton moneyer Sæwine, whereas Carlyon-Britton describes no more than 14. Nor is it easy at first sight to reconcile Wells's "substantial percentage" of Stamford coins with the two examples listed by Carlyon-Britton, while the third inconsistency, admittedly trifling beside the foregoing, is that in the account of the "War Area" hoard no more than 46 London coins are described as against the 50+ alleged to be in Scaldwell. Carlyon-Britton heads his description of the hoard: "The following is a complete list of the coins" and hereafter lists 168 coins as compared with the 264 he had mentioned on the preceding page. No die-duplicates are listed and it seems likely that he did not record them separately and that this accounts for the apparent discrepancies mentioned above. That in Mr. Wells's cabinet there were only three pennies and two cut halfpennies of Class V of Sæwine of Northampton and five coins of Stamford of the same type, may well suggest that a feature of the hoard was a long run of die-duplicates of the former mint in particular.

Collation then of the accounts of the Scaldwell and "War Area" finds leads one to the inescapable conclusion that they are one and the same hoard. In all the circumstances, too, it is fortunate that after the lapse of more than forty years we should be in a position to reconstruct substantially the whole of a hoard which is quite critical for the problem of whether or not there was a Norman mint at Southampton. It only remains for the writer to express his obligations to Mr. A. H. F. Baldwin who has been kind enough to read this note in typescript, and who has confirmed the correctness of some of its deductions by volunteering the information that he has reason to believe that the "War Area" find was from a Northampton churchyard (cf. Drabble Catalogue, lot 584). In this connexion it may be remarked that the published account describes the discovery as having been made "only a few feet outside the present boundary wall of a churchyard of con-

siderable antiquity".

R. H. M. Dolley

AN UNPUBLISHED PENNY OF HENRY I

A COIN of B.M.C. type 4 in Mr. Raymond Carlyon-Britton's collection is to be read as under:

Rev. +EOLBRANDONEISI

Unpublished Moneyer for the reign. Attributed by the writer to Chichester.

The great rarity of this type may be judged by the fact that there are only four of it in the British Museum and that there was only one (Lot 1052) in the Lockett collection. The total number of specimens in existence is unlikely to exceed a dozen, if, indeed, as many.

The appearance of a new specimen and one with such an intriguing reading as the above (a reading unknown to the late W. J. Andrew who made such a specialized study of the reign) is therefore of major significance and the Society is indebted to Mr. Carlyon-Britton for having given me permission to exhibit his coin at a recent Meeting and to publish it here.

As to its attribution to Chichester it is clear that I do not share the doubts expressed by Mr. King on page 536 of this volume of the

Journal.

The reading of the inscription is unequivocal and had this been an early *eleventh* century coin instead of an early *twelfth* century one, the Chichester attribution would not have been open to question.

Doubts only arise because in the intervening eighty or so years the mint name had changed from <code>CISECASTRE</code> to <code>CICESTRE</code> and is retained in this latter form for the rest of this reign. This is in fact the only known instance of <code>S</code> for <code>C</code> as the third letter since the end of the reign of Canute.

However, having regard to the very many novel features of this reign and also to the extreme rarity of all the early types I am bound to say that I see nothing particularly surprising to find here on one coin a combination of (I) an unusual form of the mint signature, and

(2) the name of an unpublished moneyer.

A study of the mint signatures throughout the reign reveals that 1100 to 1135 is a period when there is a reversion to early forms as well as being one of transition to new names and spellings.

The following examples may be quoted:

Early forms

- I. York is unknown in B.M.C. types I to 6 but in types 7 and 9 the mint name reads EBO and EBOR respectively. In type I4 it has reverted to the traditional Norman EVER.
- 2. Not perhaps very significant, but in types 8 to 13 Wallingford reverts to the Saxon spelling of E for A and in type 14 onwards goes back to PAL.

Exceptional forms

I. In type 4 (the type of the coin under review) Gloucester is GLOPA

(B.M.C. 31), a form which seems to be transitional between the Saxon GLEPE and the Norman GLOECE.

2. In type 14 the normal LEP and a very exceptional LAPA both occur at Lewes.

New forms

- 1. The Saxon LEGC (type 3) is superseded by CESTRE in type 14 at Chester.
- 2. The Saxon GIFEL for *Ilchester* is superseded by the Norman IVELCE in type 10.
- 3. The mint name NICOLE for Lincoln first appears in type 14, is continued in type 15, and reverts to LINCOL early in the next reign.
- 4. In type 14 the earlier DVNE for Durham becomes DVRHAM.
- 5. In type 14 NORHAM supersedes HAMTV for Northampton.

(N.B. Owing to the disappearance of the Saxon \mathfrak{d} in type 5 new spellings now occur for Southwark, Sudbury, and Thetford readings.)

In the absence of corroborative evidence from another specimen nothing is provable but in the light of the foregoing and, in particular, of the evidence of York, where a reversion to EBOR after something like 200 years seems to afford a most striking parallel, I certainly regard the attribution to Chichester as being far preferable to either of the only two possible alternatives.

These are either a new mint altogether or a blundered form of a

known one, possibly Chester.

In my opinion the former may be ruled out as being quite improbable. The latter has to be considered because the name of this moneyer Colbrand, which is of very infrequent occurrence and is otherwise unknown at Chichester, does occur at Chester late in the reign of Edward the Confessor, and instances are known of the same name reappearing at the same mint after a lapse of many years and it has been suggested to me that EISI could be a mis-spelling for EESI.

Only one coin of Chester is known of this period, a coin of type 3 in the late Mr. R. C. Lockett's collection on which the mint signature reads the traditional LEGE so that EISI seems to be even more improbable for Chester in type 4 because in addition to a reversion to CEST (which incidentally prior to this only occurs on one die of William I, type 8) it is also necessary to import the mis-spelling of I for E into the inscription. Also the final I could be the start of an E for LISE but not half a T for CEST.

Two moneyers are known to have been working at Chichester in this reign, viz. Brand and Godwine. Brand is known in types 6, 7, 10, 12, 13, and 14, and Godwine (the later of the two) in types 12, 13, and 14 as well as in Stephen's first type.

Hitherto no coins of Chichester have been recorded between William II, type 5 and Henry I, type 6 but that does not imply that the mint was inactive. I have not made a mint-by-mint analysis of these early types of Henry I (nor, I think, would this serve any real purpose) but their extreme rarity may be judged by the fact that of types I to I2 (inclusive) there are only two specimens recorded in B.M.C. for Chester, and only three for York. In no conceivable circumstances can these figures bear any relationship to the actual output.

It is possible that there may be some inter-connexion between the names Colbrand and Brand but this is not a matter on which I am

qualified to speak.

The name is otherwise unknown until it occurs at Stafford early in the reign of Henry II. Is it particularly surprising that it should appear at Chichester in this one type? Here one has to consider the extreme rarity of the type and that it is probably no exaggeration to say that any new specimen of it will bring to light a new moneyer. A striking instance of this recently occurred in type 8 (see R. H. M. Dolley, B.M.Q. 1953, p. 55, and pl. xv. 14) which brought to light an entirely new moneyer for Wallingford.

F. ELMORE JONES

AN INTERESTING NEW VARIETY OF THE LATE THIRTEENTH-CENTURY STERLING OF NAMUR

Those who have had occasion to work on English hoards from the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries will be only too familiar with the numerous imitations of the Edwardian penny emanating from the seigniorial mints of the Low Countries and the adjoining territories. The great majority of the coins are listed in Chautard's Imitations des Monnaies au Type Esterlin, but this classic work was published more than eighty years ago and it is perhaps inevitable that there are ommissions and even errors. To the former category would appear to belong a coin (Pl. XXXVII, 11) recently discovered in the course of Ministry of Works excavations at St. Nicholas' Church, Colchester. In addition to being heavily corroded with a significantly cuprous deposit, the sterling in question has been repeatedly mutilated by a sharp instrument—very probably the point of a knife—and sixteen of the damages have completely pierced the metal while others have so distorted the flan that the greater part of the legends are quite illegible. These damages are clearly ancient, and we may suppose that they were inflicted by the disgruntled possessors when the coin was detected and condemned as a "lusshebourne".

The obverse type seems completely obliterated but on close examination we may see sufficient to be reasonably certain that it consisted of an uncrowned bust. Most of the legend is obliterated but it is possible to read some of the letters as follows:

*M·· CHION····

the less certain letters being here distinguished by a pellet placed beneath them. The reverse is clearly of the normal sterling type, a long cross pattee extending to the edge of the coin with three pellets in each of the quarters, and the following letters may be taken as certain:

... LF SEM O ..

The obverse legend may very plausibly be reconstructed (cf. Chautard, nos. 1-6) as follows:

*M[AR]ChION[AMVRC(I)

and not only is the type characteristic of the late thirteenth-century sterling of this mint but the epigraphy agrees in all respects with that found on undoubted coins of the type. The reverse legend at first sight seems nonsensical but the present writer would suggest the following reconstruction. following reconstruction:

ERD A LF SEM O CG

which of course is the normal legend G(uido) COMES FLA(n)DR(i)E

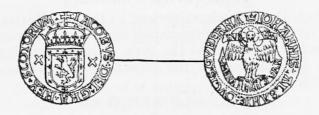
which of course is the normal legend G(uido) COMES FLA(n)DR(i)E written backwards but not strictly retrograde in that the letters are not reversed. The coin has since been successfully cleaned, and the obverse type is now certain while traces are now clearly visible of the R of Marchio, the R of Namure and the & of Fludre.

On this evidence the coin may be ascribed with confidence to the Low Countries, and the issuer will be the celebrated Gui de Dampierre who was Marquis of Namur from 1263 until his "abdication" in favour of his son in 1299. Since, however, Gui did not become Count of Flanders until 1280, the absolute limits for the coin in question would be c. 1280-c. 1297, and Tourneur has endorsed the verdict of earlier numismatists who associated such pieces with an edict of 1283 (R.B.N., 1938, p. 39). In accepting a date ±1285 for the striking of the coin we must be careful not to seem to support too early a dating for its defacement and loss. The evidence of other English and Scottish hoards (e.g. Bootham, Boyton, Galston, Kirkcudbright, Mellendean, Montraive, and Tutbury) is that this particular class of imitation was pretty current over a period of more than half a century, and the Colchester specimen could of course have been lost at any time. On the other hand, the degree of mutilation might well suggest some connexion with the great "lusshebourne" scares of the last decade of the thirteenth century, and if pressed the numismatist would advocate connexion with the great "lusshebourne" scares of the last decade of the thirteenth century, and if pressed the numismatist would advocate a date ± 1300 as reasonable in the absence of other evidence. It only remains for the present writer to thank Mr. M. R. Hull, F.S.A., of the Colchester Museum for bringing the coin to his notice, and Mile Jacqueline Lallemand of the Cabinet des Medailles at Brussels who has confirmed that the particular variety would seem unpublished in the Belgian as well as the English literature.

R. H. M. DOLLEY

THE EAGLE CROWN: A GOLD COIN OF THE MINORITY OF JAMES V OF SCOTLAND

The list of coins included in a "reversione" of 12 December 1521 published by Cochran-Patrick includes only one item likely to puzzle the numismatist: "three score seventeane crounes of Egle" valued at 17s. each. So far as I am aware, such a coin is mentioned nowhere else in the records² and corresponds to nothing to be found in any



work of reference on Scottish coins. Since there were 77 specimens of it in the "reversione", as against 33 angels, it must have been a coin normally current in 1521, and the value assigned to it suggests that it was a coin of about the same dimensions as the demy (16s.) or the unicorn (20s.), i.e. one weighing about 56 or 57 gr., or rather less if it were of purer gold. It is reasonable to identify it with a remarkable gold coin struck by the Duke of Albany, regent during the minority of James V, the existence of which was made known sixtyfive years ago by the late Adrien Blanchet. His article seems to have passed unnoticed by subsequent British scholars, and it is therefore worth while recalling the evidence for the existence of the coin and the circumstances of its issue.

There is in the Bibliothèque Nationale a manuscript Livre de change et monnoies compiled in the third decade of the sixteenth century by the money-changer Nicolas Duhamel.³ Besides giving descriptions and valuations of the coins and estimates of their fineness, it contains a large number of coin-impressions, made by blackening the surface of the coin and then rubbing the other side of the paper against it with some hard object, probably a piece of wood. The resulting impressions are mirror images of the coins, and owing to the thickness of the paper are not always clear in their details. But they are authoritative in a way that the sketches of coins in old merchants' books can never

¹ R. W. Cochran-Patrick, Records of the Coinage of Scotland, i (Edinburgh, 1876) p. 67. I should like to thank Mr. Ian Stewart for his kindness in reading through this note and advising me on several points.

³ A. Blanchet, "Le Livre du changeur Duhamel", Revue numismatique, 3rd ser. ix (1891), 60–86, 165–202. M. Blanchet has not reproduced the original text as it stands, but has

rearranged it under countries and added many valuable comments.

² Unfortunately there is a gap in the Lord High Treasurer's accounts between September 1518 and June 1522, just when one might expect to find mention of the coin. I have looked unsuccessfully through vol. xiv of The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland (ed. G. Burnett and A. J. G. Mackay, Edinburgh, 1933), which covers the period in question, but these documents rarely make mention of actual coins.

be, and they enable one to correct the many vagaries of attribution which occur in Duhamel's text.

Four of the Scottish coins recorded by Duhamel require no comment: two types of lion (Burns, nos. 456, 483), a rider (no. 602), and a half-unicorn (no. 663). The fifth, of which no specimen is known to exist, is described and illustrated as follows: 2 "Escus forgez de par Jacques roy descosse du poix de deux deniers seze grains or a vingt et deux karactz et demy vault la piece au pris du cours de lor v° et xx,

Obv. +: IACOBVS DEI GRA REX SCOTORVM ... Shield of Scotland, crowned, between two saltires.

(Crown) IOHANNIS∴TLBANIE ::DVCIS .: GVBERNT. The Holy Spirit in the form of a dove facing, nimbate and with wings outspread, holding in its claws a riband which curls upwards over the wings and bears the legend SVB VMBRA SVARVM.

The weight corresponds to 3'4 g. or 53'5 gr., about the same as that of the French ecu, but its lower fineness explains the slight difference in the values accorded to the two coins in the document of 1521, 3 for there can be no doubt that this is the "eagle crown" referred to in the "reversione". The correspondence of value, of date, and of type—for the confusion between a dove and an eagle would be easily made, it could be compared to the confusion between a dove and an eagle would be easily made, it could be compared to the confusion between a dove and an eagle would be easily

type—for the confusion between a dove and an eagle would be easily made—is too close for error to be possible.

The obverse type and legend of the coin require little comment. Both were to be followed very closely on the gold crown issued by James V after he had attained his majority in 1526, a crown for which this coin evidently formed the model. The legend does not give—James the numeral V, however, and it has the A (not N) of his first coinage of placks and unicorns. The reverse type is unique on a coin; but M. Blanchet points out that it occurs also on a heavy gold medallion of John Duke of Albary, and his wife Anne of which several specimens: M. Blanchet points out that it occurs also on a heavy gold medallion of John, Duke of Albany, and his wife Anne of which several specimens are known.⁴ The legend is a slightly altered version of part of the verse of Psalm xvii. 8,5" Hide me under the shadow of thy wings" (Sub umbra alarum trainm protage me), with xuarum substituted for tuarum and the wings being depicted in the type instead of included in the legend. The same legend, but with tharum, is found on the excelente of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, first struck in 1497, where the accompanying type shows the shield of Spain protected by an eagle, only the head and outspread wings of which are visible.

This coin is the only one known which bears the name of John,

None of the old coin-books are remarkable for the accuracy of their attributions, but Duhamel's work contains some of the most astounding errors known to me. Fiorini d'oro of Lucca, which have as their obverse type the Santo Volto, are described (p. 169) as "ducatz forgez par Luc duc de Millan au pays ditaille".
Blanchet, art. cit., pp. 81-83, "Incelted gold crown of James V with the name of John, Duke of Albany", Num. Chron. 3rd ser. xi (1851), 203-4.
The Expendent of Protection of weight" is these valued at 5rd Scalland (Edinburgh, 1884), pp. 35-36, ilius, on pl. v. t. The medal is dated 1524.
Pp. 35-36, ilius, on pl. v. t. The medal is dated 1524.

R. W. Cochran-Patrick, C.
 pp. 35-36, illus, on pl. v. r. The
 Psalm xvi. 8 in the Vulgate.

Duke of Albany (1481-1536), who was appointed regent on behalf of the seventeen-month-old James V after the death of his father James IV at Flodden in 1513. GVBERNA is probably to be understood as short for gubernatoris, the whole legend being in the genitive case, the "protecting wings" of the type being taken to refer to the regent as well as to the Holy Spirit. The duke remained in office until James V was declared of age in 1526, but in fact spent a total of only four of these thirteen years in Scotland.2 The document of December 1521 shows that the coins were already in circulation at this date. Instructions for minting unicorns of the old type were issued in March 1518, March 1519, and March 1520.3 Blanchet considered that the coin was struck before 1520, since he assigns this date to Duhamel's exchange book,4 but this precision seems to be unjustified; the volume may be two or three years later. Despite the fact that in 1520 and most of 1521 Albany was in France, not in Scotland, it is to these years that we must assign the striking of the remarkable "eagle crowns" in which he coupled his own name with that of his sovereign.5

PHILIP GRIERSON

A NEW HALF-SOVEREIGN MULE OF HENRY VIII/EDWARD VI

A NEW half-sovereign mule of Henry VIII/Edward VI has recently come to light and is published here by courtesy of Messrs. Spink & Son Ltd. (Pl. XXXVII, 10).

The obverse of the coin was struck from a die of the 6th coinage of Henry VIII bearing the mint-mark Annulet with Pellet and having Lombardic letters with sleeve ("hook") stops. The Whitton reference for the die is: Tower, Henry VIII, Annulet with Pellet, II (b), var. 7. The reverse is from an orthodox early die of Edward VI's first coinage in Henry's name with mint-mark Arrow, Roman lettering, and lozenge stops. This is Whitton's Tower, Edward VI, Arrow, var. 2 with normal letters E.

This coin forms, as it were, the perfect counterpart of the British Museum specimen which is muled the other way. The latter has on the obverse the young portrait of Edward VI with mint-mark Arrow, Roman letters, and lozenge stops, whereas the reverse bears

¹ The alternative rendering *gubernatione*, "in the regency" (of John, Duke of Albany) is grammatically less probable, for the natural use there would be the ablative throughout: cf. *Ludovico patruo gubernante* and *Ludovico patruo gubernatore* on coins issued by Lodovico il Moro during the minority of Gian Galeazzo Sforza at Milan.

² He was in Scotland May 1515-June 1517, Nov. or Dec. 1521-Oct. 1522, and Sept. 1523-May 1524.

³ Cochran-Patrick, i. 62.

⁴ Num. Chron., p. 203, but in R.N., p. 60, he merely says that it was compiled before 1524. It was certainly posterior to 1518, since it alludes to changes in values since that year (R.N., p. 61). In the series of papal coins it includes nothing later in date than Leo X, who died in 1522.

⁵ Later in the century another regent, James, Earl of Arran, was to put his initials (IG, *Iacobus Gubernator*) on the lion and half-lion issued in Mary's name in 1553.

the Annulet with Pellet mint-mark of Henry VIII and has Lombardic letters with sleeve stops.

To the best of my knowledge these two coins are the only Henry VIII/Edward VI half-sovereign mules on record.

H. Schneider

ALCISTON FIND (ELIZABETH I), 1925

I RECENTLY had the opportunity of examining a small collection of Elizabethan coins which was unearthed in about 1925 at Alciston, Sussex. It was found buried in the garden of a private house (map reference 505053 O.S. I inch, 6th edition) which was on the site of an older building. There was no sign of a container, but as the coins were all found together, they were presumably hidden in a purse or small bag. I examined the twelve coins listed below, but it is possible that in addition there may originally have been a penny. The larger pieces are remarkable for their fine condition, only the earliest sixpence showing any sign of having been in circulation. The groats were well battered and worn, and the two smaller pieces show a fair amount of wear. Since these are amongst the latest coins, and since the early shillings are in such good condition, it is difficult to fix the date of deposit. It must have been after 1585 (p.m. Scallop), probably in the early 1590's. The collection is too small for us to make any generalizations, but the condition of the pieces seems to suggest that, although shillings and sixpences were struck in large quantities, they were not much used in everyday circulation at this date. A photograph of the coins has been deposited with the Department of Coins and Medals of the British Museum.

ELIZABETH I

Shillings: p.m. Martlet, 2; Bell, 1; Scallop (over ⊼ on obv. (?) and rev.), 1.	4
Sixpences: p.m. Ermine, 1572, 1; Eglantine, 1574, 1; 1575 (over 4), 1.	3
Groats: p.m. Cross Crosslet, 2; Martlet, 1.	3
Threepence: p.m. Ermine, 1572 (over z), I.	I
Half-groat: p.m. Bell (with pellets behind bust), I.	I
	12

I. D. Brown

AN UNPUBLISHED SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY TOKEN HALFPENNY OF LONDON

By the kindness of the owner, Mr. John Asprey, I am able to put on record what would seem to be a quite unpublished London halfpenny token of the seventeenth century. It was found in the course of the removal of a partition wall at his residence, Roebuck Cottage, Lemsford near Welwyn Garden City, and, as the accompanying illustration shows (Pl. XXXVII, 12), is in a remarkably fine state of preservation. The obverse legend reads:

::ANTHONY.MOREING.BREWER

and the type is that of two men in frocks or aprons who carry a large cask suspended from a long pole. The reverse legend reads:

::IN.WHITE.FRYERS.1666.

and the type consists of the initials A and M and the numeral " $\frac{1}{2}$ " arranged in an inverted triangle and interspersed with one large and

five small cinquefoils disposed in a regular pattern.

The number of seventeenth-century tokens with this particular obverse type is not large. Williamson's edition of Boyne lists only three halfpennies and four farthings. Of the halfpennies one was issued by a Smithfield tradesman (London, 673), and the type certainly relates to the name of the house which is given in the legend as "The 2 Brewers". The same is almost certainly true of the halfpenny issued in Southwark by a certain Elizabeth Wapshott (Southwark, 385) where the legend ends "at ye" and the name of the house has to be supplied from the type. In the case of the third halfpenny, however, which was issued by a certain Thomas Tutty of Rye (Sussex 157), the type could as well refer to his occupation as to the name of the house, and more work will have to be done locally to establish whether or not he was a brewer or a licensee or both.

Three of the farthings were issued by London tradesmen. In the case of one from East Smithfield (London 901) the legend informs us that the name of the house was "The 2 Dra(y) Men", and in the case of one from Saffron Hill (London 2443) we are again told specifically that the name of the house was "The 2 Brewers". The third farthing (London, 1905), however, is enigmatic, and only the initials at present identify the Millbank issuer, but again there is a fair presumption that a house called "The Two Brewers" or "The Two Draymen" is to be inferred. The fourth farthing, of very different fabric from the others, was struck for an Oxford tradesman (Oxfordshire 128; Leeds, Oxford 34) and here the type is probably to be taken only as a general allusion to

his trade, for in the legend he is described as a brewer.

Unfortunately the British Museum does not possess a specimen of the Rye halfpenny, and Mr. H. H. King has reported that the only specimen known to us in a private collection is in too poor condition to allow of exact classification, but the remaining three halfpence and four farthings fall naturally into two main classes. On the three London farthings the porters wear "trousers" and "top-boots", and on all the halfpennies and on the Oxford farthing "frocks" or "aprons" and "shoes". Closer examination would suggest that the dies for the tokens in each class were all cut by the same hand. To take first the London farthings which form the most obviously homogeneous grouping, we may note that the fabric of all three is identical, and in each case the diameter is 15 mm. In each case, too, the outer circle on both obverse and reverse is composed of vertical oblongs, while the inner circle, found on the obverse only, takes the form of a cable. Many of the letter punches can be shown to be common to all three, and the same punches are used to build up the obverse type.

The reverse type is in each case composed of the initials of the issuer, and the stops are lozenges. As Dr. Milne saw so very clearly in his admirable little study of the tokens of Oxfordshire, the compilers of "Boyne-Williamson" missed half the story of the seventeenth-century token when they did not include details of stops, circles, and flawed punches. Examination of these farthings, too, has shown that the die-axis is invariably o°, and we may accept Dr. Milne's suggestion that they belong to the earlier of the two groupings, though as it

happens not one is dated.

Typologically and technically the three halfpence and the Oxford farthing do not have the appearance of forming a unity, and in diameter they range from 17 mm. to more than 20. On closer examination, however, it would seem that the individualism of a gifted die-cutter is more than sufficient to explain such quirks as the substitution of wigs on the Whitefriars token in place of hats and caps on those from Smithfield and Southwark respectively. In the first place we may note that on all four tokens the outer border of both obverse and reverse is composed of diamonds, and the inner of pellets. Moreover, the Oxford token is firmly tied to that from Southwark by the use of the same flawed "O" punch. The latter in turn is associated with the Smithfield token by the use of the same flawed "E" punch, and the chain is completed by the occurrence on the Whitefriars token of the identical puncheon, admittedly inverted, which was used to put in the barrel on that from Smithfield. All the tokens are dated 1666, and in each case the "6" punch is disproportionately large compared with the "I". That the die-relationship should be o' (Whitefriars and Oxford), 270° (Smithfield), and 90° (Southwark) of course no more than bears out Dr. Milne's experience in respect of a much wider sample of this grouping.

It would seem, then, that the great bulk of the dies for tokens, at least as regards the seventh decade of the seventeenth century, were cut at London by a very limited number of "specialists" who must have done a roaring trade. To what extent the actual tokens may have been struck centrally as well is a question that will have to be gone into very thoroughly. In many cases the fabric of tokens of identical style is so homogeneous that one would be tempted to assume that they were *not* struck by individual tradesmen, but we must allow for the possibility that the die-engravers may also have supplied, as well as dies, standardized blanks which were struck locally

in presses of the type described by Pegge.

R. H. M. Dolley

THREE RARE SOHO PIECES

During a recent visit to the Birmingham City Museum and Art Gallery, I was fortunate to discover three excessively rare early original Soho pieces in gilt copper, two of them hitherto unpublished. By courtesy of Mr. Adrian Oswald, M.A., F.S.A., these pieces were loaned to me for closer examination and were duly exhibited at the Society's meeting on 23 January 1957, with his kind permission.

- I. Pattern Penny, 1805, in gilt copper.
 - Obv. GEORGIUS III.D:G.REX. Draped bust to right; four berries in wreath; K: on shoulder.
 - Rev. BRITANNIARUM. Britannia with soho and •.• on rock to right and with erasure lines between the shield and the trident butt, obliterating the K which was originally on the die before it was altered.

Edge. Obliquely grained.

An exceedingly rare die-pairing, the only other specimen known to me in gilt being in Blackburn Museum. The only known example in plain copper is in my own collection.

- 2. Proof Penny, 1807, in gilt copper.—Usual type. The only genuine proof I have ever seen of this date in any metal. Copper and bronzed copper re-strikes made 60 or more years later from rusted dies by W. J. Taylor are relatively common.
- 3. Obverse (uniface) of Pattern Halfpenny, 1799, in gilt copper.
 - *Obv.* GEORGIUS III. D:G. BRITANN-REX-F-D-&.c. Bust to right, with truncation of shoulder obliquely striated.

Edge. Obliquely grained.

Specimens occur in plain and bronzed copper (both rare), but so far as I know this gilt one may well be unique.

These three pieces, all in brilliant condition, formed part of the P. R. Thomason Gift (1930) to the Birmingham Museum. It is extremely likely that Mr. Thomason was a descendant of Sir Edward Thomason, the well-known Birmingham medal manufacturer and friend of Matthew Boulton.

C. W. PECK

A GROUP OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN COINS FROM A SITE IN MALVERN

RECENTLY Mr. F. W. Romney of Great Malvern was kind enough to allow the writer to list before their dispersal a group of 40 coins, tokens, &c., which had passed into his possession. The coins obviously do not constitute a hoard but all were found in 1849 in the course of digging the foundations of the Abbey Hotel. According to Mr. Romney the hotel stands on the site of the old Priory Guesten Hall built c. 1400

and wantonly demolished in 1841. This magnificent timber structure appears to have ended its days as a barn, but was originally built to house the many pilgrims who flocked to Malvern Priory in the fifteenth century. Although none of the coins are particularly rare they do form an entity, while it is understood that for certain purposes a complete record of the coins found in a given area has evidential value for the statistician.

The following contractions are used:

Atkins = J. Atkins, Coins and Tokens of the Possessions and Colonies of the British Empire, London, 1889.

Barnard = F. P. Barnard, The Casting-Counter and the Counting-Board, Oxford, 1916.

Brooke = G. C. Brooke, English Coins, 3rd ed., London, 1950.

B & W = C. E. Blunt and C. A. Whitton, "The Coinage of Edward IV and of Henry VI (Restored)", B.N.J., vol. xxv, pp. 4 ff.; 130 ff.; 291 ff.

D&H = A. Dalton and S. H. Hamer, The Provincial Token-Coinage of the 18th Century, n. 1, 1910.

Guttag = E. H. Adams, Catalogue of the Collection of Julius Guttag, &c., New York, 1929.

Lawrence = L. A. Lawrence, "The Long-Cross Coinage", B.N.J., vol. ix, pp. 145 ff.; x, pp. 69 ff.; xi, pp. 101 ff.

Liddell = D. G. Liddell, The Milled Coinage of England 1662–1746, London, 1950.

MIH = E. Hawkins, A. W. Franks, and H. A. Grueber, Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland, London, 1885.

Seaby = H. A. Seaby, Notes on English Silver Coins 1066–1648, London, 1948.

Stewart = I. H. Stewart, The Scottish Coinage, London, 1955.

Yriarte = J. de Yriarte, Catalogo de los Reales de A Ocho espanoles, Madrid, 1955.

COINS, ETC., FOUND ON THE SITE OF THE ABBEY HOTEL, MALVERN, IN 1849

A. COINS ENGLAND

Gold

HENRY VI

I. Quarter-noble, London, Brooke Class IV 26.3 gr.

TAMES I

2. Half-unite, Kenyon 103, i.m. escallop 70.8 gr.

ANNE

3. Guinea, 1713, Liddell 225

Silver

HENRY III

4. Penny, Lawrence Class IIIb, John of Carlisle? two fragments

EDWARD III

5. Groat, York, Brooke Class E 51.7 gr.

EDWARD IV

6. Groat, York, Brooke Class III (First reign, light coinage), B & W, vi 39.I gr.

7. Groat, London, Brooke Class 6 (second reign), B & W, xxi (rev. var. 4) 38.8 gr. 8. Halfpenny, London, Brooke Class I (First reign, light coinage), B & W,

v. 3

HENRY VIII 9. Half-groat, Canterbury, Archbishop Warham, i.m. cross patonce,	
uncertain mark	19·8 gr.
ELIZABETH	0.
10. Shilling, i.m. hand 11. Sixpence, i.m. crown, 1568	84·0 gr. 41·6 gr.
12. Sixpence, i.m. acorn, 1573	40·4 gr.
13. Sixpence, i.m. π , 1583 14. Sixpence, uncertain i.m. and date	39∙6 gr. 30∙1 gr.
Charles I	
15. Half-crown, Seaby 3 or 4, uncertain i.m.	196·2 gr.
Charles II	
16. Shilling, 1668, Liddell 731 (no stop before DEI) 17. Groat, 1678, Liddell 1750	91∙6 gr. 29∙1 gr.
WILLIAM III	
18. Crown, 1695, Tower, OCTAVO, Liddell 807 19. Shilling, uncertain date, provincial mint?	456∙o gr. 72∙3 gr.
20. Sixpence, uncertain date and mint	23·I gr.
21. Threepence, uncertain date and mint	17.5 gr.
GEORGE II	
22. Sixpence, 1757, Liddell 1082 (pierced) 23. Groat, 1729, Liddell 1791	46∙0 gr. 28∙5 gr.
GEORGE III	
24. Sixpence, 1816, Liddell 1106 25. Sixpence, 1817, Liddell 1107	40·6 gr. 38·5 gr.
Copper	
Charles II	
26. Farthing, 167?	
George II	
27. Halfpenny, 1723	
George III	
28. Halfpenny, 1775 29. Halfpenny, 1806	
Scotland	
Gold	
James I 30. <i>Half-demy</i> , Stewart 81 (7 arc variety)	23·6 gr.
Billon	
CHARLES I	
31. Forgery of Twenty-pence Scots, Third coinage (reads SCO.TANGFRET. HIB and IVSTITIA THRONVM FIRMAT)	8∙o gr.
SUMATRA	

BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY

Copper 32. Kapang, 1804, Atkins 24

SPANISH AMERICA

Silver

CHARLES IV

33. Piece of Eight Reales, 1805, Lima (ME), Yriarte 755, Guttag 4271B 421.0 gr.

B. TOKENS

Copper

34. MANCHESTER HALFPENNY, 1793, D & H 131

35. ANGELSEY MINES HALFPENNÝ, 1788, D & H 341

C. COUNTERS

Silver

36. SIMON PASSE "ENGRAVED", William II, First series (full-length figure)

Brass

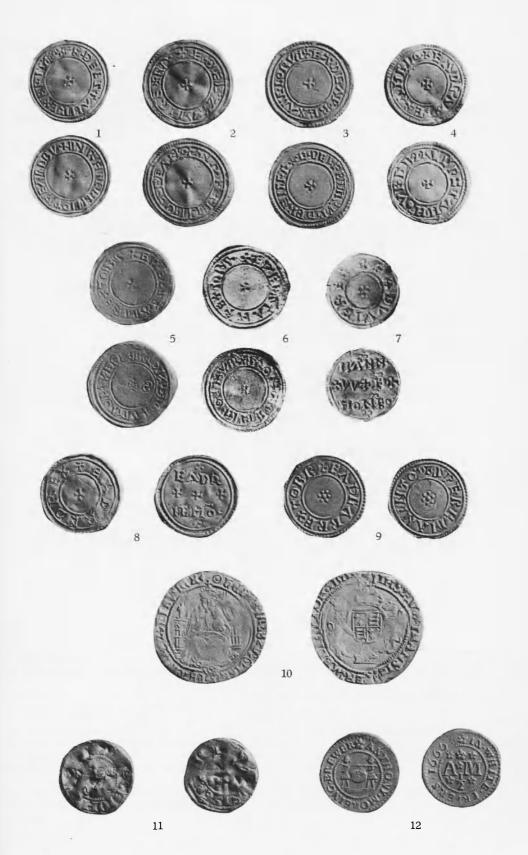
- 37. Earlier Nuremberg Group: Obv. Reichapfel, &c. meaningless legend TATATATA, &c. Diameter 2·5 cm. Rev. Monogram PP meaningless legend MRASMORSMARS, &c.
- 38. Earlier Nuremberg Group: Rechenmeister type, cf. Barnard, p. 234
 Diameter 2·8 cm. Obv.: as Barnard, pl. xlii, no. 3
 Rev.: ABCCI/•FGHIK/•LMNORQ/RSTVXY/•Z:
 SCH/•Y
- 39. Later Nuremberg Group: as Barnard, pl. xxxIII, no. 84

D. UNCERTAIN

Brass

40. Smooth disk
Diameter 1.8 cm. ? a button or shovehalfpenny blank

R. H. M. Dolley



MISCELLANEOUS PLATE



REVIEWS

Some Reflections on Hildebrand Type A of Æthelræd II. By R. H. M. DOLLEY. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie- och Antikvitetsakademien, Stockholm, Antikvariskt Arkiv, 1958. Pp. 41. Kr. 7.50.

RECENTLY renewed interest in Anglo-Saxon coinage has only emphasized the remarkable and lasting value of the work of the Swedish scholar Bror Emil Hildebrand; his catalogue of the Anglo-Saxon coins from Swedish hoards in the Stockholm Museum, published first in 1846, and revised and extended in 1881, remains today the standard work of reference on the coins of Æthelræd II and Cnut. It is thus fitting that the anniversary in 1956, 150 years from Hildebrand's birth and 75 from the publication of the second edition of Anglo-sachsiska Mynt, should have been marked by some memorial to the co-operation of Swedish and English numismatists in this field of common interest. This has taken the appropriate form of a monograph on some of the coins of Æthelræd II by Mr. R. H. M. Dolley, written in English, but published in Sweden as no. 9 of the Antikvariskt Arkiv series.

Perhaps the two most far-reaching developments in the study of later Anglo-Saxon coinage have been, firstly, the recognition of a regular change of type, originally every six years, and afterwards every three; and, secondly, the valid differentiation of regional diecutting styles. So far as the attribution of coins of Æthelræd II in particular is concerned, chronologically it owes accuracy in every case to the first of these theorems, and geographically in many cases to the second. For only five years ago, eccentric die-cutting styles, such as the East Anglian in the "First Hand" type or the Kentish in "Last Small Cross", seemed, if they were noticed at all, to be isolated and temporary deviations from a unified system of central diedistribution parallel to the independent local style at Stamford, Lincoln, and York in type IV of William I; and but three years ago it was only with diffidence put forward that the "Hand" type might comprise two separate issues and the "First Small Cross" type be confined to the very beginning of Æthelræd's reign. Mr. Dolley, not the sole author of these new ideas, is at least their most vigorous exponent; and though, with intellectual honesty, he still treats them as hypotheses rather than facts, it is fair to say that those who have done any research in the same field have found that all new evidence, rapidly accumulating, tends to corroborate and expand them.

Mr. Dolley devotes his paper to a study of Hildebrand's "Typ A", distinguished by the reverse type of a small cross. The classification by reverse type embodies much more than convenience: modern research (did Hildebrand deliberately anticipate this?) suggests that the reverse type was the operative one, and mule coins, therefore, almost invariably have the later, or current reverse. In this way, the "Intermediate Small Cross/Crux" mules of Winchester must be, as

Mr. Dolley proposes, an issue using up withdrawn obverses in combination with the regular type of "Crux" reverse: consequently, this time unlike Mr. Dolley, I do not find the existence of an "Agnus Dei/Last Small Cross" mule "surprising since fewer than a dozen examples of the true coin are known", but, as with the "Intermediate Small Cross" mules, merely an example of an obverse of withdrawn type combined with a current reverse: for, when a type was withdrawn after a very short time, the proportion of mule coins was likely to be greater. Can mules have been illegal? It must surely be very much open to doubt whether the evidence of the 1070's is valid for the reign of Æthelræd II.

Of the true coins of "Small Cross" type, Mr. Dolley draws attention to useful criteria for separating the three main emissions: the "First Small Cross", established as an overlap from Edgar and Edward the Martyr by W. C. Wells; the "Intermediate", lately discovered by Mr. F. Elmore Jones and himself; and the "Last Small Cross", largest and longest of the three issues, which was in currency during the last six years of the reign. The remainder of the paper is occupied in establishing and delineating the system of decentralized die-distribution at the end of Æthelræd's reign: nine styles of portrait are distinguished, and each given a geographical label according to the area where it is mostly found. A table, based on the coins listed by Hildebrand, shows the relative frequency of various styles at the different mints. Some are unequivocal: 286 "London" style coins, out of 411, were actually struck at the capital, whilst only three other mints, Dover, Thetford, and Lewes, claim more than 10 of this style; and of 57 "South-eastern" style coins, all are accounted for by the Kentish mints (32), London (12), and Lewes (8), except for 5 at Lincoln.

Other styles, however, present some problems. The "Western" style is a geographical certainty: there are, admittedly, 6 examples of it at London, but otherwise all the mints are in the west. But, Mr. Dolley asks, where were the dies cut? Chester (29) is easily the largest single issuer of the style, but all the other mints are far to the south. as Oxford (8) and Gloucester (9). And why, then, does Worcester, geographically in the heart of the "Western" group, only get dies of "Southern B" style, which Mr. Dolley feels is centred on Winchester? "Southern B", in fact, seems to me to be the least definitive of his groupings: of 100 examples, 26 do come from Winchester, but why is it found plurally at Lincoln (14), Thetford (12), Leicester, Huntingdon, Derby, and Warwick? There is something consistently curious about Lincoln, the prominent outlier of both the "South-eastern" and "Southern B" styles. Has imitation anything to do with this? Mr. Dolley himself realizes the difficulties involved by the copying of busts within the official issue: but, as in other series, for instance thirteenth and fourteenth century imitations of Edwardian pence, there are many coins of good style which may be unofficial, or not even English at all.

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So far Mr. Dolley deals with numismatic fact, of which, even if we question the exact interpretation, we cannot deny the essential accuracy: beyond this, he offers some interesting explanations, not proven, but stimulating, as to how die-distribution may have been organized, and suggests the historical context of the reform. Some connexion between the regional styles and the traditional ealdormanries does seem apparent; and a deliberate decentralization of the coinage would not be out of place in association with Æthelræd's vigorous defensive measures of 1008-9. Anyway, the numismatist has presented his evidence: it is for the historian to integrate and assess it. And, after all, Mr. Dolley's paper represents only a provisional stage in the development of quite a new method of numismatic research. Just how revolutionary was Æthelræd's monetary reform will only be seen when further study has elucidated the position earlier in his reign; and how long lasting, only when more work has revealed the picture of the coinage of Cnut and Edward the Confessor. By the Conquest, die-cutting was centralized, but we have little idea of the process by which this was achieved after Æthelræd: working backwards, there are irregularities, for instance, in the "sovereign" type of Edward—which, being a considerable challenge to any engraver, is more likely to present individual characteristics than other, straight-

forward designs.

Lastly, to return to the sexennial type change: it may not be impertinent to consider in what relationship (if any) this stands to the distribution of dies. There is reason to suppose, from the predominance of a single type in hoards (cf. Shaftesbury), that the old type was quite soon demonetized; in which case, most of the coins of the new type would have been struck towards the beginning, perhaps in the first year, of its six years' currency. Were all nine die-cutting styles being produced at the start of the "Last Small Cross" type? From Mr. Dolley's table it seems that this may well not have been so. For some styles merely reduplicate part of the spheres of others: e.g. "Southeastern" and "Eastern" cover mints, all of which were served by "London" dies as well; and all the mints of "Northern B" use "Northern A" on a larger scale, except Thetford, which is otherwise dominated by the "London" and "Eastern" styles. If there is a chronological factor involved, two possibilities emerge: either all nine styles launched the coinage, and were later reduced, more engravers having been required to deal with the large issues at the beginning of the six-year period; or perhaps the original issue of dies was regulated from the main centres only, but later, when the demand for dies would be sporadic and inconsistent, country mints may have been able to get new supplies to order from lesser regional centres. For example, in the former case, "Eastern" dies might have supplied East Anglia and "South-eastern" Kent at the beginning of the type, but, when the first heavy bout of recoinage was over, London could then cover a smaller demand for dies from a larger area; alternatively, central authority at London, after getting the type under way, might have

left the East Anglian and Kentish mints thereafter to apply for their dies from more convenient local centres (? Norwich or Thetford, and Canterbury). These are only conjectures, based on Mr. Dolley's statement of the evidence: but they are perhaps the sort of questions to which we may hope that answers will be forthcoming from his further researches.

Meanwhile, we must be grateful to the author, and particularly to his Swedish colleagues, for an interim report of such interest and clarity. "Tauton" on p. 27 and an unclosed parenthesis on p. 30 were the only misprints noticed in forty pages, an achievement of which any British printer might be proud. Twenty excellent enlarged photographs and three explicit distribution maps add greatly to the value of the text. In places, the writer's choice of word or phrase is a little unfortunate: certain dies, alas, are "conspicuous by their absence", the word "non-numismatist" baffles when applied to so acute a student of coins as Mr. R. B. K. Stevenson, and, true though it is, "exploratory" would have been a happier epithet of a scholar for his own essay than "pioneer". Nevertheless the paper is remarkably readable for an analytical study of its kind, and Mr. Dolley is to be congratulated not only on this significant and original contribution to Anglo-Saxon numismatics, but also for making the intricate technicalities of his subject so readily intelligible.

B. H. I. H. S.

En Vikingatida Silverskatt från Gandarve i Alva på Gotland. By G. Arwidsson, P. Berghaus, M. Dolley, B. Malmer, and U. S. Linder Welin. Gotlandskt Arkiv, 1957, pp. 22-57.

In this Swedish paper, describing and discussing a large hoard from Gotland discovered in 1952 and apparently deposited c. 1046–9, there are listed 213 English and Irish coins. Illustrated on the plates are nine which are not recorded in Hildebrand.

A Handbook of the Coinage of the Byzantine Empire. By (the late) Hugh Goodacre, F.R.N.S. Spink & Son Ltd., 1957. Pp. xi+361. £5. 5s.

The articles on which this book is based originally appeared in the Numismatic Circular, and were reissued, with illustrations, in three parts—Arcadius to Leontius I (1928); Anastasius to Michael VI (1931); and Isaac I to Constantine XI (1933). These have now been reprinted, by the offset-litho process, in one strongly bound volume, the advance of scholarship being marked by certain deletions in the text and 8 pages of additions and corrections by the present editors (R. A. G. Carson, J. P. C. Kent, A. Veglery, P. D. Whitting, and G. Zacos). Goodacre intended this work, "less ambitious and less erudite" than Wroth's B.M.C., as a popular introduction to the noble series which

was his chief numismatic interest. There are introductory sections concerning metrology, mints, and legends: the last are transliterated and expanded into normal Greek type, and translated: a most useful feature for the collector who is neither a specialist on the series nor a classicist. The lists of coins are prefaced by "profiles" of each ruler, couched in the deeply Victorian style traditional to such matter. The three sections are each closed by indexes of legends and subjects.

The editors make it plain that the method of reprinting allowed for few alterations, and the task of criticism must therefore fall into two parts, regarding the original work, and regarding the reproduction. It should be understood that the book was directed to the novice and non-specialist; and within this limit, it continues to do its work well: although at a price not to be afforded by many private persons. (The original three parts sold together for 23s.) Mattingly said of pt. 2 that the treatment of mints was inadequate (Num. Chron. 1931, p. 72) and to this might be added mention of the extremely cursory treatment meted out to the bronze coins, upon which so much of the study of the Byzantine series as a whole must depend, and which after all are both the commonest and in many cases the most difficult to identify correctly. The arrangement of the coins is rather after the pattern of Sabatier (particularly by the inclusion of the pre-Anastasius coins) and at this date may be thought less useful for the identification of specimens than that adopted in the B.M.C.

Among the additions and corrections made in the reprint, the most interesting is the identification of the coins of Leontius II (695–8). Laffranchi, in 1940, was the first to realize that the so-called "portrait-bust" coins of Leo III were in reality of Leontius, who apparently

ruled under the official name of Leo.

The only criticism to be made of the production of this book concerns the quality of the illustrations, which is very poor: in many cases they would give the novice little or no idea of the appearance of a coin, although the original choice of actual specimens, rather than casts, was evidently made with that advantage in mind. Here the heightened contrast, inevitable with the lithographic method of reproduction used, is to blame. It is beyond the scope of a review to suggest whether the various criticisms made should not have been allowed to combine in a decision to prepare an entirely new work on the subject, which could surely be done, even nowadays, for five guineas.

There are a few minor misprints, of which "preceed" on p. ix is

an example.

George C. Boon

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, 1957

(For list of past Presidents and Medallists see page 208; for Officers and Council for 1957, see page 432)

ORDINARY MEETING

23 JANUARY 1957

MR. G. V. DOUBLEDAY, Vice-President, in the Chair

Elections

MR. E. W. DANSON, 28 Paxton Road, Tapton, Chesterfield.

MR. T. E. KEMPSHALL, 26 Glendower Avenue, Coventry.

MR. D. W. MACDOWALL, Dept. of Coins & Medals, British Museum, London, W.C. 1.

MR. J. G. POLLARD, 17 Highworth Avenue, Cambridge.

MR. W. W. SLADE, The Firs, Gillingham, Dorset.

Exhibitions

By MR. G. V. DOUBLEDAY:

Pennies of Æthelræd II of the Gothaburh mint from the same dies as Hildebrand 1133 and 1136, and of the Sithesteburh mint from the same dies as Hildebrand 3407.

By MR. A. H. BALDWIN on behalf of MR. A. H. F. BALDWIN:

A penny of Æthelræd II of the Gothaburh mint from the same dies as Hildebrand 1134, and one of Cnut of the same dies as Hildebrand 1001; also a penny of the Sithesteburh mint from the same dies as Hildebrand 3407.

By MR. F. ELMORE JONES:

A number of coins in illustration of the paper.

By MR. R. H. M. DOLLEY:

A series of photographs illustrating every known die-combination of the coins of the mints of Gothaburh and Sith(m)esteburh.

By MR. PETER SEABY:

Two curious lead pieces and two eleventh-century Norse coins with which they may have been associated.

By MR. S. E. RIGOLD:

A large number of late medieval jettons and coins found in the course of excavations at a hunting-lodge in Essex.

Papers

MR. R. H. M. DOLLEY read a paper demonstrating that the mint of Gothaburh was to be sought in the West Country on both stylistic

and prosopographical grounds, and especially emphasized an obverse die-link between that mint and Exeter.

MR. ELMORE JONES showed that the same principles were to be applied in the case of the even more mysterious mint of Sith(m)esteburh and argued that it could only lie in Sussex. He drew attention to two unnoticed die-links, one linking the forms of mint-signature SITHE and SITHMES and the other linking SITHE with Chichester.

MISS MARJORIE DAUNT then proceeded to demonstrate how the spellings SITHE and SITHMES could be reconciled philologically, and how the mint-name indicated that SITH(M)ESTEBURH was to be equated with the modern Cissbury.

ORDINARY MEETING

27 FEBRUARY 1957

MR. H. H. KING, President, in the Chair

Elections

MR. B. L. CARTER, 9 Hornsey Lane Gardens, London, N. 6.

MR. A. C. GARDNER, 13 Astrop Gardens, King's Sutton, Banbury, Oxon.

THE LIBRARIAN AND CURATOR, The Royal Library and Museum, Canterbury, Kent.

The evening was given over to exhibitions primarily of a medallic nature.

By Mr. A. H. BALDWIN:

A gold medal dated 1775 with a portrait of William Coulthart and a coat of arms on the reverse.

By MR. G. V. DOUBLEDAY:

The George I Arrival medal of 1714 to draw attention to the singular method of propulsion of the Marine Car which appears to be equipped with a paddle-wheel.

By MR. P. D. MITCHELL on behalf of MESSRS. A. H. BALDWIN & SONS LTD.:

Three rare groups of medals: (a) the Peninsula Gold Medal for Nive and the Military General Service Medal with bars for Busaco, Fuentes d'Onor, Salamanca, Pyrenees, Nivelle, Nive, Orthes, and Toulouse, awarded to Capt. Wm. Greene, 61st Foot; (b) The Distinguished Conduct Medal and Sudan Medal (Khedive's missing) awarded to Sergt. J. M. Brooke, 1st Grenadier Guards; (c) The Rhodesia Medal 1896, the Queen's South Africa Medal with bars for Clauslaggte, Relief of Ladysmith, Transvaal, Cape Colony and Orange Free State, King's South Africa Medal with bars for 1901 and 1902, 1914–15 Star, 1914–15 General Service Medal and Victory Medal, all awarded to Sergt. W. J. Pescod, 2nd Imperial Light Horse, a known survivor of the Jameson Raid.

By MR. J. M. SPINK:

Commonwealth Gold Naval Reward 1653 (smallest size), Canara Gold Medal for loyal Coorg chiefs, Louisbourg Gold Medal of 1758, Thos. Bushell's Mine Share Ticket 1660 in silver-gilt, set of nine silver plaques by Simon Passe from the Strawberry Hill collection in original case, a silver portrait plaque by Rawlins of Sir William Parkhurst, the large struck silver medal by Roettier for the Restoration of Charles II, the same artist's medal for the Naval Action of 1665, Paul Vincze's medal commemorating the 150th Anniversary of Trafalgar, and Galtie's medal of Toulouse-Lautrec.

By MR. T. E. KEMPSHALL:

145 medals of various kinds to illustrate eleven different ways in which a collection of primarily campaign medals could be assembled.

ORDINARY MEETING

27 MARCH 1957

MR. H. H. KING, President, in the Chair

Elections

LIEUT. E. H. UNRUH, 57th Air Rescue Squadron, APO 406, New York, U.S.A.

MISS E. ASHERSON, 21 Harley Street, London, W. I (Junior membership).

THE CURATOR, Colchester and Essex Museum, Colchester, Essex.
THE LIBRARIAN, City Library, Museum and Art Gallery, Hereford.

Exhibitions

By MR. H. H. KING:

A mule between the First Hand and Second Hand types of Æthelræd II from the Lewes mint.

By MR. I. D. BROWN:

12 coins of Elizabeth I which had been found about 27 years ago at Alciston, Sussex.

Paper

DR. PETER BERGHAUS read a paper entitled "English and German Coins in the Later Middle Ages". He traced in some detail the occurrence of British coins in German coin finds, showing that at various periods in the history of that country British coins had formed a large part of the currency. This led to their being copied by local mints, and much of the paper was devoted to tracing the issues of coins of British types across Germany.

ORDINARY MEETING

24 APRIL 1957

MR. H. H. KING, President, in the Chair

Elections

DR. DONALD BIGLEY, 15 Hampton Lane, Solihull, Warwickshire. ORBIS NEWS AGENCY, Stalinova 46, Prague XII, Czechoslovakia.

Exhibitions

By MR. I. H. STEWART:

Eight coins of James III and IV and a reprint of an article in the *Numismatic Chronicle* in illustration of his paper.

By MR. D. G. LIDDELL:

A Spanish 8 reales of 1803 with a triangular countermark of the firm of J. AND R. Mckerrell of Paisley.

By major c. w. lister:

An interesting Ancient British silver coin.

Paper

MR. IAN HALLEY STEWART read a paper on "A New Scottish Hoard and other New Light on the Scots Coinage".

ORDINARY MEETING

22 MAY 1957

MR. H. H. KING, President, in the Chair

Elections

THE LIBRARIAN, Wessex Numismatic Society.

THE CITY LIBRARIAN, Westminster Central Reference Library, St. Martin's Lane, London, W.C. 2.

MR. J. C. FREEMAN, B.A., LL.B., Bank of New South Wales, 47 Berkeley Square, London, W. 1.

Exhibitions

By Mr. R. H. M. DOLLEY on behalf of Mr. R. CARLYON-BRITTON:
A Penny of Henry I, Brooke type IV, reading +COLBRAND
ONCISI.

By MR. D. L. F. SEALY:

A 10-cent piece of East Africa dated 1939 struck in cupro-nickel.

By MR. P. J. SEABY:

Three types of Bury St. Edmund's "Boy Bishop" lead tokens.

By MR. D. G. LIDDELL:

An Alfred Halfpenny in illustration of Mr. Grierson's paper.

By MR. P. GRIERSON:

A number of Alfred Halfpence in illustration of his paper.

By MR. R. N. HAWKINS as guest of DR. J. P. C. KENT:

A number of Medley Halfpence in illustration of Dr. Kent's paper.

Papers

MR. P. GRIERSON read a paper on the Halfpence of Alfred, contending that many of these pieces should be described as thirds of a penny.

DR. J. P. C. KENT read a paper on Medley Halfpence and other problems.

ORDINARY MEETING

26 JUNE 1957

MR. H. H. KING, President, in the Chair

Elections

THE LIBRARIAN, The Library, Sheffield University.
MR. A. G. STONE, 44 Lowther Drive, Enfield, Middlesex.

Exhibitions

By MR. D. G. LIDDELL:

A penny of Edgar by an unpublished moneyer, SPEREMAN (Pl. XXXVII, 9).

By MR. D. G. LIDDELL on behalf of MR. H. LINECAR:

Two pennies of British West Africa struck from dies belonging to different periods.

By MR. A. E. BAGNALL:

18 Anglo-Saxon coins.

By MR. P. J. SEABY:

5 St. Edmund pennies.

The SANFORD SALTUS MEDAL was presented by the President to Mr. F. Elmore Jones.

Paper

MR. C. E. BLUNT and MR. R. H. M. DOLLEY read a paper entitled "Some more Anglo-Saxon Notes", in which they drew attention to the way in which the numismatics of the reign of Alfred the Great had been neglected for nearly a century. Much new evidence was now, however, available.

ORDINARY MEETING

25 SEPTEMBER 1957

MR. H. H. KING, President, in the Chair

Elections

MR. J. J. NORTH, 30 Wolstonbury Road, Hove, Sussex.

THE INSTITUTE OF BANKERS LIBRARY, 10 Lombard Street, London, E.C. 3.

Exhibitions

By MR. I. D. BROWN and MR. W. FORSTER: Coins of Elizabeth I in illustration of the paper.

By MR. I. D. BROWN on behalf of MR. R. CARLYON-BRITTON: Coins of Elizabeth I partly in illustration of the paper.

By MR. R. H. M. DOLLEY:
Casts of a penny of Eadred (P1. XXXVIII., 8).

By DR. J. P. C. KENT:
Part of the Newark (Civil War) Hoard.

P appear

MR. I. D. BROWN read a paper on the Hammered Silver Coinage of Elizabeth I.

ODRINARY MEETING

23 OCTOBER 1957

MR. H. H. KING, President, in the Chair

Elections

MR. A. P. ADAMS, Clyne House, North Road, Hytthe, Kent.

MR. C. H. ALLEN, 53 Sandy Lame, Cheam, Surrey.

MR. S. BRUMBY, 31 Popplewells Row, Gainsborough, Lines.

MR. P. A. HODGKINSON, Dametree, Terminus Road, Bexhill, Sussex.

MR. E. P. NEWMAN, 400 Washington Awenue, St. Louis 2, Missouri, U.S.A.

As Junior Members

MR. J. K. D. COOPER, Rempstone, St. Mary's Awenue, Shortlands, nr. Bromley, Kent.

MR. J. O. DAWSON, 49 Lidgett Park Road, Roundhay, Leeds, Yorks.

Exhibitionss

By dr. j. p. c. kent:

A half follaro of Gaeta and a penny of Edward the Martyr, its prototype (casts).

Paypen

MR. E. J. WINSTANLEY read a paper by himself and MR. W. J. W. POTTER in which they dealt with the chronology of the last three marks which appear on the open-crown groats of Henry VII., viz: Lis, Cross Fitchee, and Rose.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

27 NOVEMBER 1957

MR. H. H. KING, President, in the Chair

Exhibitions

By major c. w. lister:

Two Ancient British coins, a Cunobelin Gold Stater and a silver coin of Verica.

By MR. A. E. BAGNALL:

Two pennies of Beornwulf and two of Ecgbeorht.
The silver medal of the Society of Dyers and Colourists.

THE PRESIDENT then delivered his Annual Address.

A vote of thanks to the President was proposed by Mr. Whitting and seconded by Mr. Winstanley and passed unanimously. A vote of thanks to the Scrutators was also passed.

Officers and Council

The following were elected officers and members of Council for 1958:

President: H. H. KING, ESQ., M.A.

Vice-Presidents: A. E. BAGNALL, ESQ.; C. E. BLUNT, ESQ., O.B.E., F.S.A.; G. V. DOUBLEDAY, ESQ.; E. J. WINSTANLEY, ESQ., L.D.S.

Director: R. H. M. DOLLEY, ESQ., B.A., F.S.A.

Secretary: I. D. BROWN, ESQ., B.SC. Treasurer: J. M. ASHBY, ESQ., M.A.

Librarian: W. FORSTER, ESQ.

Council: D. F. ALLEN, ESQ., B.A., F.S.A.; R. D. BERESFORD-JONES, ESQ., M.A.; E. BURSTAL, ESQ., M.A., M.D.; P. GRIERSON, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A.; J. P. C. KENT, ESQ., B.A., PH.D.; C. S. S. LYON, ESQ., B.A., F.I.A.; W. PALMER, ESQ.; C. W. PECK, ESQ.; J. PORTEOUS, ESQ., B.A.; H. SCHNEIDER, ESQ.; P. H. VERNON, ESQ., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.; P. D. WHITTING, ESQ., G.M., B.A.

THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

EXPENDITURE AND INCOME ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 OCTOBER 1956

EXPENDITURE		INCOME	
1955 	f s. d . f s. d .	1955 f. f. s. d. f.	s. d.
29 Printing and Stationery	10 7 8	Subscriptions received for 1956 447 13 4	
Expenses of Meetings, Rent, and Library Faci-	37 16 o	452 Subscriptions in arrears received during year . 63 18 11 511	12 3
63 Sundry Expenses	47 6 9		17 0
Additional Cost for Journal underprovided 1955 654 Provision for 1956 Journal	149 19 3 700 0 0 849 19 3	Donations: L. C. Briggs	
			16 11
			1 10
		110 Sale of Back Volumes and Duplicates 31	15 0
		73 Income Tax Recovered	9 4
		38 General Purposes Fund 316	17 4
£786	£945 9 8	£945	9 8

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31 OCTOBER 1952

1955 £ 14 32	Subscriptions received in advance Subscriptions compounded	\pounds s. d.	£ s. d. 10 10 0 25 19 0	1955 £	Investments at cost: £833. 5s. 1d. 3½% Defence Bonds .	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
	Sundry Creditors and Outstanding			1,260	£500. 2½% Savings Bonds	426 13 3	1,259 18 4
552	Charges	166 14 11	1,032 0 6	_	Sundry Debtors		5 9 4
160	Less Debit Balance on Income Account		165 12 9	167	£166. 14s. 11d. 3½% Defence Bonds .		166 14 11
				152	Library at cost		151 12 5
279	Publications and Research Fund		170 17 9	10	Furniture at cost		10 7 6
550	Provision for Estimated Cost of <i>Journal</i> General Purposes Fund		700 0 0		Stock of Lockett Collection Photographs at price subsequently		
	Balance as at 31 October 1955. Add Transfer re Loss on Lockett Col-	1,110 12 1		10	realized		114 5 0
	lection 1955	78 16 3		605	Bank Current Account Bank Deposit Account	57I 6 3 300 I6 6	
	Coins	110 0 0		490	Post Office Savings Bank	502 16 9	1,379 3 6
		1,299 8 4		3	Petty Cash in Hand	4 4 0	1,3/9 3 0
	Less Excess of Expenditure over In-						
1,110	come for the year	316 17 4	982 11 0				
(- ((0.00= 77.0	(0.60=			£3,087 II 0
£2,697			£3,087 II 0	£2,697			23,007 11 0

REPORT OF THE AUDITORS TO THE MEMBERS OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

WE have obtained all the information and explanations which to the best of our knowledge and belief were necessary for the purposes of our audit. In our opinion proper books of account have been kept by the Society so far as appears from our examination of those books. We have examined the above Balance Sheet and annexed Expenditure and Income Account which are in agreement with the books of account and no credit has been taken for subscriptions in arrear. In our opinion and to the best of our information and according to the explanations given to us, the Balance Sheet gives a true and fair view of the state of the Society's affairs as at 31st October, 1956 and the Expenditure and Income Account gives a true and fair view of the excess of expenditure for the year ended on that date.

GILBERTS, HALLETT, & EGLINGTON, Chartered Accountants
51 Coleman Street, London, E.C.2

ADDRESS BY HORACE H. KING PRESIDENT OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Delivered at the Anniversary Meeting, 27 November 1957

During the two years which have elapsed since my last Presidential Address our numbers have reached and passed the 300 mark which in 1955 I said it was hoped to reach. Our roll of members now totals 310—216 ordinary, 3 honorary, 6 junior, and 85 institutional members. During the last year there have been two deaths and two resignations, so that the net gain is 27 for the year. It is pleasing to notice that not only have the numbers steadily increased but they have done so at a higher rate than the year before. But the new names are still put forward by a very few members, as was pointed out in my address of two years ago.

At the beginning of the year Mr. Dolley was Director and Acting Secretary, "Acting" since he had asked to be relieved of the Secretaryship owing to increased calls upon his time and we had not then found anyone to act in his place. Shortly afterwards Mr. I. D. Brown agreed to act and he has been Secretary for the greater part of the year. We welcome Mr. Brown in his new post and thank Mr. Dolley most sincerely for the immense amount of work he has put in so successfully in the last three years. He will continue to give us valuable service as Director if, as I cannot but feel certain will be the case, he is re-elected this evening.

Our Treasurer, Mr. Ashby, continues to keep our finances in good order. We have been fortunate in receiving in each of the last two years a donation from the British Academy of £150 to enable us to enlarge our Journal, particularly in the Ancient British, Saxon, and Norman periods, as these are likely to be of greater interest and assistance to historians, archaeologists, and other workers in similar fields. You will have noticed that the Journal has in consequence expanded from about 120 pages to about 220. We hope to be able to maintain this size but that depends largely on our being able to recruit a goodly number of new members. Let every member strive to bring forward the name of at least one, in 1958.

Our Librarian, Mr. Forster, tells me that he expects to finish the catalogue of our library when it moves, it is hoped in February, to the new Warburg Institute premises at the University of London, Woburn Square, when he and Mr. Carson, the Librarian of the Royal Numismatic Society, will be better able to do the work necessary, as the site is so much more central and convenient. We shall then hope to be able to publish the joint catalogue next year or at worst the year after.

The papers read at our meetings in the last two years have ranged over a long period, from Dr. Sutherland's "Diocletian's Mint at London" to Mr. Stride and Dr. Dunning's "Some Forgeries of Ormonde Crowns", but nothing has been read on the milled series, while the articles in the Journal are equally silent on this subject but for the end of Mr. Stride's "The Gold Coinage of Charles II", in the Journal about to be published. The year 1956 began with notes by Mr. Dolley on the Dover Hoard "The First English Hoard with Groats of Edward I'', "The Emergency Mint of Cadbury", "A new Mint for Æthelræd II in Lincolnshire", and "A Probable Mint at Bridgnorth". Later Dr. Sutherland read a paper on Diocletian's Mint at London, Mr. Lyon on the Northumbrian Coinage, while Mr. Schneider ended the year with "The Tower Gold of Charles I". In 1957 at the first meeting Mr. Elmore Jones gave us "The Mint 'æt Sith(m)estebyrig'" proving almost to a certainty that this hitherto elusive mint was Cissbury near Worthing and Mr. Dolley "The Mint 'æt Giothabyrig'" which made it clear that Major Carlyon-Britton's attribution to Bradwell-on-Sea could not be accepted but that, though it was at present impossible to pin-point the mint, it was somewhere in the neighbourhood of Exeter. Later in the year Dr. Peter Berghaus read a paper on "English and German Coins in the later Middle Ages", Mr. Grierson one on "A New Denomination for Alfred", Mr. I. D. Brown on "The Silver Coinage of Oueen Elizabeth I", and Mr. Winstanley on "The First Coinage of King Henry VII".

I had the pleasure in June of presenting the Sanford Saltus medal to Mr. Elmore Jones. In the last ten years he has contributed to the *Journal* many papers and notes on the late Saxon and Norman coinages and has brought to light three new mints, Bramber, Hedon, and Cissbury. A well-deserved award.

We congratulate Mr. Blunt, somewhat belatedly it is true, on being elected in June last year President of the Royal Numismatic Society, in which post he will, we know, carry on the good work and distinguish himself as he did when President of this Society. Only the absence of a Presidential Address last year prevented us from formally congratulating him in better time.

Mr. Dolley has continued, thanks to the co-operation of Dr. N. Rasmusson, the keeper of the Swedish Royal collection, his examination of the Swedish hoards of Anglo-Saxon coins, which in previous years have thrown so much light on the late Anglo-Saxon period. He has made several important discoveries and writes to me from Sweden that he has more to reveal in consequence of this year's visit, a visit which is not yet over and which prevents him from being here this evening.

The National Numismatic Congress was held this year at Glasgow University on 8 June. I was unfortunately abroad at that time but I hear that it was most successful, both in attendance and in the papers read. These included Mr. Ogilvie MacKenna on "William Hunter", Miss Anne Robertson on "The Hunterian Coin Cabinet", Professor Michael Grant on "The Educational Uses of Coins", and Mr. Robert Kerr on "Rare Scottish Coins in the National Museum of Scotland".

Next year's Congress will be held at Bath under the auspices of the Bath and Bristol Numismatic Society of which our Vice-President Mr. Blunt is President. It is to be on 17 May. Papers will be read by Mr. Derek Allen, Mr. A. C. Griffin, and Mr. Blunt, and the theme will be Wessex coinages and token issues.

The British Association of Numismatic Societies has increased the number of societies affiliated to 24. Their project, to gain information as to the coins in provincial museums where many rare and even unique coins lie hidden, has reached the stage when definite action can be taken. A circular letter has been sent to 96 museums asking for information about their coins, and when the replies come in the task of properly recording the coins will be undertaken by members of their affiliated societies. The B.A.N.S. held a lecture course at Jordans hostel from 8 to 10 November at which lectures were given by Mr. Whitting on "Identifying Overstrikes" based on the Byzantine bronze series, by Mr. Carson on "Roman Mint Organization", by Mr. Osborne on "Dies and Die-sequences", and by Mr. J. G. Pollard, of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, on "The Making of Coin Casts".

The first volume of the Sylloge of the Coins of the British Isles, which is bring published under the auspices of the British Academy, will appear in a few weeks. It covers the Ancient British and Anglo-Saxon coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, and will be followed in 1958 by the same periods in the Hunter and Coats collections at the University of Glasgow.

You will see by the "fixture card", which you will receive in a week or two, that we are moving our place of meeting to the new Warburg Institute, Woburn Square, in April when the first meeting there will be held on Wednesday, 23 April. Thereafter, as the Warburg Institute cannot arrange for the fourth Wednesday owing to other bookings, meetings will be held on the fourth *Tuesday* in each month except July, August, November, and December. The November meeting, being the Anniversary Meeting, will be held on Tuesday, the 25th, as the 30th when we generally hold it is a Sunday.

I cannot bring this review of the past year to an end without expressing my thanks to all the officers of the Society and to the Council for their consistent support and help. Without that, for I was abroad for two months at the beginning of the year, I could not have carried out my duties even as ill as I have.

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